

111 In the morning Mahāprabhu with his own followers went to Sundarācala to have *darśana* of Jagannātha. 112 Again with his *bhaktas* he came to Nīlācala, anxious to see the delights of *horā-pañcamī*. 113 Kāśī Mīśra took great care of Prabhu; he took and seated him, with his followers, in a good place. 114 Prabhu wanted to hear a special *rasa*; smiling a little he asked Svarūpa, 115 "Although Jagannātha has *līlā* at Dvārakā, and naturally manifests his highest generosity, 116 still, once in the middle of each year he is undeniably anxious to see Vṛndāvana. 117 These groves are like Vṛndāvana, and he is very anxious to see them. 118 So, under the pretext of the Car Festival Prabhu comes outside, and, leaving Nīlācala, goes to Sundarācala. 119 In the various gardens of flowers he plays there day and night; why does he not take Lakṣmīdevī with him?" 120 Svarūpa said, "Hear, Prabhu, the cause of this. Lakṣmī has no right to the Vṛndāvana-play. 121 The *gopīs* are the companions of the Vṛndāvana-play; except for the *gopīs* there are none to steal the mind of Kṛṣṇa." 122 Prabhu said, "Kṛṣṇa goes forth under the pretext of the journey and Subhadrā and Baladeva, these two, are with him. 123 He has many *līlās* with the *gopīs* in the groves; no one knows the profound *bhāva* of Kṛṣṇa. 124 Though no fault at all attaches to Kṛṣṇa, why does Lakṣmīdevī exhibit such anger?" 125 Svarūpa replied, "This is the nature of those who have *prema*. The *bhāva* of anger arises because of the indifference of a beloved one." 126 At the same time, having mounted the four swings of gold, with many jewels, 127 with umbrellas and fly whisks and flags and banners, and many instruments and *devadāsīs* dancing before, 128 and with boxes of *tāmbūla* and watering jars and waving fly whisks in their hands, and hundreds of *dāsīs*, wearing heavenly clothes and ornaments, 129 this great retinue [went forth] with unworldly majesty, and, angry, Lakṣmīdevī came to the lion-gate. 130 The *dāsīs* of Lakṣmī bound all the chief servants of Jagannātha who were there. 131 And having bound them they brought them and threw them at the feet of Lakṣmī. And they beat them as if they had caught so many thieves. 132 They thrashed the senseless car also, and abused it in various ways with insulting words.

111. Sundarācala: the name of a pavilion within the Guṇḍicā temple compound.

114. I.e., he wanted to hear the interpretation of the *horā-pañcamī* from the point of view of his Rādhā-bhāva, he wanted to taste the *rasa* of Vraja, and not that of the worshipers of Lakṣmī.

118. Caitanya is comparing the yearly visit of Jagannātha to the Guṇḍicā temple with the coming of Kṛṣṇa from his kingly throne at Dvārakā to visit Vṛndāvana.

130. Whether these were *devadāsīs*, temple dancers, or whether they were all kinds of attendants of Lakṣmī, is not clear.

130-132. The sequence of events is not at all clear here. The lion-gate in which the goddess and her followers appeared is at the temple of Jagannātha in Puri. Did they follow the car to

133 Seeing this impertinence of the *dāsīs* who were the companions of Lakṣmī, Prabhu with his followers began to laugh. 134 Dāmodara said, "Such is the manifestation of the heart; never in the three worlds have such things been seen or heard. 135 In her discouragement the woman in *māna* throws off her ornaments, and sitting on the ground in soiled clothes she writes [in the dust] with her nails. 136 We hear of this kind of *māna* of Satyabhāmā in former times, and the *māna* of the *gopīs* in Vraja, which was the storehouse of *rasa*. 137 So this one manifests herself in all her grandeur, and having prepared her army goes against her beloved one." 138 Prabhu said, "Tell me of the manifestation of the *māna* in Vraja." Svarūpa said, "The river of the *māna* of the *gopīs* has a hundred streams. 139 And the natural *prema* of the *nāyikā* is also of many kinds. And each of those kinds has many manifestations of *māna*. 140 The *māna* of the *gopīs* cannot be fully described, so let me describe one or two of the varieties. 141 In *māna* some are patient and some impatient, and some are both patient and impatient—there are these three kinds. 142 The patient woman rises up to greet her beloved when she sees him at a distance, and when he comes near she offers him a seat. 143 With anger in her heart, with her mouth she speaks sweet words; in the embrace of her lover, she embraces him. 144 In a simple way she nourishes the *māna*, or with ironic words she rejects her lover. 145 The impatient woman rebukes him with harsh words, and strikes him with her lotus earrings, and ties him up with a necklace. 146 The one who is both patient and impatient ridicules her lover with crooked words, sometimes prais-

Sundarācala, and carry these activities out there, or did this take place after the return to Puri? The text seems to imply that it was after the return to Puri (see above, v. 112); but the festival takes place on the *pañcamī* day. In modern times, Rādhāgovinda Nātha says, it is the custom for the followers of Lakṣmī to follow the car and while it is at Sundarācala to abuse it as described here.

136. "In former times": in the Dvāpara age, in the Dvārakā-līlā. In the *Harivaṃśa* this is the story told of the *māna* of Satyabhāmā: One time Nārada brought back a flower from heaven and gave it to Kṛṣṇa in Dvārakā. Kṛṣṇa gave it to Rukmiṇī. Satyabhāmā was deeply attached to Kṛṣṇa, and when he gave the flower to Rukmiṇī she became furiously jealous. She became sunk in *māna*. Kṛṣṇa was also fond of Satyabhāmā, and entered her house with great trepidation. This kind of *māna*, of which an ingredient is an anger which arouses fear, was also characteristic of Lakṣmī. Rādhāgovinda Nātha comments on the difference between this and the *māna* felt by Rādhā: when Kṛṣṇa went to be with Candrāvalī, Rādhā also felt *māna*, anger and irritation born from love. But in her case it was not selfish; she knew that Candrāvalī did not know Kṛṣṇa's desires, and that Candrāvalī would act for her own satisfaction and not that of Kṛṣṇa. She was therefore sorrowful that Kṛṣṇa had not come to her, not out of jealousy for Candrāvalī, but because Kṛṣṇa would not be entirely happy.

141. *Dhīrā* and *adhīrā*: patient and impatient.

ing him, sometimes abusing him, and sometimes being indifferent. 147 There are three kinds of *nāyika*: *mugdha*, *madhya*, and *pragalbha*. The *mugdha* does not know the varieties of intensity of *māna*. 148 Covering her face, she only weeps, and is defeated by the humble words of her lover. 149 The *mugdha* and *pragalbha* are divided into patient, etc., and in each there are three natural divisions. 150 Some are *prakhara*, some are *mṛdu*, and some are *samā*. Each according to her nature expands to the limits the *rasa* of Kṛṣṇa. 151 Keen, gentle, and balanced are their stainless natures, and each according to her own nature gives Kṛṣṇa pleasure."

152 Hearing these things, Prabhu's joy was boundless, and he said again and again, "Speak on, Dāmodara." 153 Dāmodara continued, "Kṛṣṇa is the highest of *rasikas*; he is the taster of *rasa*, and his body is full of *rasa*. 154 Kṛṣṇa, his body full of *prema*, is subject to the *prema* of his *bhaktas*, and the *gopikas* are preeminent in the qualities of pure *prema-rasa*. 155 In the *prema* of the *gopikas* there is no fault or want of *rasa*, and thus it gives highest satisfaction to Kṛṣṇa.

Sloka 3. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.33.25:

He who is Satyakāma, to whom women are devoted, who keeps confined in his own heart love play, thus enjoyed all his nights illumined by the rays of the moon and in the *rasa* of the poetry of autumn.

156 'Vamā' is one class of *gopī*, and 'dakṣiṇā' is another, and in various ways they cause Kṛṣṇa to taste *rasa*. 157 Among the *gopīs*, the best is Rādhā Ṭhakuraṇī,

147. *Mugdha*: Rūpa's UNM [*nāyikabheda-prakaraṇa*] 5.13: she is of new youth, possessing some passion, devious in the ways of love, subservient to her friends, modest in things having to do with passionate love, casting shamed glances at her beloved who has offended her, weak in words of both love and unlove, and always with her face averted in matters of *māna*.

Madhya: *ibid.*, 5.27: she whose passion and modesty are equal, who is of new youth, a little bold in speech, able to experience passion up to the stage of *moha* or infatuation, and who is in *māna* sometimes tender and sometimes harsh.

Pragalbha: *ibid.*, 5.43: who has the full bloom of youth, is blinded by passion, is desirous of infinite enjoyment, is skillful in the arousing of violent passion, is able to control her lover by the *rasa* which she makes him taste, whose words and deeds are expert, and who is very harsh in *māna*.

150. *Prakhara*: one who is proud and vain in speech, and whose opinions cannot be refuted; *mṛdu*: "gentle, sweet"; *samā*: "evenness."

156. Rūpa's UNM [*sakhi-prakaraṇa*] 8.32: *Vamā*: lit., "left"; one who is easy to take offence and quick to take on *māna*, who is wrathful and slow to relax her *māna*, whose *māna* the *nāyaka* is unsuccessful in propitiating, and who seems cruel toward the *nāyaka*. The *vamā-nāyika* has possessive love for Kṛṣṇa; in her other qualities she is excessively sweet and gentle. *Ibid.*, 8.38: *dakṣiṇā*: lit., "right"; she who never quite succeeds in fully taking on *māna*, who uses appropriate words to the *nāyaka* and is quick to praise him. Rather than "he is mine," she thinks "I am his."

who is a mine of the jewels of *prema* and pure bright *rasa*. 158 She is youthful in age, and *samā* by nature, and in the deep *bhava* of her *prema* she is eternally 'vamā.' 159 Because of her *vamā* nature, *māna* is always arising; and because of her *vamā*-ness, a sea of joy rises up in Kṛṣṇa."

Sloka 4. Rūpa Gosvāmin's Ujjvalānīlamanī [*śṛṅgārabheda-prakaraṇa*] 15.102:

Like a snake are the ways of love, by nature crooked; thus *māna* is produced both with and without reason, in young men and women.

160 When he heard this, a sea of *ānanda* swelled up in Prabhu; he said, "Speak on, speak on," and Dāmodara continued, 161 "The *prema* of Rādhā is *adhiruḍha-mahābhava*; it is pure and stainless, like gold melted in ten fires. 162 If she suddenly gains the sight of Kṛṣṇa, she becomes embellished with the ornaments of many *bhavas*. 163 The eight *sāttvika* [*bhavas*], and *harṣa* and the other *vyabhicārī* [*bhavas*]: natural *prema* has twenty *bhavas* as ornaments. 164 There are *kilakiñcita*, *kuṭṭamita*, *vilāsa*, *lalita*, *vibboka*, *moṭṭayita*, *mugdha*, and *cakita*. 165 The limbs of Rādhā are ornamented with these *bhava*-ornaments, and when he sees them a wave of delight rises up in Kṛṣṇa.

166 Now hear a description of the *kilakiñcita-bhava* ornament; for Rādhā, dressed in this ornament, steals the heart of Kṛṣṇa. 167 When seeing Rādhā, Kṛṣṇa wants to touch her: When he blocks her path at the toll station; 168 when coming, he forbids her to pick the flowers; and when in front of her companions he wants to put his hand on her body. 169 In all these situations the *kilakiñcita* arises, and from the very first the *sañcārī-bhava* called *harṣa* is its basic cause.

158. *Madhyamā*: youthful, neither childish nor entirely adult. *Samā*: having a balance of *prakhara* and *mṛdu* (see v. 150 above).

Sloka 4. See 2.8.128.

161. See commentary on 1.4.139, and on 2.23.37.

163. *Sāttvika-bhavas*: tears, trembling, etc.; see commentary on 2.2.62. *Vyabhicārī-bhavas*: the thirty-three *sañcārī-bhavas*: see commentary on 2.8.135. The twenty ornaments as *bhavas*: commentary on 2.8.136. See also 2.19.154-55; and 2.23.31-32.

164. The first six of these are among the ten *bhavas* which are natural; 2.8.136. Rūpa's UNM [*anubhava-prakaraṇa*] 11.65 describes *mugdha* as asking the beloved about things which are well known; the term means "stupified." The same text describes *cakita* as showing fear before the beloved, when there is no need for showing fear. These are all detailed below in vv. 175-89.

167. *Danaghāṭa*: where tolls are collected. The story is that Rādhā was one day taking some *ghī* to Govardhana in preparation for a sacrifice; when Kṛṣṇa heard of this he and his friends ran and set up a toll station on the road which she was taking, and blocking her way, playfully demanded payment from her.

Śloka 5. Rūpa Gosvāmin's Ujjvalantlamanī [anubhāva-prakaraṇa] 11.44:

When, born of delight, pride, desire, tears, smiling, ill-will, fearlessness, and rage, appear all at the same time, this is called *kilakiñcita*.

170 The other seven *bhāvas* come and blend together naturally, and the blending of all eight is *mahābhāva*. 171 Pride, desire, fear, insincere anger, and slight smiling are joined with rage and ill-will; 172 and when the various characteristics of the eight *bhāvas* are joined together, the heart of Kṛṣṇa is satisfied with the taste of it. 173 It is like the sweet *rasāla*, made by blending curd, sugar, *ghi*, honey, pepper, camphor, and cardamom-flavored plum. 174 Seeing the joining of these *bhāvas* in the eyes of Rādhā, he gains a happiness a crore of times greater than union."

Śloka 6. Rūpa Gosvāmin's Ujjvalantlamanī [anubhāva-prakaraṇa] 11.46 [quoting Rūpa Gosvāmin's Dānakelikaumudī 1]:

Stopped by Mādhava on the path, Rādhā glowed with an inward smile, her sprout-like eyelashes glistened with tears in the corners of her eyes, the borders of them red, sprinkled with delight, shrinking a little before him, her eyes like stars looking up softly from beneath their lids; may you be blessed with that sight of her in the *kilakiñcita-bhāva*.

Śloka 7. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's Govindāhlāmṛta 9.18:

Rādhā's eyes, the corners of them the color of dawn, were restless and full of tears, blazing up in *rasa*; her lips were trembling in emotion revealing her feeling, and because of this [*bhāva*] her eyebrows raised archly; she smiled a little; seeing her face thus ornamented with the *kilakiñcita-bhāva*, he gained a delight a crore of times better than union, a delight beyond the power of words to describe.

175 Hearing these things, the heart of Prabhu was delighted, and overcome with happiness he embraced Svarūpa. 176 "Speak now of the signs of the ornaments of the *vilāsa* and other *bhāvas*, by which *bhāvas* Rādhā stole the heart of Govinda." 177 So Svarūpa Gosvāmī began to speak, and listening Prabhu and the *bhaktas* gained much delight. 178 "Rādhā is sitting, or is on her way to Vṛndāvana, when

173. *Elaci*: a kind of plum with cardamom seeds.

176. Cf. v. 164.

suddenly she catches sight of Kṛṣṇa. 179 When she sees him, different *bhāvas* arise, and the name of this array of *bhāvas* is the *vilāsa*-ornament.

Śloka 8. Rūpa Gosvāmin's Ujjvalantlamanī [anubhāva-prakaraṇa] 11.31:

Her gait, her posture, her way of sitting, etc., the movements of her eyes and face, etc., born from association with her beloved—these various things of that time are called *vilāsa*.

180 Modesty, delight, desire, reverence, deviousness, fear—the mingling of so many *bhāvas* makes Rādhā restless.

Śloka 9. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's Govindāhlāmṛta 9.11:

Seeing Kṛṣṇa before her, her gait became faltering and unsteady, and her face, though somewhat covered by her black sari, became distorted, and her star-like eyes widened and dilated and were unsteady; thus possessed of the ornaments of her own *vilāsa*, did she give joy to her beloved.

181 Thus when Rādhā was standing before Kṛṣṇa, his body bent in *tribhaṅga* pose, her eyebrows danced. 182 And in her face and in her eyes arose many *bhāvas*, this *bhāva* of the beloved is called the *lalita*-ornament.

Śloka 10. Rūpa Gosvāmin's Ujjvalantlamanī [anubhāva-prakaraṇa] 11.56:

When the posture of her body and gestures with her brows are graceful, then she is said to be in the *lalita-bhāva*.

183 When Kṛṣṇa sees Rādhā adorned with *lalita*, each longs for union with the other.

Śloka 11. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's Govindāhlāmṛta 9.14:

Her neck bent in modesty, her graceful feet and hips slightly moving, the arch of her restless brows conquering the beauty of the bow of Kandarpa, nurturing in her body the delightful *lalita-bhāva* of *prema* for her beloved, she, because of her love for her beloved, is decorated with the manifestations of *lalita*.

184 Kṛṣṇa, in desire, comes and seizes her by the bodice over her breast, but Rādhā, although inwardly delighted, prevents him from doing so. 185 Outwardly

182. *Lalita*: languidly graceful.

there is feigned anger, but inwardly she is delighted; *kuṭṭamita* is the name of this *bhava*-ornament.

Sloka 12. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Ujjvalantlamanī* [anubhāva-prakaraṇa] 11.49:
Though, when he touches the breasts or lips of his beloved, she is delighted, yet from coquetry, she is outwardly angry as though hurt; she is called *kuṭṭamita* by the wise.

186 She stops his hands, so the desire of Kṛṣṇa is not fulfilled. Inwardly Radha is delighted; outwardly she feigns anger. 187 She is as if pained, and obstructs him abruptly; smiling a little she rebukes Kṛṣṇa.

Sloka 13.

She whose thighs were like the trunks of elephants, not opposed to the lust of Kṛṣṇa, made the pretense of preventing his hands [from touching her], and with her mouth, though enchanted, she abused him with scoldings filled with a sweet smile.

188 Such are all the other *bhava*-ornaments with which Radha is decorated, and steal the heart of Kṛṣṇa. 189 The *līla* of Kṛṣṇa is eternal and cannot be described, [even] by Ananta himself, with his thousand mouths."

190 Śrīnivāsa laughing said, "Hear, Dāmodara: see the vast wealth of my Lakṣmī. 191 The wealth of Vṛndāvana is only flowers and sprouts, hills of earth and peacocks and creepers full of fruits. 192 Jagannātha went to see Vṛndāvana, and when she heard of it the heart of Lakṣmī was saddened. 193 Abandoning all this wealth, why did he go to Vṛndāvana? Lakṣmī has manifested her glory to mock him. 194 Look at your Ṭhakura, he has abandoned all this wealth and gone to the house of flowers in pursuit of leaves and flowers and fruits. 195 Having done this thing, people [still] call him the 'crest jewel of lovers.' Bring and put your own Prabhu before Lakṣmī." 196 So saying, all the *dāstis* of Mahā-lakṣmī tied the followers of Prabhu with their waist-cloths and brought them out. 197 They brought them and made them bow at the feet of Lakṣmī; they took fines of money from them, and humiliated them. 198 They beat the car

190. Svarūpa, in describing the characteristics of the *māna* of Radha and the *gopīs*, has faulted the *māna* of Lakṣmī. Śrīvāsa mocks him.

with sticks, and treated the servants of Jagannātha like thieves. 199 All the servants said, palms pressed together in supplication, "Tomorrow we shall put Jagannātha before you." 200 Then Lakṣmī was satisfied and went to her own house. "The wealth of my Lakṣmī cannot be described in words. 201 Your *gopīs* heat milk and make curd; my Ṭhakuraṇī sits on a jeweled throne." 202 So Śrīvāsa, with his Nārada-nature, joked, and hearing him all the intimate followers of Mahāprabhu laughed.

203 Prabhu said, "Śrīvāsa, you have the nature of Nārada. You like majesty because your Īśvara has glory. 204 Svarūpa Dāmodara here is a pure dweller in Vraja; he knows nothing of pomp, but floats in pure *prema*." 205 Svarūpa said, "Śrīvāsa, listen carefully. You don't consider the [true] wealth of Vṛndāvana. 206 The wealth of Dvārakā or Vaikuṇṭha is not [equal to] one drop of that ocean of wealth which is natural to Vṛndāvana. 207 For Paramapurūṣottama Svayaṁ Bhagavan is that Kṛṣṇa who is the holder of wealth, and Vṛndāvana is his place. 208 The earth there is full of touchstones, it is a place of jewels; and the ornaments for the feet of the female servants are touchstones. 209 Here the forests are naturally filled with wishing trees and creepers, and no one desires any wealth other than fruits and flowers. 210 And there are infinite numbers of wishing-cows wandering from grove to grove, and they give only milk, and no one desires anything else. 211 Here the words of people are naturally like heavenly songs, and their natural gait is as graceful as the dance. 212 Everywhere the water there is like nectar; and there the taste of the glory of *cit* and *ananda* takes physical form. 213 There are many *lakṣmīs*, conquering in qualities Lakṣmī herself; and there the flute of Kṛṣṇa is friend and lover."

Sloka 14. *Brahma Saṁhita* 5.56:

Paramapurūṣa is the lover, and the *Śrīs* are his beloveds; the trees are wishing trees, and the earth is made up of piles of touchstones; the water is nectar, and speech is song; walking is a dance, the flute is the beloved female companion, *cit* and *ananda* the highest glory—and that is to be tasted.

199. If taken literally, this is a false promise; if Jagannātha is still at Sundarācala, the next day would be the sixth, and he will not return to Puri until the ninth day, so "tomorrow" must be interpreted as "soon."

202. Nārada, the sage, was a bit of a gad-fly, with something of a fondness for stirring up trouble.

203. His Īśvara was Lakṣmī, a goddess full of wealth and power. *Aiśvarya*: majesty.

Sloka 15. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [dakṣiṇa-vibhāga, vibhava-lahari]
2.1.173:

In Vṛndāvana, the foot-ornaments on the limbs of the women are touch-stones, the flowers and trees of love are the trees of gods, and the wealth of Vraja is herds of wishing-cows: its wonderful greatness is a sea of delight.

214 When he heard this Śrīnivāsa, overwhelmed with *prema*, danced; he clapped his sides, and roared with laughter. 215 Prabhu, also overcome, listened to the pure *rasa* of Rādhā, and overcome with that *rasa*, he began to dance. 216 Overcome by *rasa*, Prabhu danced, and Svarūpa sang; Prabhu said "bol, bol!" and cocked his ear. 217 Listening to the song of Vraja-*rasa*, *prema* rose up; Prabhu flooded the village of Puruṣottama with *prema*.

218 At the proper time, Lakṣmīdevī went to her own house, and Prabhu danced; it was the third watch. 219 The four groups sang until they were tired, and Mahāprabhu became doubly overcome with *prema*. 220 Overcome with the *prema* of Rādhā, Prabhu became her very image, and Nityānanda, seeing this from a distance, sang praise. 221 Nityānanda, knowing that Prabhu was absorbed in *bhāva*, did not come near, but remained at a little distance. 222 Except for Nityānanda, who [could] restrain Prabhu? The absorption was not dispelled, [though] the *kīrtana* did not continue. 223 By a sign, Svarūpa made known the fatigue of everyone; and seeing the fatigue of his *bhaktas*, Prabhu became externally conscious. 224 With all his *bhaktas*, Prabhu went to the flower-garden, and resting there he took his midday bath.

225 Many offerings of the *prasāda* of Jagannātha came, and many kinds of the *prasāda* of Lakṣmī. 226 In great delight he ate with his followers, and having taken his evening bath, he went to have *darśana* of Jagannātha. 227 Seeing Jagannātha, they danced and sang; and at Narendra he played in the water with his *bhaktas*. 228 He went to the garden and feasted in the grove, and in this way Prabhu played for eight days. 229 On the next day was the *bhītara-vijaya*

Sloka 15. [Both Rādhagovinda Nātha and the Haridāsa Dāsa edition of Rūpa's *BhRS* attribute this verse to Līlāśuka Bilvamaṅgala's *Kṛṣṇakarmāmṛta*; for the source, see Wilson, *The Love of Krishna*, 8-9. TKS]

216. The formulaic injunction "Speak, speak" [the name of Kṛṣṇa].

217. Village: *grāma*.

220. *Āveśa*: overcome, possessed; *mūrti*: image.

223. *Bāhya*: external consciousness.

229. *Bhītara-vijaya*, victorious re-entry, i.e., when Jagannātha is taken back within (*bhītara*) his own temple in Puri.

of Jagannātha, so mounting on his car, Jagannātha went to his own house. 230 Before it, Prabhu with his *bhaktas* danced and sang in highest joy. 231 And again there was the *paṇḍu-vijaya* of Jagannātha, and there the single-strand ropes of silk were torn. 232 The cushions of the *paṇḍu-vijaya* were burst; under the weight of Jagannātha the cotton burst out and blew away. 233 Rāmānanda and Satyarāja Khān were from Kulnāgrama and Prabhu respectfully commanded them. 234 "You undertake to be suppliers of these silken ropes; prepare and bring the ropes here every year." 235 So saying he gave to them the torn ropes, and showing them [he said], "Make them much heavier [than these]." 236 Śeṣa, who serves Bhagavān in his ten ways, takes up residence in these silken ropes." 237 Satyarāja and Rāmānanda Basu, most fortunate, received this command for service with highest joy. 238 And every year with all the *bhaktas* they came to Guṇḍica, bringing silken ropes, with greatest pleasure. 239 Then Jagannātha went and sat on his throne, and Mahāprabhu returned to his house with his *bhaktas*. 240 In this way he showed the [Car] Festival to the *bhaktas*, and with his *bhaktas* he played as in Vṛndāvana. 241 The *hīlas* of Caitanya Prabhu are infinite and without parallel; one could not describe their limit if one had a thousand mouths.

242 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

231. *Paṇḍu-vijaya*, the leading of the image out of or into the temple is described in the previous chapter, 2.13.3-20.

236. I.e., the ropes support Jagannātha as the great serpent Śeṣa supported Nārāyaṇa.

Madhya Līlā
Chapter 15

Sloka 1.

Gaura ate at the house of Śārvabhauma, and propitiating Amogha, who had abused him, revealed clearly his submission to his own *bhaktas*.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and to the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*. 2 And glory to the *bhaktas* who listen to the holy actions of Caitanya, for the wealth of their lives is the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

3 In this way Mahāprabhu with his *bhaktas* remained at Nīlācala, dancing and singing in great delight. 4 At the first opportunity of the day was the *darśana* of Jagannātha, with dancing and song, and obeisance and prostration, and praise. 5 When the *upala* began he went outside; and meeting with Haridāsa, he went to his own house. 6 After coming to his house, he made *nāma-saṅkīrtana* for a time, and Advaita came and performed *pūjā* to Prabhu. 7 With sweet-smelling water he bathed his feet and with scented sandalwood he anointed the body of Prabhu. 8 He put a garland on his neck, and on his head a sprig of *tulasī*, and with palms together he praised him, bowing at this feet. 9 And finally with the objects for *pūjā*—flowers and *tulasī*—Prabhu did *pūjā* to Advaita. 10 Reciting this *mantra*—"Whoever you are I bow to you"—and making noises with his mouth, he laughed at the Ācārya. 11 In this way they made obeisance to one another, and again and again

Sloka 1. [Vāṣya: submission, control; see 1.4.216; 1.7.138; 1.17.71, 81.5; and 2.23.26. TKS]

5. *Upala*: the morning food-offering to Jagannātha. The word literally means "stone" or "jewel"; the food was offered in a jewel-inlaid vessel.

10. *Yohasi sohasi namohastu te*. The noise with the mouth was possibly tapping the cheek with the fingers, as worshipers of Śiva do.

the Ācārya invited Prabhu. 12 The wonderful story of the invitation of the Ācārya has been described in detail by Vṛndāvana Dāsa. 13 So in fear of repetition that has not been described [here]. Other *bhaktas* also invited Prabhu. 14 On different days different *bhaktas* had great festivals in their houses, and all the *bhaktas* ate there with Prabhu. 15 Some cooked food in their own houses, and some brought *prasāda*, and in this way the Vaiṣṇavas invited him. 16 They all remained with Prabhu for four months, and witnessed with great delight various festivals of Jagannātha.

17 In this way, in various pleasant ways, the four month period passed. And Prabhu, dressed as a *gopa*, celebrated the Kṛṣṇa-*janma* Festival. 18 On the day of the Kṛṣṇa-*janma* Festival was the Great Festival of Nanda, and Prabhu and all the *bhaktas* were dressed as *gopas*. 19 They all carried loads of milk and curd on their shoulders, and came to the place of the Great Festival calling out 'Hari, Hari!' 20 Kānāi Khuṭiṣā was dressed as Nanda, and Jagannātha Mahitī was Vrajeśvarī. 21 Prāṭāparudra himself and Kāśī Mīśra, and Śārvabhauma and the temple servant Tulasī, 22 with all these, Prabhu danced in delight, and the bodies of all of them were covered with milk and curd and turmeric water. 23 Advaita said, "Let me speak the truth; do not be angry. If you can twirl the staff, then we shall know that you are a *gopa*." 24 Then taking a staff, Prabhu began to twirl it, again and again he threw it into the air and caught it. 25 Above his head, behind his back, in front of him and on both sides, between his legs he twirled the staff, and the people watching laughed. 26 He twirled it like a wheel of fire, and when they saw it the people were astonished. 27 Nityānanda twirled a staff in the same way, that people would know the depth of the *gopa-bhāva* of them both. 28 At the order of Prāṭāparudra, the temple servant Tulasī

12. CBh 3.10.12-79 [= 3.9 GM ed.]: One day Advaita invited Caitanya to eat. Going home, he himself began to cook the meal, while his wife laid out the utensils and ingredients. In eager anticipation, they were preparing all the things that Caitanya liked best. While he was cooking, Advaita was thinking that Caitanya would probably bring with him all those *saṁnyāsins* who were closest to him, and that if he did that Caitanya would not eat well. He was thinking that it would be good if Caitanya were to come alone. When the time for the midday meal came, Caitanya and the *saṁnyāsins* went to bathe before they ate, and as they were doing so a frightening rain-storm arose, a storm such as no one had ever seen before. In the meantime, Advaita was meditating on Caitanya, and by the power of his meditation Caitanya was drawn to his house. The *saṁnyāsins* who had been with him had scattered in the storm, looking for shelter, and Advaita got his wish and in great delight served Caitanya alone.

17. Kṛṣṇa's birthday, which is celebrated on the eighth day of the dark fortnight of the month Bhādra.

18. The Nandotsava is usually celebrated on the day after the *janmāṣṭami*.

20. Vrajeśvarī: Yaśodā, Kṛṣṇa's foster-mother.

brought a piece of the *prasāda*-clothing of Jagannātha. 29 He tied this priceless cloth on the head of Prabhu, and put it also on Advaita and the rest of the *bhaktas*. 30 Kānāi Khuṭiyā and Jagannātha, these two, absorbed, distributed as much wealth as there was in the house. 31 And seeing this, Mahāprabhu was most delighted, and he made obeisance to them as to his mother and father. 32 So in the deepest absorption Prabhu came to his own house. In this way did Gaurāṅga-sundara act.

33 The day of the conquest of Laṅkā is *vijaya-daśamī*; Prabhu with his *bhaktas* became the army of apes. 34 Prabhu, in the guise of Hanumān, took a branch of a tree and climbed up on the fort of Laṅkā [as if] to break it down. 35 "Where are you, Rāvaṇa?" Prabhu cried in a rage, "the evil one has stolen away the Mother of the World! I shall kill him with all his kin!" 36 Seeing the absorption of Gosvāmī, the people were astonished. And all the people said again and again, "Jaya jaya!"

37 In this way all witnessed the Rāsa Festival, the Dīpāvalī, and the Utthāna-dvadaśī Festival.

38 One day Mahāprabhu was with Nityānanda, the two brothers were sitting together at rest. 39 What the two were speaking of, no one knew; the *bhaktas* guessed it later, [when they saw] the result of it. 40 Then Mahāprabhu had all the *bhaktas* summoned, and he bade them farewell, "All of you go to Gauḍa." 41 Prabhu said to them all, "Return each year and see the Guṇḍica and meet with me." 42 He gave this order, with respect, to the Ācārya, "Give the gift of Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti* to everyone starting with the *caṇḍalas*." 43 And to Nityānanda he gave this command, "Go to Gauḍa and there manifest *prema-bhakti* plentifully. 44 Rāmadāsa, Gadādhara and others will go with you as your helpers. 45 From time to time I shall go to you; remaining unseen, I shall watch your dance."

46 Prabhu embraced Śrīvāsa Paṇḍita; holding him around the neck he said

31. They were playing the parts of Nanda and Yaśodā, Kṛṣṇa's foster parents in the *Vraja-līla*.

33. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* story, Hanumān and the apes assisted Rāma in storming the demon Rāvaṇa's fort on the island of Laṅkā. Hanumān was a leader of the ape-army and a *bhakta* of Rāma. The tenth day of the light fortnight of Āśvina (Sept.-Oct) in Bengal is the last day of the great festival of Durgā *pūjā*, on which the goddess destroys the demon Mahiṣāsura.

36. *Āveśa*: absorption, possession; *vātula*: madman.

37. Dīpāvalī: the festival of lights, celebrated on the day of the new moon in the month of Kārttika; Utthānavadaśī-yātra: the festival of the twelfth day of the light fortnight of Kārttika, the day when Viṣṇu awakes from sleep.

42. *Caṇḍaladi*: everyone starting with the *caṇḍalas*, generally non-caste or low-caste people. It is interesting that he should give this charge to the staunch *brāhmaṇa* Advaita.

sweet words to him, 47 "Every day I shall dance in *kīrtana* at your house. You will see me, but no one else will. 48 Give the cloth to my mother, and all this *prasāda*, and beg her forgiveness for my offences. 49 I left her service and became a *saṁnyāsī*; this is not *dharma*, I have destroyed my own *dharma*. 50 I am controlled by her *prema*, and my *dharma* is her service; yet, acting like a madman, I have abandoned her. 51 The mother of a mad child is not to be blamed; if she knows this, she will think of me happily. 52 What is the purpose in *saṁnyāsa*? My own wealth is *prema*. When I took *saṁnyāsa*, my mind was mad. 53 I am at Nīlācala because of her command, and sometimes I will come to see her feet. 54 I go every day, that I might see her feet; but she does not respect it as real, and considers it imagination. 55 One day [she prepared] *śali* rice with five or six curries, and leafy *śāka*, *mocāghaṇṭa*, fried *paṭola*, and *nimbapāta*, 56 and lime, *adakhāṇḍa*, milk, curd, and sweet *khaṇḍasāra*, and presented these many offerings to the Śalagrama. 57 Taking *prasāda* into her lap she wept, 'All these foods are dear to my Nīmāi; 58 but Nīmāi is not in the house. Who is there to enjoy them? At this thought, my eyes swim with tears.' 59 I went quickly and ate all the food; and when she wiped away her tears, she saw the plate empty. 60 'Who ate this rice and curry? How can the plate be empty? Perhaps it is Balagopāla who has eaten all the rice. 61 Or can my mind have been deceived? Did some animal come and eat the food? 62 Or perhaps I was mistaken, and did not fill the plate with food.' And so thinking, she went to look at the cooking vessel. 63 She saw that all the vessels were full of rice and curry, and seeing this her mind was struck with wonder and doubt. 64 Again she had the place cleansed by Īśāna, and again she offered food to Gopāla. 65 In this way, when she cooked her best, she fed me, anxious and weeping. 66 By her *prema* she brought me and fed

48. The cloth is that which was the cloth of Jagannātha, given him on the *janmāṣṭamī* (ante, v. 28).

50. *Vaśa*: see commentary, *śloka* 1 above.

52. Rādhagovinda Nātha reads two meanings into this verse. The first of course is that *prema-bhakti*, which is Caitanya's end, can be accomplished apart from *saṁnyāsa*. The second is that since Kṛṣṇa's purpose in being Caitanya is to taste the love of Rādhā for him, this could as easily have been accomplished in Navadvīpa, as a householder. The suggestion is that he did not at that time realize fully his *Rādhā-bhāva*; that was revealed to him by Rāmananda, well after he had taken *saṁnyāsa*.

56. Śalagrama: the black stone which is the symbol of Viṣṇu.

60. Balagopāla: we have seen (1.14.7) that there was an image of Balagopāla, the child Kṛṣṇa, in Śaṅkha's house. The child Kṛṣṇa was a mischievous sort, prone to stealing food.

64. Īśāna was the house servant of Śaṅkha.

me; in her heart she was very happy, though outwardly it did not appear so. 67 This took place on *vijaya-daśamī*; ask her of it, and make this known to her."

68 While speaking in this way, Prabhu was very upset; but he was outwardly calm, in order to bid farewell to the people. 69 He said to Raghava Paṇḍita with sweet words, "Because of your pure *prema*, I am bound to you. 70 Hear, everyone, the story of this man's service to Kṛṣṇa; his service is most pure and is of the highest kind. 71 Other offerings aside, hear of his coconut [offerings]. For five *gaṇḍās*, a coconut can be bought anywhere. 72 At his house he has many hundreds of trees, and lakhs and lakhs of fruits. Still, if he hears of a place where there are sweeter coconuts, 73 he gives a price of four *paṇās* each for the fruits and brings them with great care from ten *krośas* distance. 74 Each day he has five or six of the fruits shelled, and immerses them in water to make them cool. 75 At the time of the food offering he would again shell them to look like conchshells, and having made a hole in the end, he would offer them to Kṛṣṇa. 76 Kṛṣṇa would drink the water of those coconuts; sometimes the fruits were empty, and sometimes filled with water. 77 When he saw that the fruits were empty of water, the *paṇḍita* was delighted, and he would break the fruit and fill a pure vessel with the coconut meat. 78 Having offered the meat, he would meditate outside and Kṛṣṇa would eat the coconut meat and leave the vessel empty. 79 Sometimes he ate the meat, and again would fill the vessel with meat; and the faith of the *paṇḍita* grew, as he floated in a sea of *prema*. 80 One day, having prepared ten fruits, his servants brought them to begin the offering. 81 It was not the proper time, and there was a delay, so the servant remained in the door, with the vessel and fruits in his hands. 82 He put his hand on the lintel above the door, and with that hand he touched the fruit, and the *paṇḍita* saw it. 83 The *paṇḍita* said, 'People come and go through that door. And the dust of their feet rises up to the lintel. 84 You put your hand on the lintel and touched the fruit, and the fruit has become unclean, and not fit for Kṛṣṇa.' 85 And so saying he threw the fruit against the wall, and thus with pure service in *prema* he conquered the world. 86 Then he had other coconuts prepared, and caused them, highly purified, to be offered. 87 In this way bananas and mangoes and oranges and jack-fruit, when he heard that they were good in a village

67. *Vijaya-daśamī*: the tenth day of the light fortnight of the month of Āśvina, the last day of the Durgā-pūjā, when the immersion of the image of the goddess takes place. See commentary on v. 33 above.

69. *Vaśa*: see commentary, śloka 1 above.

71. A *gaṇḍā* is four cowries, a unit of monetary measurement.

73. *Paṇā*: twenty *gaṇḍās*. One *krośa* is about two miles.

however distant, 88 he would buy them at a high price and bring them carefully, and having purified them, would give them as offering. 89 And so too with vegetable curries and roots and fruits, and with *ciḍā* and *huḍuma*, and *sandeśa* sweets—all these things. 90 And so with *piṭṭha* and *panā* and cream and cooked rice, of the highest quality and well purified. 91 And he would prepare *kaśandī* and other things of the kind, and perfumes and clothing and ornaments, the best of all these goods. 92 In this way, in *prema*, he offered unequalled service, and the eyes of all the people were refreshed when they saw it."

93 So saying, he embraced Raghava, and in similar ways honored all the *bhaktas*. 94 He said respectfully to Śivananda Sena, "Take good care of Vāsudeva Datta. 95 Such is his great generosity that on whatever day anyone comes he spends lavishly, and there is no end to it. 96 He is a householder and needs an accumulation of goods, for if he has no wealth he cannot support his relatives. 97 The debts and earnings of his house are all in your hands; you be the manager of his house and take care of it. 98 And every year with all my *bhaktas*, you will come, protecting all of them, to the Guṇḍicā."

99 And he said respectfully to those who dwelt in Kulīnagrāma, "Every year you will come to the [Car] Festival, and bring the silken ropes. 100 Guṇarāja Khān wrote the *Śrī Kṛṣṇa Vijaya*, and in it there is a speech of his full of *prema*—101 'Kṛṣṇa the son of Nanda is the lord of my heart'—and because of this one speech I have sold [myself] into the hands of his family. 102 To say nothing of your speech, [even] the dogs of your village, are dear to me; others are far away [in comparison]." 103 Then Rāmananda and Satyarāja Khān made petition at the feet of Prabhu, 104 "We are householders, attached to worldly objects; what should be our *sādhana*? Give us a command from your holy mouth, Prabhu. We pray at your feet." 105 Prabhu replied, "Service of Kṛṣṇa and service of Vaiṣṇavas, and eternally make *saṁkīrtana* with the name of Kṛṣṇa." 106 Satyarāja said, "How shall we recognize Vaiṣṇavas? Tell us, who is a Vaiṣṇava, and who an ordinary man." 107 Prabhu said, "In whose mouth you hear once the name of Kṛṣṇa, he is to be worshiped as the best of all. 108 For by one name of Kṛṣṇa all *papa* is

89. *Ciḍā*: a kind of parched rice; *huḍuma*: unhusked paddy similar to *ciḍā*; *sandeśa* is a sweet made with milk.

100. Guṇarāja Khān's name was Maladhāra Basu; Guṇarāja Khān was the title given him by the ruler of Gauḍa. He had a son named Lakṣmīnātha Basu, whose title was Satyarāja Khān, and Satyarāja had a son named Rāmananda Basu; these two are mentioned below (v. 103) as followers of Caitanya. Rāmananda was in fact a *pada*-writer of considerable skill, and his songs on Caitanya are among the best of their kind. The *Śrī Kṛṣṇa Vijaya* is a Bengali verse version of *BhP* 10 and 11. It was written between 1359 and 1402 AD, well before Caitanya's time.

108. *Papa*: evil, sin, i.e., anything that turns one away from Kṛṣṇa.

destroyed, and the nine kinds of *bhakti* are filled by the name. 109 It is not dependent on *dīkṣā*, or *puraścaryā*, or on the injunctions of the scriptures; at a touch of the tongue, everyone down to *caṇḍālas* is saved. 110 The result of it is the destruction of *saṁsāra*, and the mind being attracted by it, *prema* for Kṛṣṇa is aroused.

Śloka 2. Rūpa Gosvāmin's Padyāvalī 29 [quoting Lakṣmīdhara]:

Attracting those who are pure of heart, driving away all *pāpa*, easy to attain by anyone down to *caṇḍālas*, endowed with the power of *mukti*, this *mantra* of the name of Kṛṣṇa, not by *dīkṣā* and nor by meritorious conduct nor by *puraścaryā*, but by the merest touch of it on the tongue, fulfills.

111 Thus in whose mouth there is one Kṛṣṇa-name, he is a Vaiṣṇava; offer him greatest reverence."

112 And from Khaṇḍa, Mukunda Dāsa, Śrī Raghunandana, and Śrī Narahari—these three leaders were there. 113 Śrī Śaṅkara asked Mukunda Dāsa, "You are the father, and Śrī Raghunandana is your son. 114 Or is Raghunandana the father and you his son? Tell me now certainly that all doubt may be dispelled." 115 Mukunda said, "Raghunandana is my father, and I am his son, of this I am certain. 116 The Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti* of all of us is from Raghunandana; thus Raghu is the father, and I am certain of it." 117 When he heard this, Prabhu said delightedly, "You have spoken truly. He, from whom comes Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti*, is the *guru*." 118 Prabhu then was happy in speaking of the greatness of the *bhaktas*, and he spoke of the greatness of the *bhaktas* as if with five mouths. 119 He said to the *bhaktas*, "Hear of the *prema* of Mukunda, a profound and stainless *prema* like melted gold. 120 Externally he is physician to the king, and serves the king, but who can know the Kṛṣṇa-*prema* in his heart? 121 One day he was on the raised platform of the foreign king, and was carrying on a discourse about medicine before him. 122 At that time there was a large fan made from the tail of a peacock, which a servant had brought and was holding over the head of the king. 123 Seeing the peacock

109. *Dīkṣā*: the *mantra* given by the *guru*. Caitanya says that the name of Kṛṣṇa is a *mantra* which needs no *guru* to give it: it is a *mantra* which can be taken by anyone. *Puraścaryā* is defined by Gopāla Bhaṭṭa in *HBhV* 17.7-9 as the thrice-daily worship of the deity, the daily uttering of the name, daily oblations to ancestors, daily feeding of *brahmanas*, as enjoined by the scriptures (*vidhi*).

117. *BhP* 5.5.18. *Guru* is not only teacher and seer, but "elder."

121. *Mleccha*: foreign; see the commentary to 2.1.158, 186.

123. The peacock's tail is an emblem of Kṛṣṇa, a reminder.

tail, Mukunda was overcome with *prema*, and from the high platform he fell to the earth. 124 The king thought that the royal physician was dead; but himself getting down he brought him back to consciousness. 125 The king said, "Where do you have pain?" Mukunda said, "I do not have any great pain." 126 The king asked, "Mukunda, what caused you to fall?" Mukunda replied, "I have the disease of epilepsy." 127 The king was most wise, and knew all these things, and he knew that Mukunda was one who had knowledge of the great perfection."

128 Raghunandana served in the temple of Kṛṣṇa. At its door was a tank, and on the bank of the tank was a hewn ghat. 129 There was a *kadamba* tree which bloomed throughout the twelve months, and every day there were two flowers for ornaments for Kṛṣṇa. 130 And again he said to Mukunda in sweet words, "Your duty and your *dharma* is the earning of wealth. 131 And the duty of Raghunandana is the service of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, for he has no thought other than the worship of Kṛṣṇa. 132 Narahari, remain with my *bhaktas*; you three men always perform these three duties."

133 Sarvabhauma and Vidyāvacaspati were two brothers, and Gosvāmī said to them, out of his mercy, 134 "In these days, Kṛṣṇa reveals himself as wood and as water; in *darśana* and in bathing is the release of creatures. 135 Śrī Puruṣottama is manifest as Dāru-Brahma, and he who is like Jala-Brahma is manifest as Bhāgrathi. 136 Sarvabhauma, worship Dāru-Brahma; Vacaspati, serve the Jala-Brahma."

137 Then Gaura embraced Murāri Gupta; he spoke of his firm *bhakti*, while the *bhaktas* listened. 138 "Once I tried to tempt him again and again, 'Most sweet, O Gupta, is Vrajendrakumāra, 139 Bhagavān himself, the container of all, the refuge of all, pure, stainless, full of all *prema-rasa*. 140 He is most clever, artful, steadfast, the chief among *rasikas*, a mine of the jewels among the jewels of all pure qualities; 141 his actions are sweet, the *līlā* of Kṛṣṇa is sweet, who performed the *rāsa-līlā* with such art and cleverness. 142 Worship that Kṛṣṇa, take refuge in that Kṛṣṇa; there is no worship in the heart apart from that of Kṛṣṇa.' 143 In this way again and again he listened to my words, and because of my praise his mind was turned a little. 144 He said to me, 'I am your slave.

126. [*Vyādhi* . . . *mrgt*: lit., "the deer's disease," i.e., epilepsy. This is used later by Caitanya to describe his own condition; see 2.18.174. TKS]

134. Wood: the image of Jagannātha; water: the river Gaṅgā.

135. Dāru-Brahma: another name for Jagannātha, signifying the wooden (*dāru*) image of him. Bhāgrathi: the river (*jala* or water in which to bathe) in Bengal considered by some to be a branch of the Gaṅgā, but by Bengalis to be itself the holy and venerated main stream. See *Maharāṣṭra purāṇa*, 32.

I am here to carry out your command, I am not independent.' 145 So saying, he went to his home, and he reflected, into the night, and he thought anxiously about his abandonment of Raghunātha. 146 'How shall I abandon the feet of Raghunātha? Kill me, O Rāma, tonight!' 147 Thus he wept the whole night; he had no peace of mind, and he was awake all the night. 148 In the morning he came and held my feet, and weeping he pleaded with me thus, 149 'I have laid my head at the feet of Raghunātha. I cannot take my head away, there is pain in my heart. 150 If I do not abandon the feet of Śrī Raghunātha, your command is disobeyed, Tell me what I should do. 151 In this situation, give mercy to me, O you who are full of mercy; let me die before you, let this indecision be over.' 152 When I heard this, I was very happy in my mind, and I raised him up and embraced him. 153 'O most perfect Gupta, your faith is very deep; your heart has not been shaken by my words. 154 In just such a way should the love of his servants long for the feet of Prabhu, that even if Prabhu abandons them, they should not leave his feet. 155 To know the firmness of your *bhāva* I have tempted you again and again. 156 You are a servant of Śrī Rāma like the incarnate Hanumān; how could you abandon his lotus feet?' 157 That Murāri Gupta is like my own heart; when I hear of his humility, my heart bursts."

158 Then Prabhu embraced Vāsudeva, and recited his qualities as if he had a thousand mouths. 159 When he heard his own qualities, Datta was very embarrassed in his heart, and he held the feet of Prabhu and begged, 160 "Your *avatāra*, Prabhu, is to save the world. Promise me one boon. 161 Prabhu, you are full of mercy and able to do it with ease, if you want to. 162 I see the unhappiness of creatures, and my heart is torn. Prabhu, place the sin of all creatures on my head. 163 Taking the sins of creatures, make me suffer hell; Prabhu, dispel the illness of the world of all creatures." 164 Hearing this, the heart of Mahāprabhu melted, and with tears in his eyes, and trembling, he began to speak in a broken voice, 165 "For you this is not a wonder, for you are Prahlāda, and upon you is the full grace of Kṛṣṇa. 166 Kṛṣṇa in truth does that which his servants ask, and he does nothing other than fulfill the desires of his servants. 167 If you desire the salvation of the creatures of the Brahmā-world, all will be saved without suffering for sin. 168 Kṛṣṇa is not unable to do it; he possesses all strength. Why should he cause you to suffer the fruits of sin? 169 He for whom

145. Murāri was a worshiper of Rāma (Raghunātha).

156. [Murāri's identity in the eternal *līlā* is Hanumān in Kavikarṇapūra's *GGUD*, v. 91. TKS]

165. Prahlāda also prayed to Nṛsiṃha to save all creatures; *BhP* 7.9.41.

you desire welfare becomes a Vaiṣṇava, and Kṛṣṇa puts all the sins of Vaiṣṇavas far away.

Sloka 3. Brahma Saṁhita 5.54:

He who makes [all things, from] Indragopa to Indra, suffer the results of their own *karma*, but who destroys the results of the *karma* of *bhaktas*, I worship him, that *ādipuruṣa* Govinda.

170 Merely because of your wish, the Brahmā-world will be released; it is no labor at all for Kṛṣṇa to save all things. 171 On a single *udāmbara* fig tree there are crores of fruits, and on the waters of Virajā float a crore of Brahmā-worlds. 172 If one fruit of it falls and is spoiled, the tree does not consider it its own loss. 173 And so if one Brahmā-egg is released, there is no harm at all to the heart of Kṛṣṇa. 174 Vaikuṇṭha and the other places of Kṛṣṇa are infinitely majestic, and they have a moat around them called the Ocean of Cause. 175 On this float the innumerable Brahmā-worlds, with *māyā*; they float on the moat as in a vessel full of mustard seeds. 176 And if a single mustard seed were lost, it would be no great calamity; so Kṛṣṇa would not mind the loss of a single world. 177 And if *māyā* were destroyed, together with all the Brahmā-worlds, still Kṛṣṇa would feel no loss. 178 It would be like the death of a she-goat to a man who was master of a crore of wishing-cows. What is *māyā* to Kṛṣṇa, who is lord with the six divine attributes?"

Sloka 4. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.87.14:

O unconquerable one, glory to you. Destroy the unborn, which is hiding [the *ānanda* and other] qualities [of living creatures both moving and unmoving] with sin; for which reason you are possessed of all majesty, in and by yourself. O manifest of the power of living beings, at that certain time, you were playing with *māyā*, although you were yourself. The *śrutis* prove this of you.

Sloka 3. Indragopa: the name of a tiny, red-colored worm.

171. *Udāmbara*: a kind of fig tree, *Ficus Glomerata*, also called *ḍumura-gācha*, notable for its profusion of fruit. Virajā: the name of the sea of creation.

174. *Aiśvarya*: majestic; *karaṇābdhi*: Ocean of Cause.

175. *Māyā*: see 1.2.85 and commentary.

177. 1.5.49 says: "*māyā-śakti* remains within the sea of causation; but *māyā* cannot enter the sea of causation"; and in v. 175 above, we are told that *māyā* floats on this sea. Radhagovinda Natha: on one shore of the sea of causation is Paravyoma, and on the other shore are the material Brahmā-worlds (lit., Brahmā-eggs). The sea between them is called Virajā. When one looks across the Virajā, it seems as if the Brahmā-worlds are floating on the sea.

179 In this way he described each of the qualities of all the *bhaktas*, and embraced them and bade them all farewell. 180 At separation from Prabhu the *bhaktas* all wept; and the heart of Prabhu was downcast, in separation from the *bhaktas*. 181 Gadādhara Paṇḍita remained beside Prabhu, and Prabhu had him settled in Yameśvara. 182 Purī Gosvāmī, Jagadānanda, Svarūpa Dāmodara, Dāmodara Paṇḍita, Govinda, and Kāśīśvara— 183 with all of these Prabhu remained at Nilācala. And every day in the morning they had *darśana* of Jagannātha.

184 One day Sārvabhauma came to Prabhu, and with palms pressed together made this request, 185 "All the Vaiṣṇavas have returned to Gauḍa, and it is an opportune time to extend an invitation to Prabhu. 186 Now come and dine at my house for a full month." Prabhu replied, "It is not proper; I cannot do it." 187 Sārvabhauma said, "Then eat there for twenty days." Prabhu replied, "This is not the sign of the *dharma* of an ascetic." 188 Sārvabhauma said, "Then come for fifteen days." Prabhu replied, "I shall dine with you one day." 189 Then Sārvabhauma held the feet of Prabhu, and humbly entreated, "Ten days." 190 Prabhu gradually caused this to shrink to five days, and he agreed to dine with him on five days. 191 Then Sārvabhauma implored him, "With you there are ten *saṁnyāsins*. 192 Let Purī Gosvāmī eat at my house five days also. I brought this to your attention long ago. 193 Svarūpa Dāmodara is a friend of mine; sometimes he will come with you, and sometimes alone. 194 The other eight *saṁnyāsins* will come two days each. Thus there will be one person on each day, and the month will be filled up. 195 If many *saṁnyāsins* were to come together, I could not show them proper honor, and I would commit an offence. 196 You will come to my house with your own shadow, and sometimes you will bring Svarūpa Dāmodara with you." 197 Getting a sign of assent from Mahāprabhu, his heart was overjoyed, and he invited Mahāprabhu that very day.

198 The wife of the Bhaṭṭācārya was called "Śaṭhi's Mother," and she was a great *bhakta* of Prabhu, as affectionate as a mother towards him. 199 Coming home, Bhaṭṭācārya gave her instructions, and in delight Śaṭhi's Mother began to cook. 200 The house of the Bhaṭṭācārya was full of all kinds of materials; and those fruits and vegetables which [were not there] he had collected and brought. 201 The Bhaṭṭācārya himself did all the preparations for cooking; Śaṭhi's Mother was learned and skilled in the art of cooking. 202 To the south

186. It is not proper for a *saṁnyāsin* to take food at the house of any one person for an extended period of time.

196. "With your shadow": alone.

198. It is not uncommon to find a woman identified by the name of her child, though that child is more usually a son. [Some MSS read *ṣaṭhi* or *ṣaṣṭhi*, which are variants. TKS]

of the kitchen were two eating rooms. One room was for service and food-offerings to the Śalagrāma. 203 The other room was for feeding Mahāprabhu. [The Bhaṭṭācārya] had built it anew, by himself. 204 There was an outside door through which Prabhu could enter, and there was another door through which to bring the food from the kitchen. 205 There was a round leaf of the thirty-two-cluster-banana, which could hold one hundred ninety-two *tolas* of rice. 206 The rice was soaked with yellow, sweet-smelling *ghī*, and the *ghī* flowed on all four sides of the leaf. 207 There were rows on rows of containers of banana leaves and of *kheya* leaves; these filled with various kinds of curry and placed all around. 208 There were ten kinds of leafy green vegetables, and a liquid preparation of *nimba-sukutā*. There were curries of pepper, and *chānābaḍā*, and *baḍī-ghola*. 209 There were *dugdhatumbī*, *dugdhakuṣmāṇḍa*, *besārī*, *lapharā*, *mocāghaṇṭā*, *mocābhajā*, and various vegetable dishes. 210 There was an unparalleled curry of *br̥ddhakuṣmāṇḍabaḍī*, and *phulbaḍī* and fruits and roots of various kinds. 211 There was brinjal fried with new *nimba*-leaves, and *paṭolbhajā* with *phulbaḍī*, pumpkin, and *mānacakī*. 212 There was *bhṛṣṭamaṣa*, *mudgasūpa*, which put nectar to shame, and *madhurāmla*, and five or six sour dishes like *baḍāmla*. 213 There were very sweet *mudgabaḍā*, *māṣabaḍā*, and banana, and many cakes such as cream-*pulī* and coconut-*pulī*. 214 There were *kāñjibaḍā* and *dugdhaciḍā* and *dugdhalakalakī*, and so many other kinds of cakes that I cannot count them all. 215 There were earthen pots filled with the best rice soaked in *ghī*, and [others] containing *cāmpākālā* and boiled milk and mango. 216 There was *rasālā*, and churned curd, and unequalled *sandeśa* sweets; as many kinds of food as there were in Gauḍa or in Utkalā were there. 217 With great reverence the Bhaṭṭācārya had had all this prepared, and on a new wooden seat he spread a glistening cloth. 218 On both sides he put jars of sweet-smelling, cool water, and he put a sprig of *tulasī* over the rice and curries. 219 And he had brought *amṛtaguṭīkā* and other cakes and things to drink, and he kept separate all the *prasāda* of Jagannātha.

205. See ante, 2.3.39-40 and commentary.

205-19. [For similar lists and explanations of some of the foods being prepared, see 2.14.21-32; 3.6.passim; 3.10.14-38; 3.18.100-103. TKS]

209. *Dugdhatumbī*: a kind of gourd cooked in milk. *Dugdhakuṣmāṇḍa*: pumpkin cooked in milk.

216. Utkalā: modern day Orissa.

218. One jar with water for washing the feet, the other with water for rinsing the mouth after eating.

220 At that time Mahāprabhu had performed his midday ritual, and knowing his heart he came alone. 221 The Bhāṭṭācārya then washed his feet, and brought Prabhu inside the house to feed him. 222 When he saw the rice and other things, Prabhu was astonished, and he said jokingly to Bhāṭṭācārya, 223 "All this rice and curry is out of this world; how did you cook it all within two watches? 224 For if a hundred people cooked on a hundred fireplaces, still they would not be able to prepare so much curry so quickly. 225 And I see that you have offered food to Kṛṣṇa, for on it I see a sprig of *tulasī*. 226 You are blessed, and your efforts are fruitful, that you have made such food-offerings to Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. 227 The fragrance and the color of the rice is most charming, and Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa have eaten of it. 228 You are most blessed, and I praise you greatly. And I too am blessed, for I shall eat the remainder of it. 229 So take this wooden seat of Kṛṣṇa and keep it aside, and give me *prasāda* on a separate leaf." 230 The Bhāṭṭācārya said, "Prabhu, do not be surprised; the food has been prepared by the power of him who will eat. 231 It is not by my effort, nor by the cooking of my wife. By whose power the food has been prepared, he knows that. 232 Sit upon this seat and eat." And Prabhu replied, "This seat of Kṛṣṇa is to be revered." 233 Bhāṭṭā said, "The food and the seat are equally *prasāda*. You will eat the food; where is the offence if you sit upon the seat?" 234 Prabhu said, "You speak well, for this is the command of the *śāstras*, that the *bhakta* taste all that is left by Kṛṣṇa.

Sloka 5. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 11.6.64:

We, your servants, who eat the food left by you, and are adorned with the clothing, ornaments, scents and garlands used by you, thus conquer *māyā*.

235 Still, so much rice cannot be consumed." Bhāṭṭā said, "I know what a capacity for food you have. 236 At Nīlācala you eat fifty-two times, and the rice of each offering is hundreds and hundreds of loads. 237 At Dvārakā at the homes of your sixteen thousand queens, and in the houses of the eighteen mothers and of the Yādavas, 238 and in Vraja in the homes of the *sakhīs*, and the *gopas* and your maternal and paternal uncles you would eat morning and evening. 239 And at the sacrifice of Govardhana you ate heaps and heaps of food, and compared to that this rice is not a handful. 240 For you are Īśvara, and I am a miserable worthless creature; accept this handful of alms from me." 241 Hearing

236. There are fifty-two daily food-offerings to Jagannātha.

239. Bhp 10.24.35; see also above, 2.4.85 and commentary.

this, Prabhu laughed and sat down to eat, and Bhāṭṭā delightedly gave him the *prasāda* of Jagannātha.

242 At that time the son-in-law of Bhāṭṭā, named Amogha, the husband of his daughter Śāṭhī, and one who abused high-born persons, 243 wanted to see him [Caitanya] eat, but was unable to come in. For Bhāṭṭācārya was in the door, with a stick in his hand. 244 But when he was bending over to give *prasāda*, Amogha came in and, seeing the food, began to insult him. 245 "With this food ten or twelve people could be fed, and this single *saṁnyāsin* eats all of it." 246 When Bhāṭṭācārya heard this he looked up, and seeing that he had been noticed, Amogha fled. 247 Bhāṭṭācārya took his stick and ran to beat him, but he could not catch him, for Amogha fled. 248 The Bhāṭṭācārya returned, cursing and abusing him, and hearing this abuse, Mahāprabhu began to laugh. 249 When she heard of it, Śāṭhī's mother struck herself in the breast and head with her hand, and said again and again, "May Śāṭhī be a widow." 250 Seeing the sorrow of them both, Prabhu consoled them, and at their wish he ate the food with pleasure. 251 Bhāṭṭā gave him water to rinse his mouth and wash his face, and a sprig of *tulasī*, and cloves and cardamom and sweet things. 252 And he put on the whole body of Prabhu garlands and sandalwood, and bowing before him he said humbly, 253 "I have brought you to my own house only to have you insulted. O Prabhu, what an offence. Forgive me." 254 Prabhu said, "It is not an insult. He spoke naturally. What is your offence in this?" 255 So saying, Mahāprabhu went to his own house, and the Bhāṭṭācārya went with him there. 256 Falling at the feet of Prabhu, he blamed himself greatly; but Prabhu put him at ease and sent him home.

249. The Sahajiyā text *Vivarta Vilāsa* of Akiñcana Dāsa has an interesting remark on p. 107: "Blessed be the girl Śāṭhī throughout the world, with whom Mahāprabhu performed his secret *sādhana*." Śāṭhī mentioned in this passage, the daughter of Sarvabhauma, seems to be the only Śāṭhī mentioned anywhere in Vaiṣṇava literature. [In the manuscript collection of the Bengali Department at Calcutta University is a MS titled *Caitanya Rasa Kārikā* by Yugalā Kīśora Dāsa (MS 580; n.d.; 9 folios, complete). The text, which has a decidedly Sahajiyā style, discusses the various kinds of love and the discovery of these within each man and woman. It addresses the issue of Caitanya's androgynous dual-incarnation and speaks of the impenetrable and secret nature of Caitanya's activities, often using expressions found in the CC itself and favored by many Sahajiyā texts (e.g., *aprakṛta navīna madana*, etc.). In folio 7.A-B it tells of Śāṭhī preparing a meal for Caitanya, who is immersed in the Rādhā-bhāva. With the upwelling of emotion, Caitanya and Śāṭhī follow their hearts and break Caitanya's vows of celibacy. Upon regaining full external consciousness, the remorseful Caitanya is much distressed, but Śāṭhī reminds him that he is Īśvara and such play (*raṅga*) is most appropriate if it be his wish. The author comments on Caitanya's *saṁnyāsa* at the end of the story: *sarvabhauma grhe yabe seibhāva avirbhāve bāṅge prabhura kapaṭa sanyāsi* (sic); "When in Sarvabhauma's house he manifested this particular bhāva, Prabhu's deceptive (*kapaṭa*) asceticism was destroyed." The text closes with more reflection on the dual incarnation. TKS]

257 Coming home, the Bhāṭṭācārya, with Śaṭhī's mother, blamed himself and said, 258 "If he from whom the abuse of Caitanya Gosvāmī was heard were killed, it would be atonement for the sin. 259 Or if I were to take my own life. But neither is proper, for both are bodies of *brāhmaṇas*. 260 But I shall never look upon the face of that reviler again; he is separated from me, and I shall never take his name. 261 Tell Śaṭhī that she should abandon this fallen one, for when a husband is fallen it is necessary to leave him."

Sloka 6. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 7.11.28:

She who is contented, without desire for material things, industrious, knowledgeable about *dharma*, whose speech is pleasant and truthful, attentive to all things, pure and pleasant, should worship her husband if he be not fallen.

262 That very night Amogha fled away somewhere, and in the morning was very ill with cholera. 263 Hearing that Amogha was dying, the Bhāṭṭācārya said, "The gods are favorable, and have done my work. 264 Such is the result of an offence to *Īśvara*." And so saying he recited two sayings of the *śāstras*:

Sloka 7. Mahābhārata, vana parvan 241.15:

That which we could have done with great effort with elephants, horses, chariots, and foot-soldiers, has been done by the *gandharvas*.

Sloka 8. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.4.46:

A great offence destroys a man's good fortune, the things which he desires, the rewards of *dharma*, his good name, his beauty, and the length of his life.

265 Gopīnāthācārya went to have *darśana* of Prabhu, and Prabhu asked him for news of the Bhāṭṭācārya. 266 The *ācārya* said, "They are both fasting, and Amogha is giving up his life, ill from cholera." 267 Hearing this, Prabhu, full of mercy, ran to him and said to Amogha, putting his hand on his chest, 268 "This is the heart of a *brāhmaṇa*, stainless by its nature, a proper place for Kṛṣṇa to dwell. 269 Why have you placed in it the *caṇḍala* of envy? Why have you made a place of highest purity impure? 270 Because of your association with Sārvabhauma, the impurity has been decreased. If they would wipe away impurity, creatures take the name of Kṛṣṇa. 271 Rise up, Amogha. Speak the name

Sloka 8. See 2.25.31.15.

of Kṛṣṇa, and soon Bhagavān will shed his grace on you." 272 When he heard this, Amogha got up, saying "Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa!" and drunken with the madness of *prema* he began to dance. 273 He was weeping and trembling, and had goose-flesh, and was sweating and in a stupor, and was breathing brokenly; seeing his wave of *prema*, Prabhu smiled. 274 Holding the feet of Prabhu he entreated him, "Forgive my offence, O Prabhu full of mercy. 275 With this foul mouth I vilified you." And so saying he began to slap himself on the cheeks. 276 Slapping them, his cheeks became reddened, and Gopīnāthācārya held his hand and restrained him. 277 Prabhu also consoled him, touching his body, "Because of your relationship with Sārvabhauma, you are a vessel for my love. 278 The men and women servants in the house of Sārvabhauma, the dogs in it, are far more dear to me than are other people. 279 The offence is no more; always take the name of Kṛṣṇa." And so saying, Prabhu went to the place of Sārvabhauma.

280 When Sārvabhauma saw Prabhu, he held his feet, and Prabhu embraced him and sat upon a seat. 281 Prabhu said, "Amogha is a child. What can be his fault? Why do you fast? Why are you angry at him? 282 Rise up, and bathe, and look upon the face of Jagannātha. Quickly come and eat, and then I will be happy. 283 I shall stay sitting here till then, when you have brought and eaten *prasāda* here." 284 Holding the feet of Prabhu, Bhāṭṭa began to say, "Amogha should have died. Why did you give him life?" 285 Prabhu replied, "Amogha is your son. A father does not mind the faults of his son, but is his protector. 286 Now he has become a Vaiṣṇava, and his offence has disappeared. Now be gracious to him." 287 Bhāṭṭa said, "Prabhu, let us go to have *darśana* of *Īśvara*. I shall come when I have bathed." 288 Prabhu said, "Gopīnātha will remain here. When he has taken the *prasāda*, give me the news." 289 So saying, Prabhu went to have *darśana* of *Īśvara*, and Bhāṭṭa bathed, and had *darśana*, and ate. 290 Amogha became a singular *bhakta* of Prabhu; he danced in *prema*, and took the name of Kṛṣṇa, and was greatly at peace.

291 Such was the wonderful *līlā* of the son of Śaṭi, and the minds of those who saw and heard it were struck with wonder. 292 And such was his "food episode" in the house of Bhāṭṭa, and in the course of it he manifested many wonderful deeds. 293 This "food episode" took place in the house of Sārvabhauma, and his *prema* for Sārvabhauma became famous, 294 and so too the *prema* of Śaṭhī's Mother, and the grace of Prabhu, and his relations with his *bhaktas*, by which offences are forgiven. 295 Those who hear this *līlā* with faith, in a brief time gain the feet of Caitanya.

296 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

Madhya Līlā
Chapter 16

Sloka 1.

The Gaura-cloud, sprinkling the gardens of Gauḍa with the nectar of his own brilliance, revived those creepers—all people who were withered in the fire of *saṁsāra*.

1 Glory, glory to Gauracandra, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra, glory to the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*.

2 Prabhu had a desire to go to Vṛndāvana, and when he heard it, Pratāparudra was disturbed. 3 So bringing Śarvabhauma and Rāmananda, these two, the king spoke to them in humble words, 4 "Prabhu has a mind to leave Nīlādri and go elsewhere; turn your attention to keeping him here. 5 Without him, this kingdom would be nothing to me; try in every way to keep Gosvāmī here." 6 When Prabhu consulted these two, Rāmananda and Śarvabhauma, about going to Vṛndāvana, 7 both said, "Have *darśana* of the Car Festival; when Kārttika comes, then go." 8 When Kārttika came they said, "This month is cold. When you have seen the Swing Festival, then go; this would be the proper way." 9 In various ways "today, tomorrow" arguments arose, and they did not give their consent, for fear of separation. 10 And even though Prabhu was free from any restraint, and nothing could stop him, he could not leave against the wishes of his *bhaktas*.

11 In the third year, all the *bhaktas* of Gauḍa thought to go together to Nīlācala. 12 They gathered together and went to Advaita Ācārya, and with the Ācārya went in delight to see Prabhu. 13 Even though it was the command of Prabhu to stay at Gauḍa, Nityānanda, to manifest his *prema-bhakti* to Prabhu, 14 also went to see Mahāprabhu; who can understand the working of the *prema*

7. Kārttika: the Bengali month that falls in October-November.

of Nityānanda? 15 Ācāryaratna, Vidyānidhi, Śrīvāsa, and Rāmāi, and Vāsudeva, Murāri, and Govinda, these three brothers, 16 and Raghava Paṇḍita, having prepared his own baskets, and the people of Kulīnagrāma, with the silken rope, went. 17 And those who lived at Khaṇḍa, Narahari and Śrī Raghunandana, all the *bhaktas* went, and who could count them? 18 Śivānanda Sena made arrangements for the road tolls, and taking care of everyone, he transported them in peace and happiness. 19 He made all arrangements for everyone, and found them places to stay, for Śivānanda knew well the road to Orissa. 20 That year all the women went to see Prabhu, and the mother of Acyūta went with the Ācārya. 21 Malinī went with Śrīvāsa Paṇḍita, and Śivānanda took his wife. 22 Śivānanda had a son, named Caitanya Dāsa, and he went joyfully to see Prabhu. 23 Ācāryaratna's wife went with Ācārya; I am unable to describe her *prema*. 24 All these women, to give alms to Mahāprabhu, took various beloved articles from their own houses for him. 25 Śivānanda Sena made the arrangements for them all; as steward of the pilgrims, he cared for them, and arranged places for them all to stay. 26 He provided food for them all and in every way cared for them, and in greatest joy they went to have *darśana* of Prabhu.

27 Coming to Remuṇā they had *darśana* of Gopinātha, and there Ācārya danced and sang. 28 Nityānanda was acquainted with all the servants [of Gopinātha]; and these servants coming there showed his great esteem. 29 All the *mahāntas* remained there for that night, and the servants brought twelve [pots of] creamy *kṣīra* to them. 30 Prabhu Nityānanda distributed the *kṣīra* to everyone, and the joy of all grew as they received the *kṣīra-prasāda*. 31 The story of Mādhava Purī and the establishment of Gopāla [was told]—how Gopāla begged sandalwood of him, 32 and how for him Gopinātha stole *kṣīra*—this he heard previously from the mouth of Mahāprabhu. 33 This story Nityānanda told to them, and when he heard it the joy grew in the mind of the Ācārya. 34 In this way they moved on, and came to Kaṭaka; they remained there that day and saw Sakṣigopāla. 35 And Nityānanda told the story of Sakṣigopāla, and when they heard it, joy grew in the minds of the Vaiṣṇavas. 36 In their hearts they were all anxious to meet Prabhu, so quickly they came to Śrī Nīlācala. 37 The

16. See 2.14.234.

20. Women: *ṭhakuraṇī*. "The mother of Acyūta" is Advaita's wife, Sita.

25. *Ghaṭiyāla*: steward, one who paid the tolls at the ghats.

28-32. See ante, 2.4 for the story of the *kṣīra*.

33. Mādhavendra Purī was the *dīkṣa-guru* of Advaita; hearing a story which glorified his *guru* pleased him.

34-35. See ante, 2.5 for the story of Sakṣigopāla.

Gosvāmī having heard that they had come to Ātharānala, sent two garlands in the hands of Govinda. 38 The two garlands Govinda placed on two men, and Advaita and the Avadhūta Gosvāmī were very happy. 39 There they began the *Kṛṣṇa-saṁkīrtana*, and they moved forward, the two men dancing. 40 Again Śacīnandana dispatched Svarūpa and others of his own people with garlands, sending them ahead. 41 Coming to Narendra, they met them there, and then put the garlands sent by Mahāprabhu on them all. 42 Gaura Rāya, hearing that they approached the lion gate, came himself and met them. 43 He took them to have *darśana* of Jagannātha, and again came with them to his own place. 44 Vāṇīnātha and Kāśī Mīśra brought *prasāda*, and Prabhu fed the *prasāda* to them all with his own hands. 45 And he sent them to rest in the houses in which they had dwelt the previous year. 46 In this way the *bhaktas* remained for four months, having joy in *kīrtana* with Prabhu.

47 As before, when the time of the Car Festival came, with all [the *bhaktas*] he washed the Guṇḍīcā temple. 48 The dwellers in Kulnagrāma presented their rope of silk to Jagannātha, and as before danced and sang before the car. 49 And after much dancing again they went to the garden, and rested there on the banks of the pool. 50 There was a Rādhī *brāhmaṇa* there, a servant of Nityānanda, a most fortunate man, whose name was Kṛṣṇadāsa. 51 He filled pots with water and bathed Prabhu; and with this washing Prabhu was greatly pleased. 52 Much *prasāda* of the *balagaṇḍī-bhoga* was brought, and Mahāprabhu ate the *prasāda* with them. 53 As they had the year before, they had *darśana* of the Car Festival; and he watched the Horā-pāñcamī Festival with his *bhaktas*. 54 How Ācārya Gosvāmī sent an invitation to Prabhu, and how the rain-storm came in the course of it 55 has been detailed in full by Vṛndāvana Dāsa. Śrīvāsa also sent an invitation to Prabhu. 56 And Malinī cooked all the curries of which he was fond. She was a servant profound in her *bhakti*, and in her affection [toward him] like a mother. 57 Ācāryaratna and the rest of the chief *bhaktas*, from time to time sent invitations to Prabhu.

58 At the end of the four months of the rainy season again he consulted with Nityānanda, sitting always apart [from the others]. 59 Prabhu spoke to the

38. Avadhūta Gosvāmī: Nityānanda.

51. *Abhiṣeka kaila*: bathed, the term used when bathing the image of a deity in preparation for *pūja*.

52. See ante, 2.14.23-33.

54. See ante, 2.15.12 commentary.

58. And no one knows what they talked about. Rādhāgovinda Nātha speculates that Caitanya was speaking with Nityānanda about his marriage; he had not yet taken that drastic step; see PHM, 49.

Ācārya Gosvāmī with signs; the Ācārya recited riddles, and no one could understand. 60 Looking at his face, the son of Śacī laughed; and knowing his acquiescence, the Ācārya danced. 61 What was the request, or what the command, no one knew. Embracing him, Prabhu bade him farewell. 62 Prabhu said to Nityānanda, "Hear me, Śrīpāda, this I ask of you. Be gracious. 63 Do not come to Nilācala each rainy season. But remain at Gauḍa and fulfill my desires. 64 I see no one else who can complete my work there. It is difficult, but by you it will come to pass." 65 Nityānanda replied, "I am the body and you are the breath; the body and its breath are not separate, and this is proof of that. 66 By unknowable power you cause things to occur; what you would have me do, I do, and there is no restriction." 67 Prabhu embraced him and bade him farewell, and in this way he bade farewell to all the *bhaktas*. 68 And as before the men of Kulnagrāma made supplication, "Prabhu, tell me what my *sādhana* and duty should be." 69 Prabhu replied, "Service of Vaiṣṇavas and *nāma-saṁkīrtana*: do these things, and you will quickly gain the feet of Śrī Kṛṣṇa." 70 They replied, "Who are Vaiṣṇavas, what are the signs of them?" And Prabhu knew what was in their minds, and smiled and said, 71 "In whose mouth is always the name of Kṛṣṇa, he is the best of Vaiṣṇavas; worship at his feet." 72 They asked the same question again and again at the end of each rainy season, and Prabhu taught them the distinctions among Vaiṣṇavas, 73 "At the sight of whom the name of Kṛṣṇa comes into the mouth, know him to be best among Vaiṣṇavas." 74 And gradually Prabhu explained the signs of Vaiṣṇavas, "There are Vaiṣṇavas, and better Vaiṣṇavas, and superior Vaiṣṇavas." 75 And so all the Vaiṣṇavas returned to Gauḍa, and that year Vidyānidhi remained at Nilādri. 76 He was a beloved friend of Svarūpa, and the two of them stayed in one place and talked together of Kṛṣṇa. 77 And there he again gave a *mantra* to Gadādhara Paṇḍita, and watched the festival on the day of *oḍani-śaṣṭhī*. 78 At that time Jagannātha wore a stained cloth, and when he saw it the heart of Vidyānidhi was filled with

68. Ante 2.15.104.

74. Rādhāgovinda Nātha: one in whose mouth the name of Kṛṣṇa is heard once is a Vaiṣṇava; one who takes the name of Kṛṣṇa incessantly is a better Vaiṣṇava; and at the sight of whom the name of Kṛṣṇa comes into one's own mouth, he is a superior Vaiṣṇava.

75. Puṇḍarīka Vidyānidhi, the *dikṣa-guru* of Gadādhara Paṇḍita.

77. CBh 3.10.23 [= 3.11 GM ed.] tells us that because Gadādhara had revealed his *iṣṭa-mantra* to someone, his *iṣṭa-devatā* no longer appeared to him. Therefore he asked Vidyānidhi to give him another *iṣṭa-mantra*. *Oḍani-śaṣṭhī*: the sixth day of the bright fortnight of Agrahāyaṇa (November-December), at which time Jagannātha is given cool new clothes.

78. The new clothing which was given to Jagannātha was soiled.

disgust. 79 That night Jagannātha and Balai came; and the two brothers slapped him, laughing and laughing. 80 His cheeks swelled up, but the Ācārya was happy in his heart, as Vṛndāvana Dāsa has told in detail.

81 In this way the *bhaktas* of Gauḍa came every year, and stayed with Prabhu and had *darśana* of the festival. 82 In some years the rainy season was special; later on I shall tell of those incidents in detail. 83 In this way Mahāprabhu passed four years, and it took two years to come and go on his journey to the south. 84 He wanted to go for two years to Vṛndāvana, but was not able to go, stayed by the hand of Rāmananda. 85 In the fifth year the *bhaktas* of Gauḍa came, but having seen the car they did not stay, but returned to Gauḍa. 86 Then Prabhu, in the place of Sarvabhauma and Rāmananda, embraced them and said in sweet words, 87 "I am very anxious to go to Vṛndāvana, but did not go these two years because you forbade me. 88 But I certainly must go, and both of you must agree, for apart from you both I have no other recourse. 89 In Gauḍa I have two objects of reverence: my mother and the Jāhnavī—these two, full of mercy. 90 So I shall go through the Gauḍa country, to see them. Both of you be gracious, and give me your consent." 91 When they heard, both considered the words of Prabhu, and thought that it was not good to put obstructions in his way. 92 And they both said, "Now it is the rainy season, and you will not be able to travel. When *vijaya-daśamī* comes, then certainly you shall go."

93 So Mahāprabhu passed the rainy season in delight, and on the day of *vijaya-daśamī* he started on his journey. 94 As much of the *prasāda* of Jagannātha as he had gotten, sandalwood which had been offered as *prasāda*, and silken rope—all these Prabhu took with him. 95 Requesting permission of Jagannātha, he left in the morning. The Oḍiyā *bhaktas* followed behind him; 96 but gently Prabhu dissuaded them; and he came with his own *bhaktas* to Bhavānī-pura. 97 Rāmananda came behind him, riding in a palanquin and Vāṇīnātha sent him much *prasāda*. 98 He remained there and ate the *prasāda*, and in the morning Prabhu journeyed on to Bhuvaneśvara. 99 He came to Kaṭaka and there had *darśana* of Gopāla, and the *brāhmaṇa* Svapneśvara invited Prabhu.

79. CBh 3.11.126-130 [= 3.10 GM ed.]. In the night, Jagannātha and Balarāma came to Vidyānidhi in a dream, and angry because the clothing was stained, began to slap the face of Vidyānidhi, Jagannātha one cheek and Balarāma the other. The cheeks swelled up, and even the next morning the swelling and marks of the fingers remained. Svartpa Dāmodara himself, says Vṛndāvana Dāsa, was witness to this.

89. Jāhnavī is another name for the Gaṅgā.

92. See ante 2.15.33 commentary and 2.15.67.

96. Bhavānīpura is a place about twelve miles from Puri.

100 Rāmananda Raya invited all his followers, and Prabhu came and stayed in an outside garden. 101 When he had eaten, he rested under a *vakula* tree; and Raya made a trip to see Pratāparudra. 102 When he heard, the king was overjoyed, and quickly came, and when he saw Prabhu he fell to the ground in obeisance. 103 Again he rose, and again fell, overcome with love; he praised him, his body filled with gooseflesh, and tears flowed from his eyes. 104 When he saw his devotion, the heart of Prabhu was delighted, and Mahāprabhu raised him and embraced him. 105 The king bowed again and praised him, and his body was bathed with the tears of the mercy of Prabhu. 106 When he was again calm, Rāmananda seated the king, and Prabhu granted him grace with speech and mind and body. 107 Thus Gauradhāma manifested his mercy to him, and because of this he has the name "Savior of Pratāparudra." 108 The ministers of the king made obeisance to Prabhu, and the son of Śacī bade the king farewell. 109 Going outside, the king caused letters to be written, and he sent them to all the wealthy people in his own kingdom, 110 "You will make new houses in each of your own villages, and you will fill five or seven new houses with goods. 111 You yourselves will take Prabhu there; day and night you will remain at his service, with staffs in your hands." 112 There were two chief ministers, Haricandana and Marddarāja, and the king commanded them, "Do all these things. 113 Bring a new boat and moor it on the bank of the river. After he has bathed Prabhu will cross the river in it. 114 Erect a pillar there, making it a great pilgrimage place. I shall bathe there every day. And [I hope] that I may die there. 115 Build the best of new houses at Caturdvāra. Rāmananda, go be with Mahāprabhu." 116 The king heard that Prabhu would depart in the evening. He told the women to climb into tents on the backs of elephants. 117 And they stood in rows along the path that Prabhu would take. And in the evening Prabhu departed, taking his own people.

118 Coming to the Citrotpalā River, he bathed at the ghat; and when they saw him, all the queens bowed in respect. 119 At the sight of Prabhu, all were filled with *prema*, and they said "Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa," with tears flowing from their eyes. 120 "I have never heard of such a merciful one in all the three worlds; at

101. Kaṭaka (Cuttack) was Pratāparudra's capital.

106. By speaking soothing words to him, calming his mind, and touching or embracing his body.

107. Gauradhāma: see commentary to 1.17.85.

116. The women of the king's family could not of course be seen, so the king had them placed in howdahs, screened with cloth tents, on the backs of his elephants.

120. Cf. BhP 10.40.

the sight of him from the distance one becomes a woman in love with Kṛṣṇa." 121 Boarding the boat, Prabhu crossed the river; and as the night was filled with stars, he moved on to Caturdvāra. 122 He stayed there the night, and in the morning he bathed and performed morning ritual, and at that time *mahāprasāda* came from Jagannātha. 123 By order of the king the temple servants sent it every day—much *prasāda* was brought by many people. 124 Prabhu ate the *prasāda* with his own people, and getting up Prabhu started off, saying "Hari, Hari!"

125 Rāmananda, Marḍdarāja, and Śrī Haricandana, these three went with him and served him. 126 And with Prabhu were Pūrī Gosvāmī and Svarūpa Dāmodara, Jagadānanda, Mukunda, Govinda and Kāśīśvara. 127 And Haridāsa Ṭhākura was there, and Vakreśvara Paṇḍita, and Gopināthacārya, and Dāmodara Paṇḍita. 128 And Rāmāi and Nandāi and many *bhaktas*; the chief among them have been mentioned; who could count them all?

129 When Gadādhara Paṇḍita went with him, Prabhu forbade him, "Do not abandon your Kṣetra-*saṁnyāsa*." 130 The Paṇḍita replied, "Where you are, there is Nīlācala. Let my Kṣetra-*saṁnyāsa* go to hell." 131 Prabhu said, "Stay here and serve Gopinātha." And Paṇḍita replied, "A crore of services is the sight of your feet." 132 Prabhu said, "If you abandon your service, the fault will accrue to me; stay on here and keep on with your service, and I will be happy." 133 Paṇḍita replied, "All faults are on me; and if I do not go with you, I shall go alone. 134 I shall go to see the Mother, I shall not go for your sake. And the fault of abandoning service and vows—I am responsible for it." 135 So saying, the Paṇḍita went separately; and when he arrived at Kāṭaka, Prabhu brought him along with him. 136 The *prema* which the Paṇḍita had for Caitanya cannot be understood. For he broke his promise of service to Śrī Kṛṣṇa like a blade of grass. 137 Prabhu was delighted in his heart at his actions, and taking him by the hand he said with false anger, 138. "To leave your vows and service—that was your intention, and you have brought it about; you have abandoned them and come to a distant country. 139 You want to remain with me: you desire your own satisfaction. But your two *dharma*s are destroyed, and this is

129. Gadādhara had evidently taken a vow to live at Pūrī for the rest of his life.

130. The translation is literal: *paṇḍita kahe yaha tumi sei nīlācala / kṣetrasaṁnyāsa mora yāuka vasatāla* //

134. Āi: the Mother, Sacī.

137. [Gadādhara's unpredictable and contrary actions are consistent with those of the headstrong and utterly devoted Rādhā, or one of the *gopīs*, with whom he is identified in the prior *līlā*; see Kavikarṇapūra's *GGUD* 10-11, 146-55. TKS]

139. His vow to live at Pūrī and his vow to serve Gopinātha.

sorrow to me. 140 If you want my happiness, go to Nīlācala. This is my oath—say nothing more." 141 So saying, Mahāprabhu boarded the boat; Paṇḍita fainted and fell down there. 142 He gave instructions to Sārvaśhauma to take the Paṇḍita and go, and Bhaṭṭācārya said, "Rise up; such is the *līlā* of Prabhu. 143 You know that Kṛṣṇa himself broke his word, and controlled by grace to his *bhakta*, kept the word of Bhīṣma.

Śloka 2. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 1.9.37:

He who was standing in the chariot, abandoning his own determination, in order to execute his promise to me, descended [from the chariot] with the discus in hand, and like a lion toward an elephant dashed toward me; the earth trembled at his steps and the upper cloth was loosened [from his body].

144 In this way Prabhu is enduring separation from you, and has taken care to preserve your vow." 145 Speaking in this way he consoled him, and the two in grief and sorrow returned to Nīlācala. 146 *Bhaktas* abandon *dharma* and *karma* for the sake of Prabhu; Prabhu cannot endure *bhaktas* bereft of *dharma*. 147 Those who hear this variety of *prema* are soon joined to the feet of Caitanya.

148 When they reached Yājapura, Prabhu bade farewell to the two royal ministers who were with him. 149 Prabhu bade farewell to Rāya also, but he went with him, and Prabhu spent days and nights with Rāmananda in speaking of Kṛṣṇa. 150 In each village, because of the order of the king, the servants of the king served him with various goods in new houses. 151 And in this way Prabhu came to Remuṇā, and at that place he took his leave of Rāmananda Rāya. 152 Rāya fell on the earth unconscious, and Prabhu took Rāya into his lap and wept. 153 The story of the parting with Rāya cannot be told; I cannot describe it fully.

154 So Prabhu came to the border of Odradeśa, and there the *adhikārī* of the king met him. 155 For two or four days he served him there; and before

143. Kṛṣṇa had taken a vow that he would not take up arms in the war at Kurukṣetra. And Bhīṣma had vowed that he would make Kṛṣṇa take arms. Arjuna was wounded by Bhīṣma's arrows, and Kṛṣṇa ran toward Bhīṣma, the discus in his hand; Kṛṣṇa had broken his promise, and Bhīṣma kept his. Bhīṣma was a *bhakta* of Kṛṣṇa, it is said, and in order that the word of a *bhakta* might be made good, Kṛṣṇa broke his own. *Vaśa*: control; see 1.4.216; 1.7.138; 1.17.71, *śl*5; 2.23.26.

147. *Vivarta*: variety. The term can also mean "reverse," in this sense: that true *prema* would seek only the satisfaction of Caitanya; Gadādhara's did not.

154. Odradeśa: Orissa. The *adhikārī* would be the king's administrator in that region.

[Prabhu] went further, he advised him in this way, 156 "The lands ahead are those of a drunken Yavana king, and for fear of him no one goes along the path. 157 He controls all the lands up to Pichalada, and for fear of him no one can cross the river. 158 Stay here a few days, let me make an agreement with him; then I will arrange that you proceed by boat in peace." 159 At that time there was a spy of that Yavana; disguised as an Oḍiyā he had come to Kaṭaka. 160 When he saw the wonderful actions of Prabhu, that Hindu spy went to the Yavana and said, 161 "A *saṁnyāsin* has come from Jagannātha, and many perfected men are with him. 162 All of them are constantly singing *Kṛṣṇa-saṁkīrtana*, and they all laugh and dance and sing and weep. 163 Lakhs and lakhs of people go to see him, and when they see him they are not able to go home again. 164 All those people are as if mad; saying 'Kṛṣṇa' they dance and weep and roll around on the ground. 165 It cannot be described, but if you saw it you would know; in his own true nature I revere him as *Īśvara*." 166 So saying, that spy sang "Hari Kṛṣṇa," and laughed and wept and danced and sang as if mad.

167 When he heard this the heart of the Yavana was turned, and he sent his own faithful man to Prabhu. 168 The faithful servant came and bowed to the feet of Prabhu, and overcome with *prema* said "Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa." 169 When he had recovered himself, he bowed and said to the Oḍiyā, "The *mleccha* lord has sent me to you. 170 If you give permission, the Yavana lord will come here to meet Prabhu. 171 He is very anxious, and entreats you humbly. This is his treaty with you; have no fear of war." 172 When he heard this, the minister was astonished. Who could bring the mind of a drunken Yavana to this? 173 Mahāprabhu himself caused his mind to change, who saves the world by his *darśana* and the sound of his voice. 174 So saying, he said to the faithful servant, "He is most fortunate; let him come and have *darśana* of Prabhu. 175 We will trust him if he comes unarmed; so let him come, bringing five or seven

156. Yavana: foreign, foreigner, often a synonym for Muslim; see the commentary to 2.1.158.

157. The river referred to is the Mantreśvara River.

159. Or "in disguise, he came to Kaṭaka in Orissa."

160. This is an early and rare use of the term "Hindu" in Bengali and in this passage at least may mean "non-Muslim" rather than to designate a follower of a definable doctrine, as there is no further specification. The text is: *hindu cara kahe sei yavana paśa giya //*. See also vv. 179-80 below.

164-66. *Baulera prāya*: as if mad.

169. The Oḍiyā: the *adhikārī* mentioned above; *mleccha*: foreigner, barbarian; see commentary to 2.15.186 above.

servants with him." 176 So the faithful servant went and told him all, and the Yavana donned the dress of a Hindu and came. 177 Seeing Prabhu from a distance he fell to the earth; falling prostrate he wept, with gooseflesh on his body. 178 The minister brought him forward respectfully, and with palms pressed together he took the name of Kṛṣṇa before Prabhu. 179 "Why was my birth in a low Yavana family? Why did not fate cause me to be born in a Hindu family? 180 If I were a Hindu I could gain the wealth of the proximity of your feet. This body of mine is useless; let my life go." 181 When he heard this the minister was overcome, and holding the feet of Prabhu he praised him, 182 "At the hearing of whose holy name a *caṇḍāla* is purified, this *jīva* has gained the sight of such as you. 183 What is there astonishing in what has happened to this man, for such is the power of the sight of you."

Śloka 3. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 3.33.6:

O Bhagavān, when at any time by singing and hearing sung your name, or meditating on it even dog-eaters can be worthy [to offer] sacrifice, how much more [is gained] by seeing you?

184 Then Mahāprabhu looked with mercy on him, and encouraging him he said, "Say Kṛṣṇa-Hari." 185 And he said, "If you agree, give me the command that I serve you. 186 I have harmed innumerable cows and *brāhmaṇas* and Vaiṣṇavas; let me be released from that sin." 187 Then Mukunda Datta said, "Listen, sir, Mahāprabhu wants to go to the bank of the Gaṅgā. 188 Give him your help in going there. This is an important command, and that will be a great service." 189 Then he bowed to the feet of Mahāprabhu, and bowed to the feet of all of them and went in delight. 190 He and the minister then embraced each other; exchanging many gifts they became friends.

191 In the morning he prepared many boats, and he sent his faithful servant to bring Prabhu. 192 The minister went there with Mahāprabhu, and the *mleccha* came and made obeisance to Prabhu's feet. 193 There was a new boat with a cabin in the middle, and Prabhu with his own people boarded it. 194 Mahāprabhu bade farewell to the minister, who remained watching and weeping on the bank. 195 Because of fear of pirates the Yavana also went, and brought with him ten boats filled with soldiers. 196 They crossed the dangerous Mantreśvara River, and the Yavana went with them up to Pichalada. 197 At that

176. *Hindubeśa dhari sei yavana āila //*.

Śloka 3. See 2.18.śl.10.

village Prabhu bade him farewell, and I cannot describe his actions and *prema* at that time. 198 Such was the unworldly *līlā* of Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, and he who hears it is blessed in body and in birth.

199 Again boarding the boat, Prabhu came to Panthāṭṭ; and he gave the boatman the blessing of his own clothing to wear. 200 There was a great tumult of people saying "Prabhu has come," and people covered everything—water and land. 201 Rāghava Paṇḍita came to take Prabhu, and while they were going along the path there was a great crowd of people, and they proceeded with great difficulty. 202 For one day Prabhu made his dwelling there, and in the morning left for Kumārahaṭṭa, where Śrīnivāsa was. 203 From there he proceeded to the house of Śivānanda, and afterwards Īśvara came to the house of Vāsudeva. 204 In that way Prabhu stayed in the house of Vācaspati, and because of fear of the crowds of people he came to Kuliya. 205 There the son of Śaṅkṛ was in the house of Mādhava Dāsa, and a crore of lakhs of people had *darśana* of him there. 206 Staying there for seven days he saved people, and he saved all those who were somehow opposed to him. 207 In that way he came to the house of the Ācārya in Śāntipura, and in his reunion with his mother Śaṅkṛ he caused her grief to be dispelled. 208 From there Prabhu proceeded to Gauḍa, and thence to Rāmakeliṅga. 209 There he met Rūpa and Sanātana, and Nṛsiṃhaṇanda decorated the path. 210 All these things I describe in *sūtras*; and how he went and 211 came back again from Nāṭaśāla. For fear of the crowds of people he did not go to Vṛndāvana. 212 Again he returned to Śāntipura and stayed there for ten days. Vṛndāvana Dāsa has described all this in detail. 213 Thus there is no need to expand on it, for if it is repeated again the book will grow too large.

199. Panthāṭṭ is a village in Twenty-Four Parganas district, near present-day Calcutta.

202. Śrīnivāsa is Śrīvāsa; whether he had a house in Kumārahaṭṭa as well as in Navadvīpa is not stated.

204. Vācaspati was the brother of Śārvabhauma.

207. He had to meet his mother in Advaita's house, as his vows as a *saṁnyāsīn* would not allow him to go to her in what had formerly been his own home.

212. *CBh* 3.4. *passim*. There are in fact some discrepancies. For example, Vṛndāvana Dāsa says that Caitanya went from Kuliya along the banks of the Gaṅgā and came to Rāmakeli; Kṛṣṇadāsa says that on the way to Rāmakeli he stopped off at Śāntipura. Vṛndāvana Dāsa does not mention that visit. Also Kṛṣṇadāsa says that from Rāmakeli Caitanya went to Kanāira Nāṭaśāla, and from there returned to Śāntipura. Vṛndāvana Dāsa says that he went from Rāmakeli to Śāntipura, and does not mention the trip to Kanāira Nāṭaśāla at all. Also, Vṛndāvana Dāsa does not mention Sanātana's telling Caitanya that it would be inappropriate to go to Vṛndāvana with so many people (below, vv. 264-267). In fact, according to *CBh* 3.10.233-74 [= 3.9 GM ed.], Caitanya first meets Sanātana in Puri, and there changed his name from Śākara Mallik to Sanātana (v. 268). He also

214 When Prabhu returned to Śāntipura again, Raghunātha Dāsa came and met him there. 215 Hiranya and Govardhana were the names of two brothers, and they were lords of twelve lakhs of rupees in Saptagrāma. 216 There were immensely wealthy, and charitable, and they revered *brahmaṇas*; their actions were good, they were of excellent family, followers of *dharma*, and first in qualities. 217 They were primary supports of the *brahmaṇas* who lived in Nadīya, and they helped them with wealth and lands and villages. 218 Nīlāmbara Cakravartī was revered by them both, and Cakravartī treated them both as his own brothers. 219 Formerly they had served Purandara Miśra, and thus both knew Prabhu well. 220 Raghunātha was the son of Govardhana; from boyhood he was indifferent to worldly things. 221 When Prabhu came to Śāntipura after taking *saṁnyāsa*, then Raghunātha came to meet Prabhu. 222 He fell at the feet of Prabhu, overcome with *prema*, and Prabhu showed him his mercy by the touch of his feet. 223 His father always served the Ācārya, and thus the Ācārya was favorable towards him. 224 And by the grace of the Ācārya he got the food that remained on the plate of Prabhu. And he gazed at the feet of Prabhu for five or seven days. 225 Then Prabhu bade him farewell and went to Nīlācala, and returning to his house he was mad with *prema*. 226 Again and again he fled to go to Nīlādri, but his father caught him and brought him back from the road. 227 Five foot-soldiers guarded him day and night, and four servants and two *brahmaṇas* remained with him. 228 These eleven people watched him constantly; he did not get to go to Nīlācala, and he was heartbroken. 229 Now, when Mahāprabhu came to Śāntipura, he heard of it, and Raghunātha beseeched his father, 230 "Give me your permission. Let me go and see the feet of Prabhu. Otherwise the life will not remain in my body." 231 When he heard this his father gave him many people and goods, and sent him off saying, "Come back

says that Rūpa and Sanātana met Caitanya together in Puri, but Kṛṣṇadāsa has all this happen in Rāmakeli. Kṛṣṇadāsa says that later, when Caitanya was on his way from Vṛndāvana to Prayāga, he met Rūpa and Anupama, and instructed them for ten days. He then went on to Kāśī, where he met Sanātana, and spent two months there instructing him. Then Caitanya returned to Puri and Sanātana went on to Vṛndāvana. In the meantime, Rūpa and Anupama were on their way to rejoin Caitanya in Puri, and Anupama died on the way. Rūpa was instructed at Puri to go to Vṛndāvana. Vṛndāvana Dāsa mentions none of this; Kṛṣṇadāsa is following the narrative of Kavikarṇapūra in it all.

218. Nīlāmbara Cakravartī was the maternal grandfather of Caitanya.

219. Purandara Miśra was Jagannātha Miśra, Caitanya's father.

230. [The expression of impending death should Raghunāth's desire not be met is more than just hyperbole, but a form of coercion, for the karmic responsibility for the death, were it to come about, would be placed firmly on the head of his father had he denied the request. TKS]

231. Presumably the people were for protection, and the goods both for sustenance on the journey, and gifts to the house of Advaita.

quickly." 232 He remained with Prabhu in Śāntipura for seven days, and day and night he spoke of what was in his heart. 233 "How shall I escape from the hands of the watchmen? How shall I go with Prabhu to Nīlācala?" 234 The all-knowing Gaurāṅga Prabhu knew what was in his heart, and for teaching him he offered him words of hope. 235 "Go and stay peacefully at home, do not be mad; only gradually do people gain the shore of the sea of the world. 236 Do not show people outward renunciation, but as is appropriate enjoy worldly things, without attachment to them. 237 Be steadfast in your heart, and outwardly do the work of the world, and soon Kṛṣṇa will rescue you. 238 When I have seen Vṛndāvana and returned to Nīlācala, then by some pretext you will come to my side. 239 At that time Kṛṣṇa will reveal the pretext to you, and who can stay him who has the grace of Kṛṣṇa?" 240 So saying, Mahāprabhu bade farewell to him, and he returned home and acted as Prabhu had taught. 241 His external renunciation and his madness—all these he left, and he did appropriate work without attachment. 242 When they saw this, his father and mother were very happy, and his restraints were a little relaxed.

243 Now Prabhu summoned all his *bhaktas* to one place—Advaita and Nityānanda and the rest—all the *bhaktas* who were there. 244 Embracing them all Gosvāmī said, "All of you give me your leave, and I shall go to Nīlācala. 245 I have met you all here, so this rainy season no one should journey to Nīlādri. 246 From there I shall certainly go to Vṛndāvana; with your leave, I shall come [from there] without difficulty." 247 Holding the feet of his mother, with great humility he begged her permission to go to Vṛndāvana. 248 And then he sent her to Navadvīpa and went to Nīlādri, taking his *bhaktas* with him. 249 All the people served him on the path, and in happiness the son of Śacī returned to Nīlācala. 250 When Prabhu came he had *darśana* of Jagannātha, and there was a great commotion in the town: "Mahāprabhu has come."

251 In delight, the *bhaktas* came to meet him, and Prabhu embraced them all in *prema*. 252 Kāśī Mīśra, Rāmananda, Pradyumna, Sārvabhauma, Vāṇīnātha, Śikhi, and all the rest of the *bhaktas*. 253 Gadādhara Paṇḍita came to meet Prabhu, and before them all Prabhu began to speak, 254 "I intended to go to Vṛndāvana through the Gauḍa country, to see the feet of my mother and the Gaṅgā. 255 With this in mind I started off for Gauḍa. My own *bhaktas* were there in thousands. 256 And lakhs and lakhs of people came in curiosity to see, and because of the crush of people I was not able to walk along the path. 257 Wherever I stayed, the walls of the houses were pulverized, and wherever my

235. *Vatula*: mad.

eyes fell, the place was full of people. 258 With great difficulty I went to Rāmakeliṅga, and there two people came to my place, Rūpa and Sanātana by name. 259 These two brothers are kings among *bhaktas* and vessels of the grace of Kṛṣṇa. By occupation they are officials of the king, his chief ministers. 260 In knowledge, in devotion, in wisdom and in strength they are pre-eminent, but they consider themselves less than straw. 261 Seeing and hearing their humility a stone would break; and I was pleased with them, and I said to them both, 262 'You consider yourselves the lowest of the low; soon Kṛṣṇa will rescue you.' 263 So saying, when I bade farewell to them, at the time of parting Sanātana spoke this enigmatic thing to me, 264 'One with whom are lakhs and crores of people is not ready for a journey to Vṛndāvana.' 265 But I only heard this, I paid no attention to it. And in the morning I came to the village of Kānāira Nāṭaśāla. 266 In the night I reflected on it in my mind; 'Was this a riddle that Sanātana spoke to me? 267 He has spoken the truth; there are so many people with me that when they see me people will say, 'This is an affectation.' 268 Vṛndāvana is difficult of access and lonely and hard to get to; I should go alone, or with one man. 269 Mādhava Purī went there alone, and in the guise of the giving of milk Kṛṣṇa appeared to him. 270 But I would go there like a magician performing his magic; one should not go to Vṛndāvana with many people. 271 I should go to Vṛndāvana all alone, yet I was going with an army beating drums. 272 Saying to myself 'Shame on you,' I became distraught; and I turned around and came back again to the banks of the Gaṅgā. 273 I came and sent the *bhaktas* each to his own place, and I came here with five or six people in all with me. 274 May I now go to Vṛndāvana without hindrance? Be gracious; all of you consult together and give me your advice. 275 I abandoned Gadādhara, and he was pained; for that reason I may not be able to go to Vṛndāvana."

276 Then Gadādhara Paṇḍita was overcome with *prema*, and holding the feet of Prabhu he entreated him, 277 "Wherever you stay, there Vṛndāvana is; there are the Yamunā and Gaṅgā and all the *tīrthas*. 278 Then go to Vṛndāvana to teach people; you will do whatever is in your mind. 279 But before us are the four months of the rainy season, Prabhu. Stay those four months at Nīlācala. 280 Afterwards do whatever is in your mind. Stay or go according to your own wish; who can prevent it?" 281 When they heard this all the *bhaktas* said at the feet of Prabhu, "What Paṇḍita has entreated you to do, is the wish of all." 282 So according to the wish of them all, Prabhu remained there four months, and

269. 2.4.23-42.

when he heard of it Pratāparudra was overjoyed. 283 That day Gadadhara made him an invitation, and Prabhu took food there with his *bhaktas*. 284 The affection of Paṇḍita at that meal, and Prabhu's tasting of it, these two things are not within the power of man to describe. 285 In this way the *līlās* of Gaura are unparalleled and infinite; I have spoken of them in brief; detailing them cannot be done. 286 Though Ananta himself speaks with a thousand mouths, still he could not reach the end of the *līlā* of a single day.

287 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

Madhya Līlā Chapter 17

Śloka 1.

Gaura, in the forest on his way to Vṇḍāvana, made the tigers, elephants, deer, and birds crazed with *prema*, and they uttered the name of Kṛṣṇa and danced together.

1 Glory, glory to Gauracandra, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*.

2 In the autumn it came to Prabhu's mind to go, and in a secluded place he consulted with Svarūpa and Rāmānanda. 3 "If you two help me, I shall go and see Śrī Vṇḍāvana. 4 I shall arise in the night and flee along the forest path; I shall go alone, and take no one with me at all. 5 Lest anyone wants to join me, and runs along the path after me, you keep them all here, that no one shall go. 6 Be gracious and give me your permission, and do not be sorrowful; for in the happiness of all of you I shall be happy on the way." 7 The two said, "You are the non-dependent Īśvara; you will do whatever you wish to do, not dependent on any other. 8 But listen to a request from the two of us. 'In your happiness is my happiness'—this you yourself have said. 9 So in the hearts of all of us there is great happiness. Our request is this: that you take a good man. 10 [Take] with you a *brāhmaṇa* of highest quality—this is what we desire. He will beg and give you food, and carry your waterpot. 11 As you go along the forest path, there are no *brāhmaṇas* to cook food. So agree, and take a *brāhmaṇa* with you." 12 Prabhu replied, "I shall take none of my own companions. If I took one, the hearts of the others would be heavy. 13 It will be a new companion,

2. [The sequence of events described in this and the next chapter follows closely Murāri Gupta's KCC. TKS]

7. *Svatantra*: non-dependent, self-willed.

and one whose heart is absorbed in love. If I find such a one, I shall take him with me." 14 Svarūpa said, "There is Balabhadra Bhaṭṭācārya, who is greatly devoted to you, and who is learned and pure and simple. 15 He came with you first from Gauḍa, and he desires to visit all the *tīrthas*. 16 With him there is a *brāhmaṇa* servant, and he will serve you on the way, begging and doing other things. 17 If you would take him with you, everyone would be happy, for there would be no difficulty for you as you go along the forest path. 18 This *brāhmaṇa* will carry your clothes and water-pot, and Bhaṭṭācārya will beg for you, going from door to door." 19 Prabhu agreed to his words, and he took Balabhadra Bhaṭṭācārya with him.

20 In the deep of night he went to see Jagannātha and to take his permission, and toward the end of the night Prabhu arose and went secretly. 21 In the morning the *bhaktas* did not see Prabhu; they searched everywhere, very disturbed. 22 Svarūpa Gosvāmī explained it to them all, and dissuaded them [from following] and kept them there, knowing the mind of Prabhu. 23 Leaving the well-known roads, Prabhu went along side paths; keeping Kaṭaka on his right he entered the forest. 24 Prabhu went through the lonely forest, taking the name of Kṛṣṇa, and when they saw Prabhu the elephants and tigers left the path. 25 In packs were tigers and boars and rhinoceroses and herds of elephants, and absorbed, Prabhu moved among them. 26 When he saw them, great fear arose in the heart of Bhaṭṭācārya; but because of the power of Prabhu they remained to one side. 27 One day a tiger was lying on the path, and Prabhu, absorbed, stepped on its body. 28 Prabhu said "Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa" arousing the tiger; the tiger got up; and saying "Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa" the tiger began to dance. 29 Another day Prabhu was bathing in a river, when a herd of rut elephants came to drink water there. 30 As the elephants came before him, Prabhu splashed water on them, saying "Say the name of Kṛṣṇa." 31 Those whose bodies were touched with the tiniest drop of water said "Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa" and danced and sang in *prema*. 32 Some fell to the earth, and others trumpeted. And watching all this, the mind of Bhaṭṭācārya was astonished.

33 Prabhu was going along the path loudly singing *saṁkīrtana*; hearing the sound of his honeyed voice some does came. 34 Hearing the sound, they ac-

16. Rādhāgovinda Nātha: in some MSS there seems to be the implication that this should be read "a *brāhmaṇa* and a servant," for in 2.18.162 some MSS read "the three trembled." But the Asiatic Society MS has in that place "the two trembled," and so following this MS and Rādhāgovinda Nātha, "*brāhmaṇa* servant" is the reading which has been adopted here.

26. "Power" might also be "majesty": *pratāpa*.

companyed Prabhu on the left and right, and Prabhu stroked their bodies, and in delight recited a *śloka*:

Śloka 2. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.21.11:

Though they are dumb animals, all these does are blessed, for hearing the sound of the flute they worship, with this deer, with glances full of love, the son of Nanda adorned in various ways.

35 At that time five or seven tigers came to that place, and the tigers and deer together went with Mahāprabhu. 36 And when he saw that, Mahāprabhu remembered Vṇḍavana, and he recited a *śloka* describing the qualities of Vṇḍavana:

Śloka 3. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.13.60:

He drove out anger, thirst, etc., from the place of the unconquerable one, and in that place the natural enmity among men and among deer etc., [was dispelled], and men and beasts lived in friendship with one another.

37 When Prabhu said, "Say Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa!" the tigers and deer said "Kṛṣṇa" and began to dance. 38 The tigers danced and wept with the deer, and Balabhadra Bhaṭṭācārya was astonished when he saw it. 39 The tigers and the deer embraced each other, and mouth to mouth they kissed each other. 40 As he watched this play, Prabhu began to laugh, and leaving them all there he went on his way.

41 Peacocks and other birds, seeing Prabhu, went with him, saying "Kṛṣṇa" and dancing drunken, 42 and Prabhu cried "Hari bol!" in a loud voice. The creepers on the trees blossomed, hearing that sound. 43 As many things, moving and unmoving, as there were in Jhārikhaṇḍa, were drunk with *prema* by the name of Kṛṣṇa. 44 Whatever village he passed through, and wherever he stayed, *prema-bhakti* was aroused in the people of all those villages. 45 And when anyone heard the name of Kṛṣṇa from his mouth, from his mouth another heard it, and from his mouth another. 46 And everyone, saying "Kṛṣṇa, Hari," danced and wept and sang, and throughout the country all became Vaiṣṇavas. 47 Even though Prabhu was in fear of the crowds of people, and kept *prema* hidden and did not manifest it outwardly, 48 still, affected by hearing him and by the sight of him, all the people of the country became Vaiṣṇavas. 49 He had gone to

43. Jhārikhaṇḍa is the name of the jungly section in western Bengal and Bihar, now inhabited mostly by tribal peoples.

49. Gauḍa: western Bengal; Baṅga or Vaṅga: eastern Bengal; Utkala: Orissa.

Gauḍa, Vaṅga, Utkala, and to the south, and wherever he had wandered he saved people. 50 Under the pretext of going to Mathurā he had come to Jhārikhaṇḍa, where people were irreligious, like Bhillas. 51 He saved them all, by means of the name and *prema*; who has the power to understand the profundity of the *līla* of Caitanya?

52 When he saw the forest he mistook it for Vṛndāvana; and when he saw the mountains he thought, "This is Govardhana." 53 Wherever he saw a river he thought it the Kāliṇī, and there, overcome with *prema*, Prabhu danced and fell weeping. 54 While going along the path, Bhaṭṭācārya [found] vegetables and roots and fruit; whatever he could get anywhere, he took. 55 In whatever village Prabhu rested, there five or seven *brāhmaṇas* would come and offer him invitations. 56 And some people would bring rice and give it to Bhaṭṭācārya, and some brought milk and curd, and some brought *ghī* and *khaṇḍa*. 57 Where there were no *brāhmaṇas*, there were worthy *śūdras*, and coming, they all offered invitations to Bhaṭṭācārya. 58 Bhaṭṭācārya cooked curries with things of the forest, and with the forest-curry Prabhu was much delighted. 59 [Bhaṭṭācārya] gathered food for two or four days and kept it, and when they were in the deep forest where no one lived, 60 Bhaṭṭācārya would cook that food. He made curry with roots and fruits and many vegetables of the forest. 61 Prabhu would eat in the forest in the highest delight, and on those days when there were no people he found great happiness. 62 Bhaṭṭācārya served him, in affection, like a servant, and his *brāhmaṇa* carried the water-vessel and the outer clothing. 63 He bathed three times [a day] in the water of warm springs, and in the morning and in the evening in the warmth of the fire, for wood was plentiful.

64 So overcome with infinite *prema*, he proceeded alone, and experiencing great happiness, Prabhu said, 65 "Hear me, Bhaṭṭācārya. I have gone to many lands, but nowhere have I found the tiniest bit of the happiness I have on this forest path. 66 The merciful Kṛṣṇa has been very gracious to me, and by bringing me on this forest path has brought me much happiness. 67 Before, I made

50. It is probable that Kṛṣṇadāsa uses the name Bhilla as generic for the Munda-speaking tribal peoples of that part of India. For an excellent study of one type of effect of Vaiṣṇavism on tribals, see Surajit Sinha, "Vaiṣṇava Influence on a Tribal Culture," in *KMRA*.

57. Kṛṣṇadāsa makes sure these *śūdras* are worthy (*mahājana*). Rādhāgovinda Natha interprets *mahājana* as "devotees of Bhagavān," because of the *BhP*'s statement that a *bhakta* of Bhagavān is not a *śūdra* (*na śūdra bhagavadbhaktaḥ*). Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's *HBhV* 5.223-224 also says that Vaiṣṇava *śūdras* are like *brāhmaṇas*, and should be counted as one with them; they and Vaiṣṇava women are allowed to offer *pūjā* to the *śaṅkara*.

63. Caitanya had started from Puri in the autumn, so by this time the weather was cold.

plans to go to Vṛndāvana, so that I could see once more my mother, and the Gaṅgā, and the *bhaktas*. 68 I was going to meet my *bhaktas*, and take them with me to Vṛndāvana. 69 And thinking this I made my way to Gauḍa; and when I saw my mother, and the Gaṅgā, and the *bhaktas*, I was happy. 70 But as I was going along in delight, with the *bhaktas*, crores of lakhs of people were there with me. 71 Kṛṣṇa instructed me through the mouth of Sanātana, and obstructed that [journey] and brought me along this forest path. 72 He is an ocean of mercy, full of compassion for the lowly and humble, for without the mercy of Kṛṣṇa there would be none of this happiness." 73 Embracing Bhaṭṭācārya he said to him, "It is by your grace that I have found so much happiness." 74 Bhaṭṭācārya said, "You are Kṛṣṇa, you are full of compassion, and I am a lowly *jīva*, to whom you have been merciful. 75 I am as ashes, and you have taken me with you, and in your mercy you have taken food from my hand. 76 You have made a lowly crow to be like Garuḍa; you are the self-willed *Īśvara*; you are *svayaṁ bhagavan*."

Sloka 4. Śrīdhara Svāmī's Bhāvarthadīpikā commentary on Bhāgavata Purāṇa 1.1.1:
Whose mercy makes the dumb man eloquent and the lame to cross over the mountains, I bow to that Paramānanda Mādhava.

77 In this way Balabhadra praised him and served him in *prema* and made the heart of Prabhu satisfied.

78 In this way, in great delight, Prabhu came to Kāśī, and came to the Maṇikārnika to bathe at midday. 79 At that time Tapana Mīśra was bathing in the Gaṅgā, and he was astonished to see Prabhu there. 80 "I heard before that Prabhu has taken *saṁnyāsa*." So he reflected, with delight in his heart. 81 Holding the feet of Prabhu, he wept aloud, and Prabhu raised him up and embraced him. 82 He took Prabhu to have *darśana* of Viśveśvara, and with him went to see the feet of Bindumādhava. 83 And then in great delight he took Prabhu to his house; and having served him, he danced, waving a cloth. 84 With his family he took the water of the feet of Prabhu, and honored Bhaṭṭācārya with *pūjā*. 85 Offering Prabhu an invitation, he fed him at his house, and had

76. See commentary on v. 7.

78. Maṇikārnika is the name of a famous ghat in Kāśī or Varāṇasī.

79. 1.16.14-15: Caitanya had previously instructed Tapana Mīśra to go to live at Kāśī.

82. Viśveśvara and Bindumādhava are the names of two images.

83. Or "his clothing whirling."

Balabhadra Bhāṭṭācārya cook. 86 After he had eaten, Mahāprabhu lay down to rest, and Miśra's son Raghu massaged his feet. 87 Miśra and his family ate the food left by Prabhu, and having heard that Prabhu had come, Candraśekhara came. 88 He was a friend of Miśra, and a servant of Prabhu from long ago; he was a *vaidya* by caste, a scribe by profession, and dwelt at Vārāṇasī. 89 When he came he fell at the feet of Prabhu and wept aloud, and Prabhu raised him up and embraced him in his mercy. 90 Candraśekhara said, "Prabhu, you have shown great mercy, that you yourself have come and given *darśana* to your servant. 91 As a result of my own *karma* I live at this place, Vārāṇasī, where my ears hear nothing but the words 'māya' and 'brahma.' 92 Here there is no discussion except of the six systems of philosophy, though Miśra, being merciful, speaks to me of Kṛṣṇa. 93 We both think always of your feet, and [now] you, the omniscient Īśvara, have given *darśana*. 94 Listen, Mahāprabhu; you will go to Śrī Vṛndāvana; but stay here a few days, and save these two, your servants." 95 And Miśra added, "Prabhu, as long as you stay in Kāśī, honor no invitation other than my own." 96 In this way Mahāprabhu, controlled by his two servants, though he had no desire to, remained there ten days. 97 A Maharashtrian *brāhmaṇa* came to see Prabhu, and when he saw the form and the *prema* of Prabhu he was astonished. 98 The *brāhmaṇa* invited them all, but Prabhu would not accept. Prabhu would say, "Today I have accepted an invitation." 99 In this way he deceived them every day: in fear of having to associate with *saṁnyāsins* he honored no invitations.

100 Śrīpāda Prakāśānanda was sitting in assembly, and he taught Vedānta to many students. 101 One *brāhmaṇa* came and saw the activities of Prabhu, and went and spoke of his actions to Prakāśānanda, 102 "A *saṁnyāsin* has come from Jagannātha, and I cannot describe his greatness and power. 103 His body is huge, and his color is that of pure gold; he has arms reaching to his knees, and eyes like lotuses. 104 He has all the marks of Īśvara, and seeing all these on

86. This Raghu later becomes the Gosvāmin, Raghunātha Bhāṭṭa.

91. I.e., discussion of the Vedānta. Vārāṇasī was at this time also a center for the study of philosophy.

92. The six systems are: Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Sāṁkhya, Pātāñjala, Pūrva-mīmāṃsā, and Vedānta.

96. *Vaśa*: controlled; see 1.4.216; 1.7.138; 1.17.71, *śl*5; 2.23.26. [Previously in 2.1.225, the stay in Kāśī was only four days. TKS]

98. He had agreed to take food at the house of Tapanā Miśra, which is a little strange, for we have seen him refuse to eat more than one day at the house of Sārvabhauma, using the argument that longer periods would be against the *dharma* of a *saṁnyāsin*.

100. Prakāśānanda Sarasvatī, a famous Vedāntin scholar.

him was a matter of wonder to me. 105 When I saw him I knew—this is Nārāyaṇa; and whoever sees him makes Kṛṣṇa-*saṁkīrtana*. 106 I have heard in the *Bhāgavata* the signs of a *mahābhāgavata*, and all those signs are manifested in him. 107 His tongue eternally sings the name of Kṛṣṇa, and the tears flow from his two eyes like streams of the Gaṅgā. 108 Sometimes he dances and laughs and sings, and sometimes weeps, and sometimes shouts, and sometimes roars like a lion. 109 He is a blessing to the earth, and his name is Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, and his name and form and qualities are all unequalled. 110 Seeing him I knew that this is the way of Īśvara; but hearing these transcendent things, who can believe them?"

111 When he heard this, Prakāśānanda laughed greatly, and smiling at the *brāhmaṇa* he began to speak, 112 "I have heard of this emotional *saṁnyāsin* of Gauḍa. He is a pupil of Keśava Bhārati, and is a deceiver of people. 113 His name is Caitanya, and he has with him some emotionalists, and they wander from country to country and village to village dancing. 114 Whoever sees him calls him Īśvara. But this is his power of deception: whoever sees him is en-

106. BhP 11.2.48-55. The signs are: his mind is always absorbed in Vasudeva; he is not greedy for things which satisfy the senses; if he gets things which satisfy and please the senses he is not overcome or controlled by them; he is meditating on Hari; he is not infatuated with the birth or death of the body, the hunger for life, fear of the mind, thirst for wisdom; in his mind there is no desire for selfish action; Vasudeva is his refuge; he does not consider himself superior in, or in any way consider birth, deeds, *varṇa*, stage of life, caste, and so on; he considers that there is no difference in the property and so on of himself and others; nor does he consider any difference in body or in any other way between himself and others; he considers all things the same; he is at peace; he does not for an instant stray from the feet of Bhagavān; he has no material purpose; his heart never leaves Hari, but is always devoted to him in *prema*.

107-108. [For these and other signs, see text and commentary to 2.2.62; 2.8.135; 2.19.154-55; 2.23.31-32. TKS]

112. *Bhāvaka*: emotional, one who does not think, but over-reacts emotionally in every situation. Whether or not Kṛṣṇadāsa intended it, and it is not impossible that he did, Rādhāgovinda Nātha reads a meaning of praise into each of the statements. *Bhāvaka* can be a derogatory word, as it is interpreted above; but it can also mean one who has a *bhāva*, in this case the Rādhā-*bhāva*. Prakāśānanda, in the derogatory context, does not seem to think much of Keśava Bhārati; but if the whole passage is read the other way, he might be making this one of Caitanya's qualities. Rādhāgovinda Nātha also says that "deceiver" (*pratāraka*) can also mean "one who saves." Or even if one reads it as "deceives," the interpretation can be that he is hiding his true nature under the guise of a *saṁnyāsin*, for the ultimate good of the world.

114. *Mohana-vidyā*: power of deception, his esoteric knowledge of enchantments. The complimentary meaning is that this is of course Kṛṣṇa's power to enchant even the enchanter, so also in v. 116.

chanted. 115 There is a powerful *paṇḍita*, Sarvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya, and I have heard that he has become mad in the company of Caitanya. 116 Only in name is he a *saṁnyāsī*; he is a great sorcerer. But his powers of enchantment will gain him nothing in Kāśīpura. 117 Listen to the Vedānta; do not go near him. In the company of such selfish people the two worlds are destroyed."

118 When he heard this, the *brahmaṇa* was very disturbed, and saying "Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa" he got up and went from that place. 119 By the mere *darśana* of Caitanya had his heart become pure; sadly he went before Prabhu and described what had happened. 120 When he heard it, Mahāprabhu smiled a little and remained silent. And the *brahmaṇa* again asked him, 121 "When I took your name before him, he knew your name, and spoke it himself. 122 But he uttered your name to deride you; 'Caitanya, Caitanya' he said three times. 123 The name 'Kṛṣṇa' did not come to his mouth three times. He took your name in scorn, and when I heard, I was sorrowful. 124 Be gracious to me, and tell me the cause of this; for when I see you, my mouth says 'Kṛṣṇa, Hari'." 125 And Prabhu said, "The *Māyāvādīs* are opposed to Kṛṣṇa; they speak senselessly of 'brahma' and 'ātma' and 'caitanya.' 126 Thus the Kṛṣṇa-name does not come to their mouths. The name of Kṛṣṇa and the *svārūpa* of Kṛṣṇa are the same. 127 The name, the *vigraha*, and the *svārūpa*, these three are one *rūpa*; there is no division among the three; the three are the *cidānanda svārūpa*. 128 There is no division in Kṛṣṇa between the body and possessor of the body, nor between

115. *Paṇḍita*: mad.

116. "Only in name": either "he is not a real *saṁnyāsī*, for if he were he would not act in this way" or "he is not a real *saṁnyāsī*, but is himself Bhagavān." Also either: "the people of Kāśī are too intelligent to be taken in by him" or "the people of Kāśī are all sunk in *māyā*, with their faces averted from Kṛṣṇa, therefore even he cannot save them."

117. *Ucchrāṅkhala*: self-seeking, selfish, a little bit harder to pun upon. The Bengali can mean either: one who seeks his own ends, to gratify his own desires; or: one who follows his own light, and is not dependent upon others.

125. *Caitanya*: consciousness.

126. I.e., "caitanya" as "consciousness" is a word which they are always using, in the context of philosophical discussion, so it has no particular religious value for them, except in connection with the concept of "cit." The name of Kṛṣṇa they never use, so it does not come to their mouths.

127. *Cidānanda*: made up of *cit* and *ananda*.

128. In Kṛṣṇa name, body, and *svārūpa* are all made of *cit* and *ananda*, and therefore there is no difference among them. Among *jīvas* there is a difference: name and body are material things, but *svārūpa* is made up of *cit* and *ananda*. The *dharma* of *jīvas* is through name and body, and there are *jīva*-entities which are discrete categories and can be named: man, animal, plant, etc. This has no meaning in terms of Kṛṣṇa.

the name and the possessor of the name. The *dharma* of *jīvas* distinguishes between name and body and *svārūpa*.

Sloka 5. Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [pārva-vibhāga, *sādhana-bhakti-laharī*] 1.2.233 [quoting *Padma Purāṇa*]:

Because of the undividedness of the name and the possessor of the name, the name Kṛṣṇa is the philosopher's stone; that Kṛṣṇa is he whose *vigraha* is Caitanya, fully pure and eternally free.

129 Thus the name of Kṛṣṇa is the *vilāsa* of his body; it cannot be grasped by the material senses, but is self-manifested. 130 The Kṛṣṇa-name, Kṛṣṇa-*guṇas*, and the various Kṛṣṇa-*līlās* are like the *svārūpa* of Kṛṣṇa, all consciousness and bliss.

Sloka 6. Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [pārva-vibhāga, *sādhana-bhakti-laharī*] 1.2.234:

Thus the Kṛṣṇa name and the rest cannot be grasped by the senses; it is self-manifested on the tongues, etc., of those whose faces are turned toward service.

131 The *rasa* of *līlā* is full bliss, as compared to the bliss of *brahma*; it attracts those who want to know *brahma* by *jñāna*, and makes them control themselves.

Sloka 7. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 12.12.69:

I bow down to that son of Vyāsa, the destroyer of all evil, whose mind was full of happiness, because of his having put other *bhāvas* away, and whose essence was attracted by the beauty of the *līlā* of Ajita, and who has spoken compassionately of these in the *purāṇa*, like a lamp of truth.

132 The qualities of Kṛṣṇa are full bliss, as compared to the bliss of *brahma*, and thus attract the minds of those who are *ātmārāmas*.

Sloka 5. This *śloka* is also found in Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmī's *HBV* 11.269 [quoting *Viṣṇu-dharmottara Purāṇa*].

131. "Control themselves" is an overly simple translation. There are two possible interpretations. The first is that, attracted by the taste of the *rasa* of the Kṛṣṇa-*līlā*, even those who strive to know *brahma* are drawn to know within themselves the true *rasa*. The second is that they are controlled by their essential selves, i.e., they are in a condition of *bhāva*, in relationship to the *svārūpa* of Kṛṣṇa. For *vaśa* (control), see commentary to v. 96.

Sloka 7. See 2.24.1.12.

132. *Ātmārāma*: those who delight in the self, who seek to know the bliss of *brahma*.

Sloka 8. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 1.7.10:

Even though they are not possessed of the books, those sages who delight in the self offer selfless *bhakti* to the great striding [Viṣṇu]; of such qualities is Hari.

133 Retain all this; regarding the feet of Kṛṣṇa: the minds of those *atmārāmas* are conquered by the scent of the *tulasī*.

Sloka 9. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 3.15.43:

The wind, bearing the perfume of the *tulasī*, mingled with the perfume of the lotus feet of that lotus-eyed one, enters through the orifices, and agitates the mind and body of those who are *akṣarajūṣas*.

134 Thus the Kṛṣṇa-name does not come to the lips of those Mayāvādīs who are always looking away [from Kṛṣṇa]. 135 I have come to Kāśīpura to sell my basket of *bhāva*; if there is no one to take it, I shall not sell it, and shall take it to my own place. 136 I have come with a heavy load; how shall I take it away again? If I get the most meager price, I shall sell it here."

137 So saying, he made that *brāhmaṇa* his own companion, and when he rose up in the morning Gaurahari set off to Mathurā. 138 Those three went with him, but Prabhu forbade them, and from a distance he sent the three men home. 139 In *virāha* for Prabhu, the three remained together, and sang of the qualities of Prabhu, drunk with *prema*. 140 Coming to Prayāga, Prabhu bathed in the Venī, and seeing Mādhava he danced and sang in *prema*. 141 When he saw the Yamunā, he gave a leap and fell into the water in *prema*, and Bhaṭṭācārya in a panic grabbed him and pulled him out. 142 In this way he spent three days at Prayāga, and saved people giving them the *prema* of the Kṛṣṇa-name. 143 While going to Mathurā in *prema*, wherever he went or stayed, he caused the people to dance by the *prema* of the name of Kṛṣṇa. 144 As before, while going through the south, he had saved people, so now in the western country he made every-

Sloka 8. See 2.6.15; 2.24.12; 2.24.173; 2.25.147.

Sloka 9. *Akṣarajūṣas*: Sanaka and the others who seek to know the bliss of *brahman*. See 2.24.10; 2.24.134; 2.25.146.

135. *Prakāśananda* has said that nothing will be gained by him in Kāśī, i.e., that Caitanya will make no profit.

138. Presumably Tapanā Miśra, Candrasekhara, and the Maharashtrian *brāhmaṇa*.

140. Venī: Trivenī, the confluence of the rivers. There is an image of Mādhava at that place.

one Vaiṣṇavas. 145 On the path, wherever he saw the Yamunā, he would jump in, mindless in his *prema*.

146 So he drew near Mathurā, and seeing Mathurā he fell prostrate, overcome with *prema*. 147 Coming to Mathurā, he bathed in the Viśrānti *tīrtha*, and seeing the birthplace of Keśava he bowed in respect. 148 He danced in the bliss of *prema* and sang and shouted loudly; and when people saw Prabhu overcome with *prema*, they were astonished. 149 A *brāhmaṇa* came and fell, holding the feet of Prabhu, and danced with Prabhu, overcome with *prema*. 150 They both danced in *prema*, and embraced one another; both raised their arms and said, "Say Hari Kṛṣṇa." 151 And the people shouted "Hari Hari!" making a great commotion. The servant of Keśava put a garland around the neck of Prabhu. 152 When they saw Prabhu, the people were amazed, and said, "This *rūpa* and this *prema* could never be of this world. 153 The sight of him makes people drunk with *prema*, and they laugh and weep and dance and sing, taking the name of Kṛṣṇa. 154 He is certainly and completely the *avatāra* of Kṛṣṇa, who has come to Mathurā to save the people." 155 Then Mahāprabhu took that *brāhmaṇa*, and sat with him a little apart, and asked him, 156 "You are an old *brāhmaṇa*, venerable and simple; where have you gotten this wealth of *prema*?" 157 The *brāhmaṇa* replied, "Śrīpāda Śrī Mādhavendra Purī, in his wanderings, came to the city of Mathurā. 158 In his mercy he came to my house; he made me his pupil, and took food from my hand. 159 That great one manifested Gopāla and served him, and even now the service of him continues on Govardhana." 160 When he heard this, Prabhu bowed at his feet; and frightened, the *brāhmaṇa* fell at the feet of Prabhu. 161 And Prabhu said, "You are my *guru*, and I am like your pupil; it is not proper that a *guru* make obeisance to his pupil." 162 When he heard this, the *brāhmaṇa* was astonished and frightened, and said, "How can you, a *saṁnyāsin*, say such mad things? 163 But seeing your *prema*, I consider that perhaps you have some relation to Mādhavendra Purī. 164 For whoever has *prema* for Kṛṣṇa, he has some relation to him; and except for him there is no scent of this *prema* anywhere." 165 Then Bhaṭṭācārya told him of the relationship, and when he heard it, the *brāhmaṇa* was overjoyed and began to dance.

145. *Acetana*: mindless, devoid of consciousness, or dissociative.

146. *Aviṣṭa*: overcome, possessed; also *aveśa* in the following passages.

147. *Viśrānti-tīrtha*: name of a ghat on the Yamunā, so called because Kṛṣṇa rested there after having slain Kāṁsa.

159. Mādhavendra installed the image of Gopāla at Govardhana; see above 2.4.20-110.

166 The *brāhmaṇa* took Prabhu to his own house, and he served Prabhu according to his own wishes. 167 He had Bhāṭṭācārya prepare food, and Mahāprabhu came and said to him, 168 "Purī Gosvāmī took food at your place; you give food to me also, this I have learned."

Sloka 10. Bhagavad Gītā 3.21:

Whatever better men do, others try to do. That which he does is standard authority for other people to follow.

169 Even though that *brāhmaṇa* was a *śanoḍīyā* [by caste], and though *saṁnyāsins* do not eat at the houses of *śanoḍīyās*, 170 still Purī, seeing that he acted like a Vaiṣṇava, made him a disciple, and accepted food from him. 171 When Mahāprabhu asked him for food, humbly the *brāhmaṇa* began to say, 172 "I shall give you food; that will be very lucky for me. You are *Īśvara*, and there are no restrictions or customs that apply to you. 173 But stupid people will condemn you, and I shall not be able to bear the words of these evil people." 174 Prabhu said, "As many *śrutis* and *smṛtis* and *ṛṣis* as there are—all are not of one opinion, but there are differences in *dharma* from one to another. 175 The base of the establishment of *dharma* is the action of holy men; and the conduct of Purī Gosvāmī is the essence of *dharma*."

Sloka 11. Mahābhārata [vana parvan] 3.13.117:

Philosophical argument is inconclusive; the *śrutis* are various, nor are there *ṛṣis* who do not hold various opinions; the truth of *dharma* is hidden deep. Its path is that on which great people move.

176 Then that *brāhmaṇa* fed Prabhu, and the people of Madhupurī came to see Prabhu. 177 Numbers of lakhs of people came; there was no counting them, and going outside, Prabhu gave them *darśana*. 178 Raising his arms, Prabhu said "Hari Hari bol!" and drunk with *prema* the people danced, making the "Hari" sound.

179 Prabhu bathed at the twenty-four ghats of the Yamunā, and that *brāhmaṇa* showed Prabhu the pilgrimage places: 180 Svayambhu, Viśrama,

168. The lesson was to take food from a good man and a *bhakta*, without consideration of caste. The *brāhmaṇa*, as we shall see, was by caste a *śanoḍīyā*, and ordinarily a *saṁnyāsina* would not have accepted food from him.

Sloka 10. See 1.3.14.

Sloka 11. See 2.25.19.

180. Svayambhu, etc.: names of *vigrahas* of Kṛṣṇa.

Dirghaviṣṇu, Bhūteśvara, Mahāvidyā, Gokarṇa and the rest—he saw them all. 181 When Prabhu had it in his mind to see the forest, that *brāhmaṇa* took him himself. 182 They went to the Madhuvana, and the forests of Tala, Kumuda, and Bahula, and everywhere he bathed and was overcome with *prema*. 183 There were cows grazing along the path, and when they saw Prabhu they came and surrounded him, lowing loudly. 184 And when he saw the cows Prabhu was dumbfounded, and in a wave of *prema*, and in affection the cows licked his whole body. 185 He remained very still, and he scratched their bodies, and they went with Prabhu, and did not leave him. 186 The cowherds restrained them only with difficulty. And when they heard the sound of the voice of Prabhu, deer also would come, 187 both male and female. When they saw his face they would lick his body. They had no fear, and they went with him on every path. 188 At the fragrance of his body the deer lifted their antlers, and in his mercy Prabhu would put his hand on their backs. 189 When the nightingales and bees saw Prabhu, they sang the five notes, and the peacocks danced before him. 190 When they saw Prabhu, the trees and creepers of Vṛndāvana bore their own gooseflesh in the form of shoots, and they rained tears of honey. 191 Branches laden with fruits and flowers bent at the feet of Prabhu, as when a friend meets a friend he brings a gift. 192 When they saw Prabhu, all things of Vṛndāvana, moving and unmoving, were joyful, as friends when they see a friend. 193 Seeing the love of all of these, Prabhu was overcome with *bhāva*, and he played with them all, controlled by them. 194 Prabhu embraced each tree and creeper, and in his thoughts he made offerings of the flowers and the rest to Kṛṣṇa. 195 His body was restless with tears and trembling and gooseflesh, in *prema*, and he shouted in a loud voice, "Kṛṣṇa bol! Kṛṣṇa bol!" 196 Moving and unmoving things together made the Kṛṣṇa-sound, echoing the deep voice of Prabhu. 197 Holding a deer by the neck, Prabhu wept; gooseflesh was on the body of the deer, and tears were in its eyes.

198 In the branches of the trees, *śuka* and *śārī* parrots appeared, and when he saw them, Prabhu wanted to hear them [speak]. 199 The *śuka* and *śārīka*

182. Caitanya's visit to the twelve forests is mentioned in 2.1.225.

189. The five notes of the traditional pentatonic scale.

193. See commentary on v. 96.

198. *Śuka* and *śārī*: two kinds of talking parrots, male and female, respectively. In drama and belles lettres, the conversation of parrots is often a literary device for the furthering of the plot.

199. Rādhagovinda Nātha notes that it was unusual for these birds to recite Sanskrit *ślokas*, but reminds us that when Kṛṣṇa comes to earth, his whole *dhama* comes with him, and this included the birds and beasts.

flew down and lit on the hand of Prabhu, and causing Prabhu to hear, they recited śloka of the qualities of Kṛṣṇa.

Sloka 12. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's Govindāṣṭakam 13.29:

Whose beauty crushes the restraint of women, stupifying those who delight in *līlā*, whose power and strength make Govardhana a plaything, whose qualities are infinite and pure, and whose conduct pleases all, he is our lord the all, praised by men throughout the universe, enchanter of the world, Kṛṣṇa the seducer, may he preserve the universe.

200 Hearing from the mouth of the śuka this description of Kṛṣṇa, the śarika recited a verse describing Rādhā.

Sloka 13. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's Govindāṣṭakam 13.30:

The love, beauty, and sweet nature of Rādhā, her skill at singing and dancing, her fullness of qualities, and her erudition shine resplendent—she who enchants the thoughts of him who charms the mind of world.

201 And again the śuka replied, “Kṛṣṇa is the Enchanter of Madana,” and then he recited another śloka.

Sloka 14. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's Govindāṣṭakam 13.31:

O śarī! The holder of the flute is the stealer of the minds of the women of the world, as he sports with the cowherd women; may that Enchanter of Madana be victorious.

202 Again the śarī replied, smiling at the śuka, and when he heard it Prabhu was astonished, and transported with *prema*.

Sloka 15. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's Govindāṣṭakam 13.32:

When he shines forth, in the arms of Rādhā, then he is the Enchanter of Madana; at other times, though he is the Enchanter of the universe, he himself is enchanted by Madana.

203 The śuka and śarī again flew up to alight on the branch of the tree. And Prabhu watched with delight the dance of the peacock. 204 When he saw the

204. The peacock's neck is a deep blue, the color of Kṛṣṇa.

neck of the peacock, he remembered Kṛṣṇa and fell on the earth, overcome with *prema*.

205 Seeing that Prabhu had fainted, then, that *brahmaṇa*, together with Bhaṭṭācārya, took care of him. 206 Hurriedly they took off the outer garment of Mahāprabhu, and poured water on his body, and fanned him with the cloth. 207 They uttered the name of Kṛṣṇa into Prabhu's ear; he gained consciousness and rolled around on the ground. 208 In the rough and thorny forest his body was injured, and Bhaṭṭācārya took Prabhu on his lap and quieted him. 209 Absorbed in Kṛṣṇa, the mind of Prabhu was seething with *prema*, and he rose up saying “*Bol! bol!*” and began to dance. 210 Bhaṭṭācārya and the *brahmaṇa* sang the name of Kṛṣṇa, and dancing Prabhu made his way along the path. 211 Seeing Prabhu under the influence of *prema*, the *brahmaṇa* was astonished and concerned to protect him.

212 In Nīlācala his mind was absorbed in *prema*, but on the way to Vṛndāvana it increased a hundred times. 213 At the sight of Mathurā, his *prema* increased a thousand times, and when he was wandering in the forest, his *prema* increased a lakh. 214 In other countries, *prema* would arise at the name “Vṛndāvana,” and now he was actually roaming in that Vṛndāvana. 215 Day and night his mind seethed in *prema*, and only out of habit did he succeed in bathing and eating and so on. 216 In this way was his *prema*, as he wandered through the twelve forests. It has been condensed in the writing for it could not be described completely. 217 In Vṛndāvana, Prabhu had many transformations; Ananta could describe them if he wrote a crore of books. 218 But I have not been able to write an iota of it; I have done what I could, in giving a suggestion of it. 219 The world floats in the ocean of the *līlā* of Caitanya; who has the strength swims in the ocean.

220 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the ‘nectar of the acts of Caitanya,’ the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

216. [Murāri Gupta in his KCC 4.3 details Caitanya's visit to the twelve forests. As noted, Kṛṣṇadāsa appears to be following closely Murāri's sequence for this journey. TKS]

Madhya Līlā Chapter 18

Sloka 1.

Gaurāṅga, delighting by his glances in Vṛndāvana all things moving and unmoving, was by the sight of them himself [delighted] as he wandered to and fro.

1 Glory, glory to Gaurācandra, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitācandra and the hosts of Gaura-bhaktas.

2 In this way Mahāprabhu went along dancing, and when he came to Āriṣṭagrāma he recovered his senses. 3 At Āriṣṭa he asked people the whereabouts of the Rādhakunḍa, but no one could say; not even his brāhmaṇa companion knew. 4 Prabhu was the all-knowing Bhagavān, and he knew where the lost tīrtha was. He went to bathe in a small pool of water between two fields of paddy. 5 When they saw this, all the people of the village were astonished; in prema Prabhu praised the Rādhakunḍa. 6 "Among all the gopīs Rādhā is the most beloved of Kṛṣṇa; so the Rādhakunḍa is beloved, the tank of his beloved.

2. The place where Kṛṣṇa slew Aṣṭa-asura in the form of an ox is called Aṣṭagrāma or Āriṣṭagrāma. There is a story, recorded in Naraharī Cakravartī's *BhR* 5.477-498, which tells of how after slaying the asura in the form of an ox, Kṛṣṇa came to Rādhā and went to touch her. Rādhā playfully accused him of the sin of cow-killing, and told him that he could not touch her until he had cleansed himself of that sin by bathing in all the pilgrimage-places. Kṛṣṇa said that in that case he would bring all the pilgrimage places to him, and so saying he stamped on the ground. There immediately appeared in that place a pond, a kunḍa, which contained the waters of all the pilgrimage places. Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā and the sakhs often played in the water of the pond, which was known as Āriṣṭakunḍa or Śyāmakunḍa. Seeing this, Rādhā and her sakhs decided to dig another pond, just to the west of Kṛṣṇa's; this was done. And Kṛṣṇa commanded the waters of his pond to fill that of Rādhā; her pond is known as Rādhakunḍa or Śrīkunḍa. The two ponds exist side by side in Āriṣṭagrāma today.

Sloka 2. Rupa Gosvāmī's *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta*, *uttara-khaṇḍa* 45 [quoting *Padma Purāṇa*]:

Just as Rādhā is the beloved of Viṣṇu, so is she a reservoir of love for him. Among all the gopīs she alone is perfectly loved by him.

7 In that kunḍa Kṛṣṇa eternally with Rādhikā plays games in the water, and dallies with her on its banks. 8 Whoever bathes once in that kunḍa, Kṛṣṇa grants to him a prema like that of Rādhā. 9 The sweetness of the kunḍa is like the sweetness of Rādhā, and the greatness of the kunḍa is like the greatness of Rādhā."

Sloka 3. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's *Govindatīlāmṛta* 7.102:

Because of its own dearest and wonderful qualities, her kunḍa is as deeply beloved of Kṛṣṇa as Rādhā herself; Śrīyuta-Mādhavendu every day plays in it with her in love. Whoever bathes in it once receives his prema, like Rādhā. By whom can its sweetness or greatness be described in this world?

10 In this way he offered praises, overcome with prema, and he danced on the bank, remembering the kunḍa-līlā. 11 He took mud from the kunḍa, and made a tilaka, and he took some mud with him, by means of Bhāṭṭācārya. 12 Prabhu then moved along, and came to the Sumanah pond, and there he saw Govarddhana, and was overcome. 13 When he saw Govarddhana, he bowed down; he took a stone [from it] and hugged it to him, as if possessed. 14 Drunk with prema, he went to the Govarddhana village, and seeing Harideva there he made obeisance. 15 Whose dwelling is in the western petal of the Mathurā-lotus is Harideva Nārāyaṇa, the first manifestation. 16 Drunk with prema, he

Sloka 2. Or: "the Rādhakunḍa is as beloved of Kṛṣṇa as is Rādhā herself." See 1.4.śl.40; 2.8.śl.24.

Sloka 3. Śrīyuta-Mādhavendu: Mādhava the full moon [of Vraja].

11. Tilaka: an ornamental mark on the forehead.

12. Sumanah pond: this is in the southwestern corner of the Rādhakunḍa; it is also called Mānasa-gaṅgā.

13. Caitanya considered this stone from the slopes of Govarddhana as the body of Kṛṣṇa; see 3.6.286.

14. Harideva: an image of Nārāyaṇa.

15. Rādhagovinda Nātha: Mathurā here means the whole of the Vraja area, which, in schema at least, is shaped like a lotus, each petal of which is ruled over by a particular deity; the westernmost petal is ruled over by Harideva Nārāyaṇa. This formation is the basis for constructing meditative maṇḍalas of Vraja, called yogapīṭhas.

Madhya Līlā Chapter 18

Śloka 1.

Gaurāṅga, delighting by his glances in Vṛndāvana all things moving and unmoving, was by the sight of them himself [delighted] as he wandered to and fro.

1 Glory, glory to Gauracandra, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*.

2 In this way Mahāprabhu went along dancing, and when he came to Āriṣṭagrāma he recovered his senses. 3 At Āriṣṭa he asked people the whereabouts of the Rādhakunḍa, but no one could say; not even his *brāhmaṇa* companion knew. 4 Prabhu was the all-knowing Bhagavān, and he knew where the lost *tīrtha* was. He went to bathe in a small pool of water between two fields of paddy. 5 When they saw this, all the people of the village were astonished; in *prema* Prabhu praised the Rādhakunḍa, 6 "Among all the *gopīs* Rādhā is the most beloved of Kṛṣṇa; so the Rādhakunḍa is beloved, the tank of his beloved.

2. The place where Kṛṣṇa slew Aṣṭa-asura in the form of an ox is called Aṣṭagrāma or Āriṣṭagrāma. There is a story, recorded in Narahari Cakravartī's *BhR* 5.477-498, which tells of how after slaying the *asura* in the form of an ox, Kṛṣṇa came to Rādhā and went to touch her. Rādhā playfully accused him of the sin of cow-killing, and told him that he could not touch her until he had cleansed himself of that sin by bathing in all the pilgrimage-places. Kṛṣṇa said that in that case he would bring all the pilgrimage places to him, and so saying he stamped on the ground. There immediately appeared in that place a pond, a *kunḍa*, which contained the waters of all the pilgrimage places. Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā and the *sakhīs* often played in the water of the pond, which was known as Aṣṭakunḍa or Śyāmakunḍa. Seeing this, Rādhā and her *sakhīs* decided to dig another pond, just to the west of Kṛṣṇa's; this was done. And Kṛṣṇa commanded the waters of his pond to fill that of Rādhā; her pond is known as Rādhakunḍa or Śrīkunḍa. The two ponds exist side by side in Āriṣṭagrāma today.

Śloka 2. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta*, *uttara-khaṇḍa* 45 [quoting *Padma Purāṇa*]:
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danced before Harideva; all the people came, and when they saw and heard they were astonished. 17 When they saw the beauty and the *prema* of Prabhu, the people were amazed, and the servant of Harideva came and served Prabhu. 18 Bhaṭṭācārya went to cook at the Brahmakuṇḍa, and when he had bathed at the Brahmakuṇḍa, Prabhu ate. 19 That night he stayed at the temple of Harideva, and in the night Mahāprabhu decided in his mind, 20 "I shall never ascend to the top of Govarddhana; how shall I get *darśana* of Gopāla Rāya?" 21 Reflecting thus, Prabhu remained silent. Knowing [what was in his mind], Gopāla played a little trick.

Śloka 4.

Kṛṣṇa, considerate of his *bhaktas*, descending from the mountain, showed himself to his own Gaura, reluctant to ascend the mountain, thinking himself a *bhakta*.

22 The place of Gopāla was in a village, Annakūṭa by name, which was the dwelling-place of Rājput people. 23 A man came in the night and said to the headman of the village, "Some Turukdhārīs are preparing to attack your village. 24 Flee tonight, and do not leave a single person in the village. Take the *ṭhākura* with you and flee; tomorrow the Yavanas will come." 25 When they heard this the people of the village considered, and they first took Gopāla and put him in Gaṭhuligrāma. 26 They secretly placed Gopāla in the house of a *brahmaṇa*, and served him; the village was destroyed, and all the people fled. 27 Thus out of concern for the *mlecchas*, Gopāla fled again and again. Leaving his temple, he would dwell in a forest, and sometimes in a village. 28 In the morning, Prabhu bathed in the Mānasa-gaṅgā, and departed to circumambulate Govarddhana. 29 When he saw Govarddhana, Prabhu was overcome with *prema*, and while moving along dancing he recited a *śloka*.

18. Brahmakuṇḍa: a pond near Govarddhana.

20. Rādhāgovinda Nātha: Caitanya considered the mountain as the body of Kṛṣṇa, and therefore could not consider putting his feet on it. The temple of Gopāla is on Govarddhana. Even today many Bengali pilgrims refuse to set foot on Govarddhana for fear of insulting Kṛṣṇa.

22. Whether these are people from Rājputana, or whether they are Rājput by caste, is not clear.

23. These people may actually have been Turks; but Rādhāgovinda Nātha suggests that at this time the name Turuk or Turukdhārī was a generic term for Muslim warriors.

28. See above, commentary on v. 12.

Śloka 5. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.21.18:

O women! This mountain is the best of the servants of Hari; for this reason it is delighted at the touch of the feet of [Bala]rāma and Kṛṣṇa, and offers them homage, with cows and cowherds, by its roots and herbs, caves and grass, and water to drink.

30 Prabhu bathed at the Govindakuṇḍa and other *tīrthas*, and there he heard that Gopāla had gone to Gaṭhuligrāma. 31 Going to that village, he had *darśana* of Gopāla, and overcome with *prema*, Prabhu danced and praised him. 32 When he saw the beauty of Gopāla, Prabhu was overcome. He danced and sang this *śloka* until the end of the day.

Śloka 6. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [dakṣiṇa-vibhāga, vibhāva-laharī] 2.1.62:

May the staff of the left arm of the lotus-eyed one, with which he played with the mountain Govarddhana like a toy ball, protect you.

33 In this way he saw Gopāla for three days, and on the fourth day Gopāla went to his own temple. 34 [Prabhu] went with Gopāla, dancing and singing along the way, and the people shouted "Hari, Hari!" in a tumult of joy. 35 Gopāla went to his own temple, and Prabhu remained at the foot [of the mountain]; all the desires of Prabhu were fulfilled by Gopāla. 36 For this is the merciful nature of Gopāla. Whatever *bhakta* has a desire to see him, 37 and is anxious to see him but cannot climb Govarddhana, on some pretext Gopāla himself descends. 38 Sometimes he stays in groves, and sometimes within villages, and the *bhakta*, coming there, can see him. 39 Rūpa and Sanātana did not climb the mountain, and in just such a way did he give *darśana* to them.

40 Rūpa Gosvāmin was old, and could not go there, but he greatly desired to see the beauty of Gopāla. 41 For fear of the *mlecchas*, Gopāla came to Mathurā city, and remained there one month at the house of Viṭṭhaleśvara. 42 Then Rūpa Gosvāmin brought all his own people, and staying at Mathurā, had *darśana* for a month. 43 With him was Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, and Raghunātha Dāsa, Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin, and Lokanātha, 44 Bhūgarbha Gosvāmin, Śrī Jīva Gosvāmin, Śrī Yādava Ācārya, and Govinda Gosvāmin; 45 Śrī Uddhava Dāsa and Madha-

Śloka 5. See 3.14.śl.6.

41. Viṭṭhaleśvara was the name of Vallabha Bhaṭṭa's son. See text and commentary to 2.4.103. *Mleccha*: foreigner, Muslim; see commentary on 2.1.186.

va—these two, Śrī Gopāla Dāsa and Nārāyaṇa Dāsa, 46 Govindabhakta and Vāṇīkṛṣṇadāsa, Puṇḍarikākṣa, Iśāna, and Laghu Haridāsa. 47 All these chief bhaktas he took as his own companions, and in great delight they had darśana of Śrī Gopāla. 48 Gopāla remained there for one month, and then went to his own place, and Śrī Rūpa Gosvāmin went to Śrī Vṛndāvana.

49 This story has been told to explain the mercy of Gopāla. Then Mahāprabhu went to Śrī Kāmyavana. 50 When Prabhu saw Vṛndāvana, his response was exactly the same as was written of his earlier experiences. 51 He saw there the place of the līlā, and went to Nandīśvara, and when he saw Nandīśvara he was agitated with prema. 52 He bathed in all the ponds, Pavana and the rest, and going up on the hill, he asked the people, 53 “Is there a deva-mūrti on this hill?” and the people replied, “There is a mūrti in the cave. 54 On two sides are mother and father, with strong bodies, and between them there is a child, beautiful in the tribhaṅga pose.” 55 When he heard this, Mahāprabhu was delighted in his heart, and he entered the cave and saw the three mūrtis. 56 He bowed to the feet of Vrajendra and Vrajeśvarī, and overcome with prema he touched the whole body of Kṛṣṇa. 57 The whole day, overcome with prema, he danced and sang, and Mahāprabhu went from there and came to Khadiravana. 58 Seeing the place of līlā there, he went to Śeṣaśāyī, and seeing Lakṣmī, the Gosvāmī recited this śloka:

Sloka 7. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.31.19:

O beloved! In fear that your most delicate lotus-feet be injured by our hard breasts, we place them gently down. With those lotus feet you wander about the forest—are they not hurt by those sharp pointed stones? You are our very life, and therefore our minds are rended.

59 Then, having seen Khelā tīrtha, he came to Bhāṇḍiravana, and crossing the

58. Śeṣaśāyī: the name of a place at Vraja; the meaning is “he who is lying on Śeṣa the cosmic serpent,” Nārāyaṇa. There is at the place an image of Kṛṣṇa, with Rādhā serving his feet; this is thought to be also an image of the reclining Nārāyaṇa, served by Lakṣmī. That the image is intended to be Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā is suggested by Nārāyaṇa’s BhR 5.1422-1429. There was near this place a place called Kṣīrasamudra, where Kṛṣṇa once played the part of the reclining Nārāyaṇa, and Rādhā served him, playing Lakṣmī. She put Kṛṣṇa’s feet to her breasts, in the manner described in the following śloka.

Sloka 7. See 1.4.śl.26; 2.8.śl.47; 3.7.śl.9.

59. Khelā tīrtha: Khelanavana, the grove in which Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa played (khelā). Nārāyaṇa’s BhR 5.1434-1435. The same text (5.1566-1571) tells us that the Bhāṇḍiravana was the grove in which Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma used to wrestle with their friends, and in which Balarāma killed

Yamunā, he went to Bhadravana. 60 Seeing the Śrīvāṇa, he went again to Lauhavana, and to Mahāvana, where he had darśana of the place of birth. 61 He saw Yamalārjunabhaṅga and other places, and the mind of Prabhu was confused, overwhelmed with prema. 62 Seeing Gokula, he came to Mathurā city, and seeing the birthplace, he remained at the house of that brāhmaṇa. 63 Seeing the crowds of people, he left Mathurā, and went and stayed alone at Akrūra tīrtha.

64 Another day Prabhu came to see Vṛndāvana. He bathed at Kaliyahrada and Praskandana. 65 From Dvādaśa-aditya he came to Keśī tīrtha, and seeing

the demon Pralamba. One day Kṛṣṇa was sitting in this place playing his flute, when Rādhā and the gopīs found him; they asked him what he and the others did there, and he replied that they wrestled. The gopīs asked him to prove his boast that he could defeat anyone, and so they wrestled with him. He could not however defeat Rādhā; in trying “there was a delight greater than that of the god of love himself.”

60. Śrīvāṇa: Belavana. Lauhavana: Lauhajaṅghavana, where Kṛṣṇa killed the demon Lohajāṅga. Mahāvana is Gokula. BhP 10.3.9 quotes the Harivaṁśa to prove that at the same time Devakī was bearing Kṛṣṇa in the prison of Kāṁsa, Yaśodā was bearing Kṛṣṇa in Gokula. The Kṛṣṇa born to Devakī was four-armed, holding conch, lotus, discus, and club, and the Kṛṣṇa born to Yaśodā was two armed. Seeing the four armed form, Devakī and Vāsudeva, his father, praised him; Kṛṣṇa then withdrew his four-armed form and became like a human child (BhP 10.3.47); he told Vāsudeva to take him to Gokula, to Yaśodā, for fear of Kāṁsa. Vāsudeva did so, and placed him on the bed beside Yaśodā.

61. Yamalārjunabhaṅga was the place where Kṛṣṇa broke two Yamalārjuna trees. The story, as told in BhP 10.10, is that Kuvera had two sons, named Nalakuvara and Maṇigrīva, both very proud. One day they were drinking the kind of liquor called varuṇī, and were drunk; naked, they were playing in the water of the Gaṅgā with the naked women of Kailāsa, when suddenly the sage Nārada appeared on the scene. Seeing Nārada, the girls were ashamed, and put on their clothes; but the two boys did not. Because of this Nārada cursed them: they were to become trees, since they were so devoid of shame. But then he relented, and said that they would not be forgotten, and would gain release from their tree-forms by the presence of Vāsudeva. It happened that one day Yaśodā had tied Kṛṣṇa to a threshing mortar, so that she could go about her housework undisturbed; Kṛṣṇa crawled away, dragging the mortar behind him. He went into the forest, and saw before him the two trees. He tried to crawl between them, but the mortar stuck. He pulled at it to get it through, the two trees crashed to the ground, and the two divine boys were released.

62. The sanodīya brāhmaṇa of Mathurā. This is the second birthplace. See ante, note on v. 60.

63. The Akrūra ghat on the Yamunā river at Mathurā.

64. Praskandana is also the name of a ghat on the Yamunā. It is said that while Kṛṣṇa was bringing the great serpent Kaliya under control, his body became chilled from being so long in the water. He then dried himself in the rays of the sun, which became so hot that the sweat ran from his body and mingled with the waters of the Yamunā. Praskandana is the place where his sweat ran into the river.

65. Being chilled (see v. 64 above), Kṛṣṇa asked the twelve (dvādaśa) gods of the sun (adityas) for heat; the small hill where he did this is the Dvādaśa-aditya.

the place of the *rāsa*, he fainted with *prema*. 66 Again regaining consciousness, he rolled around on the ground, and laughed and danced and wept and fell, and sang in a loud voice. 67 In such play he passed that day there, and in the evening he returned to Akrūra and took his food there. 68 In the morning he bathed at the Cīra ghat in Vṛndāvana, and rested at the foot of the tamarind tree. 69 The tree was ancient, a tree of the time of the Kṛṣṇa-līla, and beneath it was built a platform, of most beautiful finish. 70 Near it the Yamunā flowed, and a cool breeze [blew]; he gazed at the glories of Vṛndāvana and the waters of the Yamunā. 71 He sat beneath the tamarind tree and made *nāma-saṅkīrtana*; and after he had performed the midday rituals he came and ate at Akrūra. 72 The people of Akrūra came to see Prabhu; because of the crowds of people he could not perform *kīrtana* as he wished to do. 73 So Prabhu went to Vṛndāvana and sat by himself, and he performed *nāma-saṅkīrtana* until the time for noon-day ritual. 74 In the third watch the people gained *darśana* of him, and he instructed all of them to make *nāma-saṅkīrtana*.

75 At that time a Vaiṣṇava came, whose name was Kṛṣṇadāsa; he was a householder, of the Rājput *jāti*, whose village was on the other side of the Yamunā. 76 Having bathed at Keśī, he was going to Kalidaha; and suddenly he saw Gosvāmī at the foot of the Āmalī. 77 When he saw the form and the *prema* of Prabhu, he was astonished, and overcome with *prema* he made obeisance to Prabhu. 78 Prabhu asked, "Who are you, and where is your home?" Kṛṣṇadāsa replied, "I am a householder, and a low person. 79 I am Rājput by *jāti*, and my home is across the river. My desire is to become the servant of a Vaiṣṇava. 80 But last night I dreamed a dream; that dream was that I come and see you in person here." 81 Prabhu was gracious to him and embraced him, and drunken with *prema* he danced and sang "Hari." 82 He came with Prabhu to Akrūra *tīrtha* for the midday rituals, and he received as *prasāda* the remnants of Prabhu's plate. 83 In the morning he came with Prabhu, bringing a vessel of water, and he remained with Prabhu, abandoning his house and wife and son.

84 "Kṛṣṇa has again manifested himself at Vṛndāvana"—this people everywhere began to say. 85 One day in the morning the people of Mathurā came from Vṛndāvana making a great hubbub. 86 And when they saw Prabhu the people bowed at his feet. Prabhu said, "From where have you come?" 87 And

66. [For more on these signs of *prema*, see 2.2.62; 2.8.135; 2.19.154-55; 2.23.31-32. See also below vv. 151-74. TKS]

68. Cīra: clothing. It was at this ghat that Kṛṣṇa stole the clothes of the *gopīs* as they bathed in the river.

the people said, "Kṛṣṇa has appeared in the water at Kalidaha. He dances on the head of Kālīya, the jewel of whose hood is burning. 88 People have seen this, and there is no doubt about it." When he heard this, Prabhu smiled a little; all this was true. 89 In this way on three nights people came, and when they came they all said, "We have had *darśana* of Kṛṣṇa." 90 The people said before Prabhu, "Śrī Kṛṣṇa has been seen." Sarasvatī caused them to speak this truth. 91 Seeing Mahāprabhu, they truly had *darśana* of Kṛṣṇa; because of lack of knowledge about him they abandoned the truth, and mistook untruth for truth. 92 Then Bhaṭṭācārya said at the feet of Prabhu, "Give me your permission, and let me go have *darśana* of Kṛṣṇa." 93 But Prabhu gave him a slap and said to him, "You are a *paṇḍita*, but have become a fool because of the speech of fools. 94 Would Kṛṣṇa give *darśana* in this Kali age? Because of their own error, those foolish people are making a great to-do. 95 Do not be mad; remain sitting here at home. Tomorrow night go and have *darśana* of Kṛṣṇa."

96 In the morning a sensible man came to the place of Prabhu; and Prabhu asked him, "Have you come from seeing Kṛṣṇa?" 97 The man said, "In the night a fisherman was on board a boat, and was catching fish at the Kalidaha with a lighted lamp. 98 From a distance the people saw him and mistook him for Kṛṣṇa dancing on the head of Kālīya. 99 They thought that the boat was Kālīya, and that the lamp was the jewel, and the fools thought that the fisherman was Kṛṣṇa. 100 Kṛṣṇa has come to Vṛndāvana—that is true; and the people have seen Kṛṣṇa—this is not false. 101 But who they saw as Kṛṣṇa—that was an error. [Seeing] a post as a man is inverted knowledge." 102 Prabhu said, "Where have you gotten the *darśana* of Kṛṣṇa?" And the man said, "You, O *saṁnyāsīn*, are the living Nārāyaṇa. 103 You are the *avatāra* of Kṛṣṇa in Vṛndāvana; having seen you, all people are saved." 104 Prabhu said, "Viṣṇu, Viṣṇu! Do not speak so. Do not mistake a low *jīva* for Kṛṣṇa. 105 A *saṁnyāsīn* is a particle of consciousness, a *jīva* is like a particle of a sunbeam, and the full Kṛṣṇa, with his six divine qualities, is like the sun itself. 106 The truths of Īśvara and of the *jīva* are not the same; it is as a particle of a spark is to a burning fire.

88. It was true because they had seen Caitanya; below, v. 91.

95. *Vatula*: mad.

97. *Kaivarta*: fisherman, name of a caste, largely consisting of fishermen.

101. *Vipartita jñāna*: inverted knowledge, a particular kind of error, e.g., mistaking a rope for a snake.

105. *Citkaṇa*: particle of consciousness.

Sloka 8. Śrīdhara Svāmī's *Bhāvarthadīpikā* commentary on *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.7.6: *Īśvara*, embraced by *hlādinī* and *saṁvit* [śaktis], is *sat*, *cit*, and *ananda*; but the *jīva*, covered by ignorance of himself, is subject to many kinds of pain.

107 He who says foolish things—that the *jīva* and *Īśvara* are the same—is a blasphemer, and Yama will punish him.”

Sloka 9. Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmī's *Haribhaktivilāsa* 1.73 [quoting *Padmottara Purāṇa* 23.12]:

He who considers Nārāyaṇa-deva the same as Brahmā, Rudra, and the other *devas*, he is certainly a heretic.

108 The man said, “You are not like a *jīva*. Your person and your nature are those of Kṛṣṇa. 109 I see you in form as Vrajendranandana, though hidden beneath a golden complexion. 110 By tying musk in a cloth it cannot be hidden; so your *Īśvara*-nature cannot be concealed. 111 Your nature is not of this world, and is imperceptible to [ordinary] intelligence; and seeing you, the world is mad with Kṛṣṇa-*prema*. 112 Women, children, old men, even *caṇḍālas* and *Yavanas*—whoever once gains sight of you 113 takes the name of Kṛṣṇa, dances as if mad, and becomes a teacher and saves the world. 114 And whatever might be accomplished by the *darśana* of you, he who hears your name is drunk with Kṛṣṇa-*prema*, and he saves the three worlds. 115 Hearing your name, a *śvapaca* is purified; your unworldly power cannot be described.

Sloka 10. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 3.33.6:

O Bhagavān, when at any time by singing and hearing sung your name, or meditating on it, even dog-eaters can be worthy [to offer] sacrifice, how much more [is gained] by seeing you?

Sloka 8. See 3.5.18.

Sloka 9. See 2.25.13.

111. *Prakṛti*: nature, material makeup.

113. *Ācārya*: teacher. There may also be a punning reference to Advaita Ācārya, who by his worship and prayers brought about the Caitanya-*avatāra* (1.13.61-69).

115. *Śvapaca*: one who “cooks dogs”; a low caste or non-caste person, a *caṇḍāla* or offspring of a mixed marriage forbidden by the *śāstras*.

Sloka 10. See 2.16.13.

116 The signs of this greatness of yours are visible; but by the signs of your true nature you are Vrajendranandana.”

117 Prabhu gave his grace to all the people, and the people, drunk with the name and *prema*, went to their own houses. 118 In this way he stayed several days at Akrūra, and saved people with the Kṛṣṇa-name and *prema*. 119 That *brāhmaṇa* who was the pupil of Madhava Puri, arranged for him to be invited to many houses in Mathurā. 120 As many people, virtuous and *brāhmaṇa*, as there were in Mathurā came to Bhaṭṭācārya to offer invitations. 121 On a single day, ten or twenty people would come with invitations, and Bhaṭṭācārya accepted only one. 122 Not everyone got the opportunity to extend their hospitality [even though] they pressed that *brāhmaṇa* to accept invitations. 123 *Kanyakubja*, *dakṣiṇātya*, and Vedic *brāhmaṇas* humbly offered invitations to Mahāprabhu. 124 In the morning they came to Akrūra and cooked, and fed Prabhu, having offered the food to the *śalagrāma*.

125 One day, sitting on the ghat at Akrūra, Mahāprabhu was reflecting, 126 “On this ghat, Akrūra saw *Vaikuṇṭha*; the people dwelling at Vraja had *darśana* of Goloka.” 127 And thinking thus, he leapt into the water, and was submerged there. 128 Seeing this, Kṛṣṇadāsa cried aloud, and Bhaṭṭācārya quickly came and pulled him out. 129 Then Bhaṭṭācārya took that *brāhmaṇa* aside, and consulted with him, 130 “Today I was able to save Prabhu. But if he starts to drown in *Vṛndāvana*, who will save him? 131 There are great crowds of people, and a rash of invitations, and Prabhu is always possessed—it does not seem good. 132 If we were to take Prabhu away from *Vṛndāvana*, it would be auspicious; it would be a good thing to do.” 133 And the *brāhmaṇa* said, “Let us take Prabhu to Prayāga; let us go on the path along the bank of the Gaṅgā; then he will be happy. 134 First let us go to Sorokṣetra and bathe there; let us take Prabhu along that path. 135 It is the month of Māgha, and if we go now, in a few days we can bathe at Prayāga in the full moon. 136 Let us entreat him, [arguing] our own unhappi-

116. *Taṭastha lakṣaṇa*: visible signs, i.e., signs and characteristics which participate in both human and divine natures. These would be not only the physical characteristics, but his giving of *prema*; these are such as to reveal his true divine nature (*svārūpa-lakṣaṇa*).

126. *BhP* 10.28.9-17.

131. *Āveśa*: possessed; here and throughout the remainder of the chapter.

134. Sorokṣetra: a place in Badao district, to the east of *Vṛndāvana*.

135. Bathing in the Trivenī, the confluence of rivers, at the full moon of the month of Māgha, is most auspicious.

136. *Makara-pāuṇḍasi*, the full moon of Māgha; the month is called *makara* because that is the name of the sign in which the sun is during that month. *Pāuṇḍasi* would be the fifteenth of the bright fortnight, when the moon is full. Some MSS however read “*pāuṇḍai*,” i.e., “let us reach Prayāga on the Makara.”

ness, and introduce it, arguing the 'Makara-pāuchasi at Prayāga.' 137 Let us make him aware of the delights of the path along the Gaṅgā bank." Then Bhaṭṭācārya came and said to Prabhu, 138 "I cannot bear the crush of all the people, and people wrangling about invitations. 139 In the morning people come, and when they do not find you they eat my head. 140 But there can be happiness, if we go along the Gaṅgā path; so let us go now, let us bathe at the Makara in Prayāga. 141 My life has become very troubled; I cannot bear it. But that which is the order of Prabhu, I take on my head." 142 Even though Prabhu did not have it in his mind to leave Vṛndāvana, it was the desire of a *bhakta*. And he said in sweet words, 143 "You have brought me and showed me Vṛndāvana; I shall not be able to repay this debt. 144 Whatever you desire, I shall do; wherever you wish to take me, I shall go."

145 So in the morning Mahāprabhu took his morning bath, and knowing that he would leave Vṛndāvana, he was overcome with *prema*. 146 It was not manifested outwardly, but in his heart he was overcome with *prema*. Bhaṭṭācārya said, "Come, let us go to the Mahāvana." 147 And so saying, Bhaṭṭācārya seated him in a boat and took him across the river. 148 The *premi* Kṛṣṇadāsa and that *brahmaṇa*, these two knew well the way along the path by the Gaṅgā. 149 As they were going along, Prabhu took them all beneath a tree, seeing that they were tired of travelling, and they all sat down. 150 Near that tree many cows were grazing, and when he saw them, the heart of Mahāprabhu was delighted. 151 Suddenly a cowherd began to play a flute, and when he heard it the heart of Mahāprabhu was overcome with great *prema*. 152 He fainted and fell to the earth; foam fell from his lips, and the breath in his nostrils was stopped.

153 At that time, ten horsemen were riding by, and these *mleccha* Pāṭhāns dismounted. 154 When they saw Prabhu, the *mlecchas* deliberated, "This *saṁnyāsī* had much gold. 155 These four bandits have fed him *dhuturā*; they have killed him and stolen all his wealth." 156 So the Pāṭhāns tied up the four men.

139. A modern equivalent would be "chew me out."

151-53. See commentary on v. 66 above.

153. It is quite possible that these were actually Pāṭhāns from Afghanistan, many of whom must have been serving in the armies of Delhi at the time. In Bengal, however, the name was often taken as a designation of rank.

155. The four were Kṛṣṇadāsa the Rājput, the *brahmaṇa* of Mathurā, Bhaṭṭācārya, and the *brahmaṇa* who accompanied him as servant. *Dhuturā*: a poison derived from the thornapple fruit.

156. The Bhaṭṭācārya and his *brahmaṇa* were Bengalis (Gauḍiyya).

They wanted to kill them, and the Gauḍiyyas began to tremble. 157 Kṛṣṇadāsa was a Rājput, totally without fear; and that *brahmaṇa* was also fearless, and firm in his speech. 158 The *brahmaṇa* said, "Pāṭhāns! I petition you [in the name of] your Bādshāh. Let me go to your *sikdār*. 159 This *saṁnyāsī* is my guru, and I am a *brahmaṇa* of Mathurā. There are a hundred of my people close to the Bādshāh. 160 This *saṁnyāsī* is always fainting, because of a disease. Soon he will regain consciousness, that I am sure of. 161 Tie us all up and seat us here a while. When you have examined him, then you may kill us all." 162 The Pāṭhāns said, "You two are from the west and are good men; but these two Gauḍiyyas are rogues, and so they tremble." 163 Kṛṣṇadāsa said, "My house is in this village. There are a hundred Turukis here, and two hundred cannon. 164 They will all come here if I shout. They will kill you all, and take your horses and gear. 165 These Gauḍiyyas are not thieves—you are the thieves; you rob pilgrims, and want to kill them as well." 166 When they heard this speech, the Pāṭhāns drew back, and just at that time Mahāprabhu regained consciousness. 167 He rose up with a shout, saying "Hari, Hari!" He raised his arms and began to dance, overcome with *prema*. 168 And when Prabhu, overcome with *prema*, gave that shout, it was like a spear striking the hearts of the *mlecchas*. 169 Much afraid, the *mlecchas* let the four men go; Prabhu did not see the tying up of his own people. 170 Bhaṭṭācārya came and took Prabhu and sat him down, and when he saw the *mlecchas*, Mahāprabhu regained awareness. 171 The *mlecchas* came and bowed at the feet of Prabhu, and said to him, "These four are rogues. 172 The four of them together fed you *dhuturā*, and having made you mad they took your money." 173 And Prabhu said, "They are not rogues, they are my companions. I am a mendicant *saṁnyāsī*, and have no wealth at all. 174 I become unconscious because of epilepsy, and these four, in their kindness, protect me."

157. That *brahmaṇa*: the *sanoḍiyya brahmaṇa* previously mentioned.

158. Bādshāh: emperor; *sikdār*: ranking officer.

170. *Bahya haila*: regained awareness, i.e., normal consciousness.

174. *Mṛgnyadhī*: the "deer disease," epilepsy. Since according to orthodox thought Caitanya was not an epileptic, and since Caitanya obviously cannot lie, Rādhāgovinda Natha has devised a nice bit of exegesis of this expression. *Mṛga* is a class of man, so named because of his similarity to the stag (*mṛga*) in copulation; she who is his partner in sexual intercourse is *mṛgī*. Kṛṣṇa, though not in material ways, can be thought of as *mṛga*, and Rādhā, as *hlādinī-śakti*, is *mṛgī*. Therefore the "illness of the *mṛgī*" is the *virāha* of Rādhā, which is the cause of Caitanya's fainting. [Mukunda also used the term epilepsy to describe his condition to a foreign king; see 2.15.126. See also 1.7.86-93; 1.17.5 for these same symptoms of possession interpreted as madness. TKS]

175 Among those *mlecchas* there was a most grave man; he wore black cloth, and people called him "ptr." 176 His heart softened when he saw Prabhu. "Our own *śāstras* establish the quality-less *brahma*, 177 and preach non-dualism." Prabhu refuted his arguments using those very *śāstras*. 178 Whatever he argued, Prabhu refuted it. No rejoinder came to his lips, and he was dumbfounded. 179 Prabhu said, "In your *śāstras* is established the quality-less [God]; but in refutation of that, in the final analysis he has been established as qualified. 180 In your *śāstras* it says at the end that *Īśvara* is one; his body is *śyāma* in color, and he is full of all divine qualities. 181 His body is *sat*, *cit*, and *ānanda*, and in form he is the full *brahman*; he is the *ātmā* of all, the knower of all things, and his true form is the beginning of all things and eternal. 182 From him are creation, maintenance, and destruction; he is the equal refuge for worlds both gross and subtle. 183 He is the best of all things, to be worshiped by all, and is the cause of causes; in *bhakti* to him is the salvation from the ocean of existence of *jīvas*. 184 Without service of him, the ocean of existence of the *jīva* does not pass away, and love at his feet is the essence of the meaning of mankind. 185 *Mokṣa* and the rest are not a particle of the *ānanda* of him, and he who would gain his full *ānanda* should serve his feet. 186 *Karma*, *jñāna*, and *yoga*—having first established these, [the scriptures] finally refute them, and establish the service of *Īśvara*. 187 None of your *paṇḍitas* understand your *śāstras*, and that among injunctions what is former and what is latter, the latter is stronger. 188 You examine your own *śāstras*, and ascertain what has been written there at the end."

189 The *mleccha* said, "What you say is true. No one is able to accept what has been written in the *śāstras*. 190 They all expound on the quality-less Lord,

175. *Ptr.*: a Sufi master.

180. God's uniqueness and the rest are all qualifications.

181. Although he has a form, a body, that body is made up of *sat*, *cit*, and *ānanda*, like *brahman*; he is indwelling, he is the soul (*ātmā*) in all things.

182. I.e., the material (*Brahmā*-world) world and the immaterial (infinite) world.

187. One method of argument is to state a proposition and then to refute it. Thus, in a sequence of arguments, that which is stated last is held to be the argument which is intended to be held.

190. The whole discussion seems somewhat simple-minded, but it may be that Rādhāgovinda Nātha is correct in analyzing it in this way: the deity can be said to be of one of three possible types. The first is without form and without qualities, and without relevant power, which is the position of the Vedānta. The second is without form, but with qualities and with power. And the third, the position of the Vaiṣṇavas, is that he has form, qualities, and power. Caitanya is saying that it is the second of the three positions which is ordinarily considered to be that of Islam, but

and do not consider the service of the Lord who has form. 191 But you, O Gosvāmī, are the manifest *Īśvara*. Be merciful to me, an unworthy wretch. 192 I have read much in the *mleccha-śāstras*, and have not been able to ascertain what is to be attained, nor how. 193 Seeing you, my tongue says the name 'Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa,' and the conceit that I am very wise has gone. 194 So be merciful to me, and tell me what is to be attained, and how." And so saying, he fell at the feet of Mahāprabhu. 195 Prabhu said, "Rise up, and take the name of Kṛṣṇa; the sins of a crore of births are wiped away [by that], and you have become pure." 196 He instructed them, "Say Kṛṣṇa, say Kṛṣṇa!" and all said "Kṛṣṇa," and all were overcome with *prema*. 197 So Prabhu gave him the name Rāmadāsa; and there was another Pāṭhan, whose name was Bijuli Khān. 198 He was young, and the son of a king. Rāmadāsa and the other Pāṭhans were his servants. 199 Saying "Kṛṣṇa," he fell at the feet of Mahāprabhu, and Prabhu put his holy feet on his head. 200 Prabhu went on, showing mercy to them all, and all those Pāṭhans became ascetics. 201 And they became famous as the Pāṭhan Vaiṣṇavas, and they wandered everywhere, singing the praises of Mahāprabhu. 202 That Bijuli Khān became a very great *bhāgavata*; he visited all the *tīrthas*, and his excellence was the greatest. 203 And thus did Prabhu Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya have *līlā*; coming to the west he bestowed a great treasure on the Yavanas and others.

the third of the three is the proper interpretation. The argument is this: The second position is that God has qualities, such as love, compassion, and the rest, and intrinsic power allows him to taste the sweetness of devotion of his devotees, and for these to be tasted by men, though incompletely. God cannot be known on earth completely because he has no form, and the human mind cannot comprehend formlessness. In Islam, as in Christianity, the "throne of God" and so on are spoken of, however; what does this mean? In Islam, there are various places to which the Muslim goes: *Beheṣṭ* or Paradise (Beng. *behesta*), *ʿarṣh* or the throne of God (Beng. *ars*), *la-maqām* or "no-place" (Beng. *la-mokām*), etc. Each of these is spiritual, infinite, and in them the worshiper has some kind of spiritual body; there is in them enjoyment, depending on one's deeds in life, and in this these places are much like the Hindu *svarga* (heaven). But *svarga* is not infinite; from *svarga* one returns to worldly life again. Paradise then is a kind of *mukti*. *La-maqām* is where the court of God is, an invisible, unqualified place, similar to the Hindu notion of union with *brahman*. In this court God sits, with his eternal entourage; but what his true form is, is not mentioned in the Qurʾān. Early traditions do mention that he revealed himself to Muhammad and to Moses, but the form he took in his revelation to Muhammad is not mentioned, and to Moses he showed a brilliance such that as predicted, he died (since no living human could bear the sight), but was revived afterwards; presumably he saw the true form of God. If this was so, the reasoning might go, God has a true form, and thus the third, or the Vaiṣṇava, position is the correct one.

191. *Sakṣat*: manifest, before one's very eyes.

204 Coming to Sorokṣetra, Prabhu bathed in the Gaṅgā, and proceeded on the path on the bank of the Gaṅgā to Prayāga. 205 Prabhu bade farewell to that *brāhmaṇa* and Kṛṣṇadāsa, and with palms pressed together, the two began to say, 206 "Let us both go with you up to Prayāga; where again shall we gain the company of your feet? 207 In this country of the *mlecchas*, different people in different places cause trouble, and Bhaṭṭācārya and the *paṇḍita* do not know how to speak [their language]." 208 When he heard this, Mahāprabhu began to smile knowingly, and those two people continued along with Prabhu. 209 Whoever gained *darśana* of Prabhu became drunk with *prema*, and made Kṛṣṇa-*saṅkīrtana*. 210 With them were others, and they brought still others with them, and in this way all the villages of the country became Vaiṣṇava. 211 As he had manifested his *śakti* on his journey to the south, so did the western country float in *prema*. 212 In this way Prabhu came to Prayāga, and for ten days he took his Makara bath in the Trivenī.

213 The actions of Prabhu on his trip to Vṛndāvana were infinite, and even he who has a thousand mouths could not reach the end of them. 214 Who, if he is a miserable *jīva*, could tell them all? So they have been surveyed in brief form. 215 The *līla* of Prabhu is not of this world, and its manner is not of this world; even when they hear of it, unlucky people do not believe. 216 Know the *līla* of Caitanya as not of this world, from beginning to end; listen to it with faith, and honor it as true. 217 He who argues about this is a prince of fools, and himself brings down the thunderbolt on his own head. 218 The acts of Caitanya are a sea of nectar, one drop of which makes the world float in bliss.

219 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

Madhya Līla Chapter 19

Sloka 1.

As formerly the creation had been done by Brahmā, in that same way Prabhu, wishing for his own power, manifested again the *līla* of *rāsa* of that Vṛndāvana—lost because of time—through Rūpa.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and to the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*.

2 Śrī Rūpa and Sanātana were at Rāmakeli-grāma; they met Prabhu there and went to their own house. 3 The two brothers were devising means for the abandonment of the worldly life; they gave much wealth to two *brāhmaṇas*. 4 They had them perform two *puraścaraṇas*, with Kṛṣṇa-mantras, that shortly they would gain the feet of Caitanya again. 5 Śrī Rūpa Gosvāmin then, filling a boat, came with much wealth to his own home. 6 He gave half of the fortune to *brāhmaṇas* and Vaiṣṇavas, and he apportioned another quarter of the wealth for the support of relatives. 7 And he reserved a quarter of it in case of punish-

4. *Puraścaraṇa*: the intense worship, with the *mantra* which had been given to an individual, for the benefit of that individual. By the *Rāma-mantra*, Rāma is gained, by the *Kṛṣṇa-mantra* Kṛṣṇa, etc. Rūpa and Sanātana paid two *brāhmaṇas* to perform *puraścaraṇa*, to insure their prompt meeting with Caitanya.

5. His "own home" probably means his father's village, which was originally in Fateyābad in Bariśāl district. After he had remarried, Rūpa and Sanātana's father moved to his father-in-law's house in Madhaipura in western Bengal, and again later moved to Maḍagrāma in Mursīdābad district. It was probably to this latter place, where Rūpa and Sanātana had grown up, that Rūpa at this time went. See "*Rūpa-sanātana gosvāmī*," by Hirendranārāyaṇa Mukhopādhyāya, in *Bhāratbarṣa* for Jyāisthya, 1337 BS.

7. Sanātana was the chief minister of Husain Shah, and Rūpa was that king's personal secretary; they naturally enough anticipated that Husain Shah would be upset when they left his service.

ment or imprisonment, and kept it at the place of trustworthy *brāhmaṇas*.⁸ In Gauḍa he kept ten thousand coins, for Sanātana to spend, at the house of a provisioner.⁹ Śrī Rūpa heard that Prabhu had gone to Nīlādri, and that Prabhu would journey along the forest path to Śrī Vṛndāvana.¹⁰ Rūpa Gosvāmin sent two men to Nīlācala, to ask when Prabhu would travel to Vṛndāvana.¹¹ "Come back quickly and give me news of him; when I hear it, I shall decide accordingly."

¹² At this time, Sanātana Gosvāmin was thinking to himself, "The king loves me, and that is my bondage. ¹³ If somehow the king were to become angry with me, then that would certainly mean my release." ¹⁴ So feigning illness he remained in his own house; he abandoned his duties to the king, and did not enter the king's door. ¹⁵ The king's work was done by just *kayasthas*, while [Sanātana] remained in his own house discussing the *śāstras*. ¹⁶ He would sit together with twenty or thirty Bhaṭṭācārya *paṇḍitas* and discuss the *Bhāgavata*. ¹⁷ One day Gauḍeśvara with a companion suddenly entered the assembly of the Gosvāmin. ¹⁸ When they saw the emperor, everyone stood up in deference, and respectfully they seated the king in the place of honor. ¹⁹ The king said, "Vaidyas were sent to your house; the *vaidyas* said you were not ill, and that they had seen you well. ²⁰ All my affairs are your responsibility, and yet you abandon all of them and sit in your house. ²¹ All my affairs have been destroyed. What do you feel in your heart? Tell me that." ²² Sanātana replied, "I cannot work. Have it done by someone else." ²³ Then the king became angry and said

8. Rūpa was in his natal village; Sanātana however was still in Gauḍa, and easily accessible to the king. Rūpa therefore divided this quarter of his money again, putting ten thousand rupees at Sanātana's disposal.

15. *Lebha*: "just," the Apabhraṃśa form of *labhya*, "that which is to be gained"; other MSS however read, *lobhi*: "greedy." The *Śabdakalpādruma* definition of *labhya* is "just," "fair," which is Rādhāgovinda Nātha's preferred interpretation, based on the majority of the oldest MSS. *Kayasthas* were originally scribes, later gaining great political and social power in Bengal; see Inden, *MRBC*, ch. 2, *passim*.

17. Gauḍeśvara: lit., Lord of Gauḍa, i.e., the king.

19. *Vaidyas* were, among other things, physicians.

23. In the CC, only three brothers are mentioned by name, of whom Sanātana is the eldest, as also at the end of Jīva's *Vaiṣṇavatoṣaṇī*, where he is discussing his family. Mukhopādhyaya (see v. 5 commentary) however claims that there were four brothers and one sister in the family. The names of the four brothers, in descending age, were Raghunandana, Amara, Santoṣa, and Anupama. Amara and Santoṣa were Sanātana and Rūpa, the latter names being given them by Caitanya. According to Mukhopādhyaya, Raghunandana was something of a revolutionary, and was constantly taking actions against the Muslim king.

again, "Your elder brother is acting like a thief; ²⁴ he has punished many individuals, and has made Bakala his own possession; and now you have ruined all my other affairs." ²⁵ Sanātana said, "You are the independent lord of Gauḍa; whatever offence has been committed, give the punishment for that." ²⁶ When he heard this, the lord of Gauḍa rose up and went to his own place, and ordered Sanātana to be arrested, lest he flee. ²⁷ At that time the king was going to invade Orissa, and he said to Sanātana, "You come with me." ²⁸ And he said, "You are going to bring misery to the *devatā*; I have no power to go with you."

²⁹ So keeping him imprisoned, he went; and at that time Prabhu went from Nīlācala to Vṛndāvana. ³⁰ At that time also the two messengers had returned to Śrī Rūpa and told him that Prabhu had left for Vṛndāvana. ³¹ When he heard it, Śrī Rūpa wrote to Sanātana, "Śrī Caitanya Gosvāmī has gone to Vṛndāvana; ³² let us two brothers go to meet him. However you can manage it, escape and flee from there. ³³ There are ten thousand gold *mudrās* at the house of the provisioner; use that and free yourself quickly. ³⁴ Some way or other get free and come to Vṛndāvana." So he wrote, and the two brothers set off. ³⁵ [The other brother was] Anupama Mallik, whose name was Śrī Vallabha—the younger brother of Rūpa Gosvāmin and a foremost Vaiṣṇava. ³⁶ With him, Śrī Rūpa came to Prayāga, and when Mahāprabhu heard this, he was delighted. ³⁷ Prabhu had gone to have *darśana* of Bindu-mādhava, and lakhs and lakhs of people came with him. ³⁸ Some were weeping and some were laughing and some were dancing and singing, and some were saying "Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa" and rolling around on the ground. ³⁹ The Gaṅgā and Yamunā [together] were not able to flood Prayāga, but Prabhu drowned it in a flood of Kṛṣṇa-prema. ⁴⁰ Seeing the crowds, the two brothers remained by themselves. And Prabhu was absorbed in the *darśana* of Mādhava. ⁴¹ Absorbed in *prema*, Prabhu danced, making the sound of "Hari"; with arms upraised he sang, "Bol Hari Hari!"

⁴² Seeing the magnificence of Prabhu, the people were astonished; I cannot describe the *līla* of Prabhu at Prayāga. ⁴³ He was acquainted with a *brāhmaṇa* of the Deccan, and that *brāhmaṇa* brought him an invitation to his own house.

24. Bakala was a territory near Candradvīpa.

28. "You are going to destroy the temples in Orissa; I do not have it in me to participate in that." *Devatā*: Jagannātha.

34. I.e., Rūpa and Anupama.

41. *Āveśa*: "absorbed," the term used throughout the chapter. *Bol Hari Hari*: the formulaic injunction to "say the name of Kṛṣṇa."

44 Prabhu came to the house of the *brāhmaṇa* and sat alone; Śrī Rūpa and Vallabha both came to meet him there. 45 The two came, holding grass in their teeth, and when they saw Prabhu from a distance they fell to the ground in obeisance. 46 Getting up and lying prostrate again and again, they recited many *śloka*s: at the sight of Prabhu they both were overcome with *prema*. 47 When he saw Śrī Rūpa, Prabhu was delighted, and he said, "Rise up, rise up, Rūpa; come here. 48 The compassion of Kṛṣṇa cannot be described, for it has raised you both up from the well of worldly life."

Sloka 2. Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin's *Haribhaktivilāsa* 10.91:

He who knows the four Vedas but does not have *bhakti* is not beloved of me; a *śvapaca* who is my *bhakta* is beloved of me. You should give to him and accept from him; he is as honorable as I.

49 Reciting this *śloka*, he embraced them both, and in his mercy held his feet on the heads of them both. 50 Getting the blessing of Prabhu, both pressed their palms together, and humbly they praised him in supplication.

Sloka 3. A *śloka* of Rūpa Gosvāmin:

I make obeisance to you, the Kṛṣṇa of the light complexion, Kṛṣṇa Caitanya by name, great giver, the giver of Kṛṣṇa-*prema*.

Sloka 4. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's *Govindāṣṭakam* 1.2:

I take refuge in that Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, of most wonderful desire, who, merciful, has with the nectar of his own *prema* made intoxicated the world drunken with ignorance.

51 Then Mahāprabhu seated them nearby, and asked them, "Give me news of Sanātana." 52 And Rūpa said, "He is a prisoner in the palace of the king; if you save him, then [only] can he be saved." 53 Prabhu replied, "Sanātana has been released, and he will soon join us." 54 The *brāhmaṇa* asked Prabhu to perform the noonday rites; Rūpa Gosvāmin remained there that day. 55 The Bhaṭṭācārya extended an invitation to the two brothers; and they took as *prasāda* the leavings on the plate of Prabhu.

45. Holding grass as a sign of humility and submission.

Sloka 2. See 2.20.śl.3; 3.16.śl.2.

56 The dwelling-place of Prabhu was above the Trivenī, and the two brothers lodged near him. 57 At that time, Vallabha Bhaṭṭa was living in the village of Āḍaila; when he heard that Mahāprabhu had come, he came to that place. 58 There he made obeisance, and Prabhu embraced him, and the two spent some time in words of Kṛṣṇa. 59 At the words of Kṛṣṇa, *prema* rose up in Mahāprabhu; but, out of consideration for Bhaṭṭa, Prabhu restrained himself. 60 But within him the *prema* was seething, and there was no restraining it; and when he saw it, the heart of Bhaṭṭa was struck with wonder. 61 Then Bhaṭṭa extended Mahāprabhu an invitation, and Mahāprabhu introduced him to the two brothers. 62 At a distance, the two brothers fell to the earth, and very humbly made obeisance to Bhaṭṭa. 63 Bhaṭṭa went to meet them, but both fled to a distance. "We are low untouchables, do not touch us." 64 Bhaṭṭa was astonished, but Prabhu was pleased in his heart; he explained it, saying to Bhaṭṭa, 65 "Do not touch them; their *jāti* is very low. And you are a learned *kultna*, *vaidika*, and *yājñika*." 66 But hearing the name of Kṛṣṇa constantly from the mouths of them both and knowing the signs of a deception of Prabhu, he said, 67 "The name of Kṛṣṇa dances in the mouths of these two; these two are not low, but are the highest of all."

Sloka 5. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 3.33.7:

How wonderful! That *śvapaca* on the tip of whose tongue your name is current is worthy of worship. Those who praise your name are endowed with proper action—they do ascetic deeds, offer sacrifices in the fire, bathe at pilgrimage places, and study the Vedas.

68 When he heard this, Mahāprabhu praised him much, and absorbed in *prema* began to recite a *śloka*:

56. The Trivenī is the confluence of the Gaṅgā, Yamunā, and the invisible Sarasvatī rivers.

59. *Samīvaraṇa*: restrained, covered over, or contained, used throughout the chapter. Presumably Vallabha and his followers were not given to displays of emotion.

65. *Kultna* does not mean here what it means in the Bengali context, for Vallabha was not a Bengali; the term probably is used in its non-technical sense of "of high family"; *vaidika*: learned in the Vedas; *yājñika*: one knowing the technicalities of the sacrifice. Judging from what follows, Caitanya is here testing Bhaṭṭa, and is not serious about his agreement with the humility of the two brothers.

Sloka 5. See 2.11.śl.14; 3.16.śl.4.

Sloka 6. Haribhaktisudhodaya 3.12:

Even a Svapāka is pure and is worthy of praise by wise men, and impurities of low birth are burnt away in the burning flame of true *bhakti*; but not he who is *nastika*, though he is versed in the Vedas.

Sloka 7. Haribhaktisudhodaya 3.11:

Of him who is devoid of *bhakti* to the *bhagavat*, caste, *śāstras*, *mantra*, and asceticism are like ornaments on a corpse, pleasing [only] to people.

69 The power and absorption of Prabhu in *prema* was the epitome of *bhakti*, and when he saw his beauty and the rest, Bhaṭṭa was astonished. 70 Bhaṭṭa had Prabhu, with his followers, board a boat, and he took them to his own house to give them food. 71 When he saw the waters of the Yamunā, smooth and dark, Mahāprabhu was distracted, under the influence of *prema*. 72 Giving a shout, he leapt into the waters of the Yamunā, and when they saw Prabhu, the minds of all trembled in fear. 73 Frantic, they all seized Prabhu and pulled him out, and he began to dance on the deck of the boat. 74 The boat began to rock under the weight of Mahāprabhu, and began to founder, as water washed over it. 75 When in the presence of Bhaṭṭa, the mind of Prabhu became quiet; but the *prema* was indescribably powerful, and could not be contained. 76 When he saw the place and the people, Mahāprabhu became quiet, and then the boat reached the ghat at Āḍaila. 77 Bhaṭṭa remained with him, in fear, and had Prabhu perform the midday rites, and then took him to his own house, together with his followers. 78 Overjoyed, Bhaṭṭa gave him the seat of honor, and he himself washed the feet of Prabhu. 79 Together with his family, he took that water on his head, and he gave him a new loincloth and outer garment to put on. 80 He then made *mahāpūja*, with perfume and flowers and incense and lamps, and when he had honored him, he cooked. 81 He fed Prabhu with care and great affection, and he also caused Rūpa Gosvāmin and his brother to eat. 82 Bhaṭṭācārya had the remainder [of the food of Prabhu] given to Śrī Rūpa, and what remained of that *prasāda*, Kṛṣṇadāsa got. 83 Giving him a rinse for his mouth, he had Prabhu lie down, and Bhaṭṭa himself massaged his feet. 84 Prabhu sent him to eat his food; he ate and came back to the feet of Prabhu.

Sloka 6. Nastika: "atheists," "naysayer," here defined as those devoid of *bhakti*.

82. Kṛṣṇadāsa is the name of Caitanya's servant, the Rājput *brahmaṇa* he met earlier in Vṛndāvana, according to Rādhagovinda Nātha.

85 At that same time, Raghupati Upādhyāya came, a Tirohita *paṇḍita* and a great Vaiṣṇava. 86 Coming there, he clasped the feet of Prabhu. "Let your mind remain in Kṛṣṇa" were the words of Prabhu. 87 When he heard this, the heart of Upādhyāya was overjoyed, and Prabhu said to him, "Tell me of Kṛṣṇa." 88 So he recited a *śloka* of Kṛṣṇa-līla, composed by himself, and when he heard it, Mahāprabhu was absorbed in great *prema*.

Sloka 8. Rūpa Gosvāmin's Padyāvalī 126 [quoting Raghupati Upādhyāya]:

Some, afraid of the world, worship the *Bhārata*, and others the *smṛtis*, and others the *śrutis*; but I bow down to Nanda, in whose courtyard was the highest *brahma*.

89 Raghupati Upādhyāya made obeisance, and with the words of Prabhu, "Speak on," Upādhyāya said,

Sloka 9. Rūpa Gosvāmin's Padyāvalī 98 [quoting Raghupati Upādhyāya]:

Who is strong enough to believe it? To whom can it be told? In the *kuñja* on the bank of the Yamunā, the lover of the young wives of the *gopas* is *brahma*.

90 Prabhu said, "Speak on"; and he recited the Kṛṣṇa-līla, and Prabhu's body and mind were overcome with *prema*. 91 Seeing the *prema*, Upādhyāya was astonished, and he decided, "This is not a human being; this is Kṛṣṇa." 92 Prabhu said, "Upādhyāya! Whom do you honor most?" And Upādhyāya replied, "Śyāma-rūpa is most [to be honored]." 93 "What dwelling place of Śyāma-rūpa do you most revere?" And Upādhyāya replied, "The city of Madhupurī is best." 94 "Boyhood or adolescence or youth—which do you most revere?" And Upādhyāya said, "I hold the age of youth to be the best." 95 "Among the qualities of *rasa*, which do you revere most?" Upādhyāya said, "The primary *rasa* is the last *rasa*." 96 Prabhu said, "You have taught me valid truth"; and so saying he recited a *śloka* in a trembling voice:

Sloka 10. Rūpa Gosvāmin's Padyāvalī 82 [quoting Raghupati Upādhyāya]:

Śyāma-rūpa is the best *rūpa*, Madhupurī is the best place, the age of youth is to be meditated upon, and the primary *rasa* is the highest.

85. A man from Trihuta-deśa in Mithilā.

92. Kṛṣṇa in the form of Śyāma, the two-armed cowherd boy of Vṛndāvana.

95. The fifth *rasa*, *mādhurya-rasa* is the best.

97 Overcome by *prema*, Prabhu embraced him, and drunk with *prema* he danced there.

98 Seeing this, Vallabha Bhaṭṭa was astonished, and bringing his two sons he fell at the feet of Prabhu. 99 For the sight of Prabhu all the people of the village came, and with *darśana* of him all became Kṛṣṇa *bhaktas*. 100 All the *brahmaṇas* offered Prabhu invitations, but Vallabha Bhaṭṭa refused them all. 101 "Mad with *prema*, Gosvāmī falls in the middle of the Yamunā; I shall take him to Prayāga, and not allow him to remain here. 102 Whoever wants to, let him go to Prayāga and offer invitations there." So saying, he took Prabhu and set off.

103 Along the Gaṅgā, having seated Mahāprabhu in a boat, Bhaṭṭa brought him to Prayāga. 104 Out of concern for the crowds, Prabhu went to the Daśaśva-medha [ghat]; and spreading his *śakti*, he instructed Rūpa Gosvāmin. 105 The limits of the Kṛṣṇa-tattva, *bhakti-tattva*, and *rasa-tattva*—Prabhu taught all these conclusions of the *Bhāgavata*. 106 All the insights which he had heard from Rāmananda, in his mercy, he communicated to Rūpa. 107 Prabhu spread *śakti* in the heart of Śrī Rūpa; he made him skilled in the investigation of all the *tattvas*. 108 And having instructed him, he ordered him to go to Vṛndāvana; he carried out everything according to the orders of Prabhu. 109 Kavikarṇapūra, the son of Śivānanda Sena, has written in detail in his book, about the meeting with Rūpa.

Sloka 11. Kavikarṇapūra's *Caitanyacandrodaya Nāṭaka* 9.48 [śloka 38]:

In time, the news of the play at Vṛndāvana had been forgotten, therefore in order especially to make it widespread, Deva anointed with the nectar of his grace Rūpa and Sanātana.

Sloka 12-13. Kavikarṇapūra's *Caitanyacandrodaya Nāṭaka* 9.42-43 [śloka 29-30]:

12 He who, though before being deeply bound by the qualities of this love, and free from domestic substitution, became as it were the embodiment of the highest *rasa*, though bodiless—that Rūpa with Anupama,

107. *Tattva*: "quiddity," the distinguishing feature(s) of something, its "thatness," i.e., what makes something what it is; occasionally translated as metaphysical "truth."

Sloka 11. Deva: Caitanya. See 2.24.śl.95.

Sloka 13. There are many double meanings here: "whose beloved is Svarūpa Gosvāmī"; "who is the husband of Prabhu" or "like the true form of love or mercy," etc. The play is always on the term "svarūpa."

Deva favored at Prayāga by embracing him with deep delight and discussions of *prema*. 13 Prabhu distributed *prema* to Rūpa, the true form of love, the true form of mercy, in true form wise and learned by nature, like his own form in one form, in form like his own *vilāsa*.

110 In this way Karṇapūra wrote in various places of how Prabhu was merciful to Rūpa and Sanātana.

111 As many very great *bhaktas* of Mahāprabhu as there are, Rūpa and Sanātana are the vessels of honor and grace of all. 112 When anyone goes back to his country, having seen Vṛndāvana, the followers of Prabhu all ask, 113 "Tell us, how are Rūpa and Sanātana faring there? How is their indifference to the world? Are they eating? 114 Do they perform *bhajana* for Śrī Kṛṣṇa for eight watches?" And then those *bhaktas* would praise them and say, 115 "Both remain shelterless; there are many trees, and each night they rest under a different tree. 116 Like bees, they eat coarse food at the houses of *brahmaṇas*; [sometimes] they eat dried bread and chickpeas, and [sometimes] give up even that. 117 They have only a clay pot in their hands and torn patched cloth as outer garments; they dance in delight at the name of Kṛṣṇa and stories of Kṛṣṇa. 118 For eight watches they perform Kṛṣṇa-*bhajana*, and rest for four *daṇḍas*; and on some days not even that, when in *nāma-saṁkīrtana*. 119 Sometimes they write *bhakti-rasa śāstras*, and listen to stories of Caitanya, and reflect on Caitanya." 120 Hearing these words, the great ones were very pleased; for what surprises are there, where the grace of Caitanya is? 121 Rūpa himself has written of the grace of Caitanya, in the *maṅgalācaraṇa* of his [*Bhakti*] *rasāmṛtasindhu*:

Sloka 14. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [pārva-vibhāga, *samānyabhakti-laharī*] 1.1.2:

By whose inspiration in my heart I, most insignificant Rūpa, have been set into motion, I bow to the lotus-feet of him, that Hari, Caitanyadeva.

122 In this way he remained at Prayāga for ten days and taught Śrī Rūpa, dispensing his *śakti*. 123 Prabhu said, "Hear me, Rūpa. Let me tell the signs

116. They were like bees because, as bees cause no trouble to the flowers in taking pollen, and as they are not greedy in their taking of it, so were the brothers at the houses of the *brahmaṇas*. *Cāna*: chickpeas.

117. *Karoya*: a water vessel of clay or of gourd.

118. *Bhajana*: *kīrtana*; *Daṇḍa*: a period of about twenty-four minutes.

Sloka 14. See 3.1.śl.56.

of *bhakti-rasa* in the form of *sūtras*, for they cannot be described in detail. 124 The ocean of *bhakti-rasa* is deep and shoreless; let me speak that you may taste a drop of it. 125 This Brahṁa-world is filled with infinite *jīvas*, and they wander through eighty-four lakhs of wombs. 126 If a hair is divided into a hundred parts and again into a hundred parts, that would describe the true form of the minute *jīva*.

Sloka 15. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.87.30a:

This *jīva* is an atom of consciousness, beyond numbering, subtle in true form, like the hundredth part of the hundredth part of a hair.

Sloka 16. *Pañcadaśī, citrādīpa-prakaraṇa* 81:

You should know that *jīva* is imagined as one part of a hundredth part of a hundredth part of a hair; this the highest *śrūti* says.

Sloka 17. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.16.11:

I am the *jīva* even within minutest things.

Sloka 18. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.87.30b:

O eternal one! If the innumerable and eternal *jīvas* were pervading everything, there would be no rule [of you] over them, but it is otherwise; for *jīvas* are produced [from a source]. Let [the *jīva*] not abandon that source of his creation and consider himself the controller. Those who consider the *jīva* to be the same as you are in error.

127 Among them are two classes: moving and unmoving. Among the moving are those which move horizontally through the water, and some which move on land. 128 And among these is the human race, most tiny [in numbers]. And among these are *mlecchas*, Pulindas, Baudhdhas, and hunters. 129 And among those devoted to the Vedas there are those who pay the Vedas lip-service, and do wrong things forbidden by the Vedas and have no respect for *dharma*. 130 And among those who

125. Nine lakhs of wombs of fishes, twenty lakhs of wombs of unmoving things, eleven lakhs of wombs of insects, ten lakhs of wombs of birds, thirty lakhs of wombs of animals, four lakhs of human wombs; and by *sādhana* one leaves all these wombs and gains the womb of Brahṁa.

127. *Sthāvara*: unmoving; *jaṅgama*: moving.

128. *Mleccha*: foreigner or barbarian, see the commentary to 2.1.186; Pulinda: name of a jungly tribe, probably here used to suggest all non-Vedic tribal peoples; Baudhdha: Buddhist; *śavara*: hunter, fowler.

130. *Jñāni*: follower of the *jñāna-mārga*, obviously here considered higher than the path of *karma*.

follow *dharma* are many who are devoted to *karma*, and among crores devoted to *karma*, there is a single *jñāni*. 131 And in a crore of *jñānis* there is one *mukta*; and hard to find in a crore of *muktas* is a single Kṛṣṇa-*bhakta*. 132 The Kṛṣṇa-*bhakta* is without desire, and thus he is 'at peace'; and all who desire *siddhi*, *bhukti*, and *mukti* are 'not at peace.'

Sloka 19. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 6.14.5:

O *mahāmuni*! Even among crores of *muktas* and *siddhas*, a man of peaceful soul, devoted to Nārāyaṇa, is hard to find.

133 Certain fortunate *jīvas*, wandering in the Brahṁa-world, gain the seed of the *bhakti*-creeper, in the grace of Kṛṣṇa and the *guru*. 134 And like a gardener they plant that seed, and nourish it with the water of *śravaṇa* and *kīrtana*. 135 The creeper grows and spreads, and splits the Brahṁa-world; it pierces Virajā and Brahmaloka, and reaches Paravyoma. 136 It grows through that and reaches Goloka and Vṛndāvana, and climbs the wishing-tree of Kṛṣṇa's feet. 137 There it spreads, and bears the fruit of *prema*. But the gardener always nourishes it with the water of *śravaṇa* and the rest. 138 If the mad elephants of offences against Vaiṣṇavas rise up, and it is uprooted or torn, its leaves wither and die.

131. As we have seen, there are those among *muktas* who turn to *bhakti* to gain the true ultimate, for by *jñāna* one gains only the lowest level of the tripartite godhead; there is one true *bhakta* to every crore of people who follow *jñāna*.

132. *Niṣkāma*: without desire for the satisfaction of the self. The ends of all other ways are selfish, and people are constantly agitated to gain that self-satisfaction. *Siddhi* is usually interpreted as the various end states which are gained by *yoga*; it is of eight kinds: *añimā*, the power of assuming a subtle or invisible or atomic (*aṇu*) form; *laghima*, a lightness of weight, so that one may rise up as a mote in the sunbeam; *mahimā*, greatness, by which one is able to assume a form as vast as a mountain; *prāpti*, in which the adept is able to touch and hold anything he wishes, even the moon in the sky; *īśitva*, by which power matter can be created; *vaśitva*, by which all matter can be controlled; *prakāmya*, by which wishes and desires of the adept are granted; and *kāmāvasāyitā*, by which all desires of whatever sort are granted. *Bhukti* is enjoyment, in heaven or *svarga*; and the five kinds of *mukti* have been discussed several times previously (see text and commentary to 1.3.16 and 2.6.239).

Sloka 19. See 2.25.śl.14.

134. *Śravaṇa*: listening to the stories of Kṛṣṇa.

137. "The rest": the other sixty-three kinds of *vaidhī-bhakti*; see 2.22.60-84 text and commentary.

138. Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmī's *HBhV* 10.239 [quoting *Skānda Purāṇa*]. Offences against Vaiṣṇavas are striking, vilifying, arguing, treating with contempt, anger, and not being pleased at seeing a Vaiṣṇava. Also, if one does not show respect to a Vaiṣṇava because he is of a lower caste, this is an *aparādha*. Even if a Vaiṣṇava does evil, he must be revered; see *BhG* 9.30.

139 That is why the gardener covers it carefully, lest it not sprout because of the elephants of offences. 140 But if branches sprout on the limbs of the creeper—desire for pleasure, or for *mukti*, so many of them that they cannot be written— 141 forbidden and evil acts, fraudulence and concern with worldly things, injury to *jīvas*, greed, and all the other offshoots, 142 and these offshoots grow, getting the water of fomentation, the main trunk is paralyzed, and does not grow. 143 So at the first, lop off these offshoots, and then the rootstem can grow in Vṛndāvana. 144 The ripe fruit of *prema* falls, and the gardener tastes it; and holding to the creeper, the gardener gets the wishing-tree. 145 And there he serves that wishing-tree, and in happiness tastes the *rasa* of the *prema*-fruit. 146 For this is the best of fruits, and the highest end of man, before which the four ends of man are like straw.

Sloka 20. Rūpa Gosvāmī's Lalitāmādhava 5.6:

Up to that point at which even the merest scent of the *prema* which is the nectar for the gaining of control over the Enemy of Madhu becomes the path of the mind, the *guru* can bring about the astonishment, the joy which comes from the experience of *brahma*, which is special, the *saṁādhi*, the true *dharma*, the glory of the road to perfection, which is prosperous.

147 From pure *bhakti* is produced *prema*; thus these are the signs of pure *bhakti*: 148 abandonment of desire for other things, of *pāpā* of others, and of *jñāna* and *karma*, and with the aid of all the senses, constant dedication to Kṛṣṇa. 149 This is pure *bhakti*, and from it *prema* comes. These signs are given in the *Pañcarātra* and *Bhāgavata*.

144. The wishing tree: the feet of Kṛṣṇa. [Compare in 1.9-12 the tree of devotion, whose trunk is Caitanya, whose main branches are Nityānanda and Advaitācārya, etc. TKS]

146. The four are *artha*, *kāma*, *dharma*, *mokṣa*.

Sloka 20. Saṁādhi: depth of absorption in meditation; realization.

148. Abandonment of things other than the attainment of Kṛṣṇa. Abandonment of *pāpā* to other deities, however, causes the Vaiṣṇava interpreters some trouble, for in many places it is said that these other deities are aspects of Kṛṣṇa. Śrīdhara Svāmī, in his *Bhāvarthadīpikā*, commenting on *BhP* 4.31.14, says that Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa is not separate from other gods, and that if one worships other gods with the understanding that he is worshipping Kṛṣṇa, and worships Kṛṣṇa the *paramēśvara*, he is a holy man. And *BhG* 9.23 says clearly that he who worships other gods is worshipping Kṛṣṇa. But, say the Vaiṣṇava commentators, it depends upon the object of worship, for one gains that aspect of Kṛṣṇa appropriate to one's worship. Thus, if one worships Śiva, one gains Śiva. In no aspect other than Kṛṣṇa himself is the ultimate end gained, for Kṛṣṇa not only contains all the other

Sloka 21. Rūpa Gosvāmī's Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu, [pārva-vibhāga, sāmānyabhakti-laharī] 1.1.12 [quoting Nārada Pañcarātra]:

Bhakti is said by Hṛṣīka to be the service of Hṛṣīkeśa, the pure, and devoid of all kinds of deception, by means of mastery of the senses.

Sloka 22-25. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 3.29.11-14:

22 Just as the water of the Gaṅgā runs into the sea, the minds [of my devotees], when they merely hear of the qualities of me, Puruṣottama, contained within the hearts of all, turn toward me without interruption. 23 The mark of *nirguṇa bhakti-yoga* is cited as *bhakti* not separate from me and spontaneous; it is not the fruit of examination, nor of knowledge of works. 24 Even if I myself am prepared to give it, my people do not take to *sālokya*, *sārṣṭi*, *sārūpya*, *sāmīpya*, or *ekatva* without serving me. 25 By which, having passed beyond the three *guṇas*, there is one worthy of gaining my *bhāva*, that is called an excessively great *bhakti-yoga*.

150 If there is desire for enjoyment and *mukti* and the rest in the mind, even if one performs *sādhana*, *prema* is not born.

Sloka 26. Rūpa Gosvāmī's Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu, [pārva-vibhāga, sādhana-bhakti-laharī] 1.2.22:

When the *piśāct*s of desire for *mukti* and enjoyment dwell in the heart, then how can the happiness of *bhakti* be experienced there?

deities, but has the added quality which is Kṛṣṇa himself. There are five "knowledge-senses" (*jñānendriya*): eyes to see the image of Kṛṣṇa; ears to hear of the *līlā* and qualities and the name of Kṛṣṇa; nose to smell the scent of the flowers and the *tulast* offered to him; tongue to taste *prasāda* and to sing of his *līlā* and name and qualities; and touch to feel the garlands offered to him, etc. And there are five "work-senses" (*karmendriya*): speech to recite the *līlā* and the qualities and the name; hand to offer flowers, play instruments, and cleanse the temple; feet to go to the temple and on pilgrimage; anus and genitals to void feces and urine and thus keep the body prepared for service to Kṛṣṇa. And there are four "inner senses": mind to remember the *līlā* and qualities of Kṛṣṇa; intelligence to establish Kṛṣṇa; realization that one is Kṛṣṇa's servant; and consciousness, to be used in seeking out things relevant to Kṛṣṇa.

Sloka 21. Hṛṣīka: the senses. *Hṛṣīkeśa*: the Lord of the senses.

Sloka 22. See 1.4.34.

Sloka 23. See 1.4.35.

*Sloka 24. See 1.4.36; 2.6.32.23; 2.9.32.24; 3.3.32.12. For an explanation of the five kinds of *mukti*, see commentary to v. 132, above.*

Sloka 26. Piśāct: a kind of demi-god or spirit, usually malevolent or at least impish.

151 From *sādhana-bhakti* comes the birth of *rati*, and when *rati* is sufficiently deep, its name is *prema*. 152 And the names of *prema* as it gradually develops are: *sneha*, *māna*, *pranaya*, *rāga*, *anurāga*, *bhāva*, and *mahābhāva*; 153 as seed, sugar cane, juice, *guḍa*, *khaṇḍasāra*, *śarkarā*, *sitā*, *miśri*, and *uttamamiśri*— 154 all these are *sthāyi-bhāvas* of *Kṛṣṇa-bhakti-rasa*. When the *sthāyi-bhāvas* are mixed together with *vibhāva* and *anubhāva*, and 155 when mixed with *sattvika* and *vyābhicari bhāvas*, *Kṛṣṇa-bhakti-rasa* comes about, as sweet as nectar to the taste. 156 It is as curd and *sitā* and *ghi* and pepper and camphor, mixed together, yield *rasāla*, sweet as nectar.

151. *Sādhana-bhakti*: listening to the stories of the *BhP*, *kīrtana*, and the rest of the sixty-four devotional acts. *Rati* usually means sexual attraction, but in the technical Vaiṣṇava context it has the suggestion of the dawning of love, of attraction to *Kṛṣṇa*. When *rati* is born, the *sādhaka* is beginning to get away from the necessity of ritual action; pure *prema* is beginning to develop. Cf. Rūpa's *BhRS* [parva-vibhāga, bhāvabhakti-laharī] 1.3.1.

152. *Sneha*: when the mind is dissolved, and separation cannot be borne; Rūpa's *BhRS* [pācīma-vibhāga, prātibhakti-laharī] 3.2.84.

Māna: when to increase the sweetness of the love affair and cause the loved one to experience love in a different way, anger and irritation are feigned, out of love; Rūpa's *UNM* [sthāyibhāva-prakaraṇa] 14.96.

Pranaya: when *māna* is changed to a state in which there is faith in the beloved; *ibid.*, 14.108.

Rāga: when *pranaya* is strengthened to such an extent that faith becomes the real possibility of gaining *Kṛṣṇa*, and even excessive sadness is considered happiness; *ibid.*, 14.126.

Anurāga: when *rāga* is constantly renewed, and the beloved is made to feel the renewed *rāga* in new and different ways; *ibid.*, 14.146.

Bhāva: the condition of *anurāga* in which the experience of love is stabilized, when the heart is completely filled; *ibid.*, 14.154. In Rūpa's *UNM* there is no distinction made between *bhāva* and *mahābhāva*. *Kṛṣṇadāsa* in *CC* 1.4.59, says that *mahābhāva* is an increased condition of *bhāva*, but gives no description of any other distinctions. See also 2.23.22.

153. *Guḍa*: a sugar made from sugar-cane juice; *khaṇḍasāra*: a kind of rough sweet made from *guḍa*; *śarkarā*: another kind of sugar; *sitā*: a more refined, white sugar; *miśri* and *uttamamiśri*: candies made from *sitā*. The series, of course, suggests increasing refinement, and increasingly concentrated sweetness, with all the qualities of all the items being contained in the last.

154-55. In the process of increasing refinement, things are added to make the difference between for example *śarkarā* and *sitā*, and the resulting taste is different; so when *vibhāva*, *anubhāva*, *sattvika*, and *vyābhicari bhāvas* are all mixed together, *rati*, the first step in *Kṛṣṇa-prema*, results. *Bhakti-rasa* is an aggregate of twelve *rasas*: seven *gaṇa* or secondary, and five primary. The *gaṇas* are, as in poetics, heroism, compassion, wonder, comedy, terror, anger, and shock; the primary ones are *śānta*, *dāsyā*, *vātsalya*, *sakhyā*, and *madhura*, as we have seen.

Sthāyi-bhāva, "permanent *bhāva*" is a stable condition in which *bhāvas* which are opposed to the main one are eliminated; anger, for example, is opposed to comedy or laughter; when one or the other is established and the one opposed to it eliminated, the *bhāva* is considered *sthāyi*; *BhRS* [dakṣiṇa-vibhāga, sthāyibhāva-laharī] 2.5.1. *Sthāyi-bhāvas* are those conditions which are stabilized and become *rasas*. Striving and valor, for example are *sthāyi-bhāvas* to the heroic *rasa*, grief to the compassion-*rasa*, astonishment to the wonder-*rasa*, laughter to the comedy-*rasa*, and so on.

157 *Bhaktas* are divided into divisions of *rati*, of five kinds: *śānta-rati*, *dāsyā-rati*, and *sakhyā-rati*, 158 *vātsalya-rati*, and *madhura-rati*—these five kinds. The divisions of *rati* are the five divisions of the *rasa* of *Kṛṣṇa-bhakti*. 159 *Śānta*, *dāsyā*, *sakhyā*, *vātsalya*, and *madhura-rasa* are their names, and among the *rasas* of *Kṛṣṇa-bhakti* these five are chief. 160 *Hasya*, *adbhūta*, *vīra*, *karuṇa*, *raudra*,

Vibhāvas are stimulants to these conditions, *BhRS* [dakṣiṇa-vibhāga, vibhāva-laharī] 2.1.15, in which and because of which the tasting of *rati* and the others in the series comes about.

Vibhāvas are of two kinds: dependent and "burning." The dependent type is also of two kinds: dependent on the object and dependent on the subject. *Kṛṣṇa* is the object of *bhakti*, so *Kṛṣṇa* is the object-dependent *vibhāva*. And *bhakti* resides in the *bhaktas*, so the *bhaktas* are the subject-dependent *vibhāva*. *Vibhāvas* by which the *bhāvas* become "burning" or intensified are the *uddīpana-vibhāvas*: the deeds, gestures, beauty, ornaments, time and place of the dependent *vibhāvas* *Kṛṣṇa* and the *bhaktas*, are made more intense by the *uddīpana-vibhāvas*. For example, if one sees the blue of a peacock's tail one's experience of the presence of *Kṛṣṇa* is made more intense.

Anubhāvas are those outward signs by which one's inner condition is expressed; *BhRS* [dakṣiṇa-vibhāga, anubhāva-laharī] 2.2.1. Dancing, singing, falling on the ground, shouting, sighing, and all the rest are *anubhāvas*.

Sattvika-bhāvas are eight in number, and are similar in manifestation to *anubhāvas*; see *CC* 1.7.86-93* and 2.23.31-32. They are stupor, tears, trembling, sweat, thrilling, breaking voice, pallor, and fainting.

For *vyābhicari-bhāvas*, see *CC* 2.8.135. When all of these are together, then *rati* is brought about, and the condition of tasting *rasa* is assured.

157-59. *Rati*, or the *sthāyi-bhāva* of *Kṛṣṇa-bhakti*, is of five kinds; *rasa* can be known or experienced in these five ways. The *guṇa* or quality of *śānta* is firmness in *Kṛṣṇa*, the abandonment of desire for anything except *Kṛṣṇa*; of *dāsyā* the quality is service, in which the majesty of *Kṛṣṇa* is still recognized as in *śānta*, but is mixed with a quality of possessiveness, as in a servant proud of his master; *sakhyā* has the quality of being devoid of humble reverence, considering *Kṛṣṇa* as an equal; *vātsalya* has the quality of considering *Kṛṣṇa* the child and oneself the elder; and *madhura* is considering *Kṛṣṇa* as the beloved in any of the states listed above: *prema*, *sneha*, and the rest. See 2.23.25-27, 33-44. [Previously *Kṛṣṇadāsa* discussed the *bhāvas* and *rasas* as four in number, excluding *śānta*, which exposes the ambivalence within the Gāṇḍīya Vaiṣṇava community regarding the inclusion of that fifth. See 1.3.9 and 1.4.38-40, śl. 5. TKS]

160. These seven *gaṇa-rasas* are seen in the five kinds of *bhaktas*, *śānta* and the rest; *BhRS* [dakṣiṇa-vibhāga, sthāyibhāva-laharī] 2.5.115-16. They appear in this way.

Hasya: widening of the eyes, agitation of the nose and forehead are called *ceṣṭā*. *Ceṣṭās* are born from relationship to *Kṛṣṇa*, and the laughter which they cause is called *hasya*; this is heightened by the appropriate *vibhāvas* and the rest to a state of *hasya-bhakti-rasa*.

Adbhūta, or wonder: that which springs from the amazement at the sight of the unworldly power and beauty of *Kṛṣṇa*; *anubhāvas* are such as widening of the eyes, tears, stupefaction, and *sañcārt* or *vyābhicari bhāvas* such as shock, delight, and inertia.

Vīra or heroic: eagerness to take action in war or any other way, because of love of *Kṛṣṇa*; its *sañcārt-bhāvas* are such as pride and delight.

Karuṇa or compassionate: grief, etc., appropriate to love for *Kṛṣṇa*; *anubhāvas* include dryness of the mouth, raving, limpness of the limbs, sweating, and *sañcārt-bhāvas* are such as coldness and apathy.

vibhatsa, and *bhaya*—these are the seven *rasas* subordinate to the five kinds of *bhakti*. 161 The five *rasas* are *sthāyi*, and remain spread in the heart of the *bhaktas*; the seven are secondary, and gain their cause as guests. 162 *Śānta bhaktas* were the nine Yogendras, and Sanaka and the others. *Bhaktas* of the *dāsyā-bhāva* are his numberless servants everywhere. 163 *Sakhyā bhaktas* are Śrīdāma and the rest, and in the city Bhīma and Arjuna. *Vātsalyā bhaktas* were mother, father, and many elders. 164 The *bhaktas* of *madhura-rasa* are primary, and are the *gopīs* in Vraja, the *mahiṣīs*, the *lakṣmīs*, too numerous to count.

165 Again, *rati* for Kṛṣṇa is of two kinds: one is mingled with the knowledge of his divine majesty, the other is isolated. 166 In Gokula the only *rati* is devoid of the knowledge of his divine majesty; in the two cities, and in Vāṅkūṭha and the rest, is his majesty primary. 167 With the primacy of knowledge of his divine majesty, love is shrivelled up. Even if one sees it one does

Raudra or anger: anger which is born from that which is opposed to Kṛṣṇa, stemming from love of him; *anubhāvas* are reddened eyes, grinding of the teeth, silence, and so on, and pride, stiffness and so on are among the *sañcārt-bhāvas*.

Vibhatsa or shock: shock at abuse and scorn directed against Kṛṣṇa or his *bhaktas*; *anubhāvas* are such as lowering the face, running, and trembling, and *sañcārt-bhāvas* such as pallor, stupefaction, and madness.

Bhaya or terror: terror at seeing or hearing evil or sinful things; *anubhāvas* are such as dryness of the mouth and deep breathing, while *sañcārt-bhāvas* are such as death, paralysis, and humility.

161. The *gaṇa-rasas* are not permanent, but occur from time to time.

162. The nine *yogendras* are Kavi, Havi, Antarikṣa, Prabuddha, Pippalayana, Āvirhotra, Draviḍa, Camaśa, and Karabhājana. Sanaka and the rest: Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanātana, and Sanatkumāra. There are two types of *śānta-bhaktas*, *ātmārāma* and *tāpasa*. Sanaka and the others were *ātmārāma* (see ante, 1.5.105, 2.6.179); *BhRS* [*pāścima-vibhāga, śāntabhaktirāsa-lahartī*] 3.1.15 defines *tāpasa* as those who realize that *mukti* apart from *bhakti* is not really without its difficulties, and accept appropriate asceticism and *bhakti*, while not abandoning their desire for *mukti*.

Dāsyā-bhāva bhaktas are of four kinds; *BhRS* [*pāścima-vibhāga, prṭabhaktirāsa-lahartī*] 3.2.16-38. *Adhikṛta*, "lordly," which Brahṁa, Śiva, and the other *devatās* are. *Āśrita*, "protected," is itself of three kinds (*śaraṇagata*, those who have taken refuge, of which examples are the serpent Kalyāṇa and the kings imprisoned by Jarāsandha; *jñānaniṣṭha*, those still firm in *jñāna*, who take refuge in Kṛṣṇa before they abandon their *jñāna*-path, of which examples are Saunaka and the other *ṛṣīs*, and *sevāniṣṭha*, those firm in service, who have from the first been drawn to worship, such as Rājā Bahulāśva, Puṇḍarikā, and others). *Pariṣada*, the retinue: in Dvāraka, such as Uddhava, and among the Kauravas Bhīṣma, Parikṣit, and Vidura. *Anuga*, those who are always attracted to doing things for the service of Kṛṣṇa, are found in both Dvāraka and Vraja.

163. The city: the Dvāraka-*līlā*. Śrīdāma was a cowherd boy in the Vraja-*līlā*.

164. The *mahiṣīs* or queens of the Dvāraka *līlā*, and Lakṣmī in Vāṅkūṭha.

166. The two cities are Dvāraka and Mathurā.

167. *Kevala* is *prema* in which is sweetness and intimacy alone, isolated from any suggestion that Kṛṣṇa is also the majestic deity. This is not to be confused with the state of *kevala* experienced by *yogins*.

not honor the majesty: this is the way [called] *kevala*. 168 Sometimes the majesty blazes up in the *śānta* and *dāsyā rasas*; but it withers *vātsalya*, *sakhyā*, and *madhura*. 169 So Vāsudeva and Devakī bowed to the feet of Kṛṣṇa: both had fear in their hearts because of their knowledge of his divine majesty.

Śloka 27. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.44.51:

Devakī and Vāsudeva, though bowing, knowing their two sons to be lords of the world, were afraid and did not embrace them.

170 Seeing the universal form of Kṛṣṇa, Arjuna was afraid, and in the *sakhyā-bhāva* he humbly asked to be pardoned from his offences of arrogance.

Ślokas 28-29. *Bhāgavad Gītā* 11.41-42:

28 If, thinking you friend, I have too boldly
Cried, 'Yadava! Kṛṣṇa! Come here my good friend!'
Not knowing of this your magnificence,
Out of absence of mind or sheer affection,
29 If perchance I have slighted you—merely in jest—
In matters of sport, bed, seating, or meal,
In privacy, Acyuta, or before others—
I ask your indulgence, immeasurable One!

171 When Kṛṣṇa laughed at Rukmiṇī, she thought 'Kṛṣṇa will leave me,' and was distraught.

Śloka 30. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.60.24:

Benumbed with great grief, fear, and sadness, her fan fell from her lax,
bangled hand; her body faint, stupefied, hair loose, like a plantain tree
blown by the wind fallen on the earth.

172 The pure *kevala prema* does not know divine majesty; and even when it sees divine majesty it does not relate it to itself.

169. At the time of the killing of Kāṁsa, Kṛṣṇa revealed some of his divinity to Vāsudeva and Devakī; they could no longer think of him as their son, and their *vātsalya-bhāva* was destroyed.

171. And Rukmiṇī, when Kṛṣṇa was joking with her and telling her to marry a prince instead of him, became afraid because of his confessed "indifference" and other signs of divinity; *BhP* 10.60.10-20.

172. Nanda and Yaśoda, even though they realized Kṛṣṇa's divinity, still considered him their son; and the *gopīs*, under the same conditions, still considered him their lover.

Śloka 31. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.8.45:

Yaśodā considered to be her own son that Hari whose greatness is celebrated by the three [Vedas], by the Upaniṣads, by Sāṃkhya, by Yoga, by Sātvata.

Śloka 32. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.9.14:

The *gopī* assumed to be her own son the unmanifest Adhokṣaja with the marks of a mortal, and tied him to a post with a rope, as she would have a material child.

Śloka 33. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.18.24:

Bhagavān Kṛṣṇa, being defeated [in a game], carried Śrīdama, Bhadra Sena carried Vṛṣabha, and Pralamba carried the son of Rohiṇī.

Śloka 34. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.30.37:

Then, going into the forest, she proudly said, "I can walk no more; take me wherever you want." In this way she spoke to Keśava. And he said to his beloved, "Mount on my shoulders."

Śloka 35. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.31.16:

O Acyuta, entranced by the song of your flute, and having transgressed husbands and sons, and family and relatives and brothers and friends, we have come to you, knowing the way. O cheat! What kind of a man would abandon women in the night?

173 In the *śānta-rasa*, by knowledge of his true form, Kṛṣṇa is established as the one. "With knowledge of me, tranquility is established." This is a verse from the holy mouth:

Śloka 36. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [pāścima-vibhāva, śāntabhaktirasa-laharī] 3.1.47:

The fixing of knowledge on me is tranquility, so says Bhagavān. Thus, without *śānta-rati*, the fixing of knowledge on him is difficult.

Śloka 31. Sātvata: Pañcarātra. See 3.7.śl.8.

Śloka 32. Adhokṣaja: "he who was born beneath the plow," an epithet of Viṣṇu.

Śloka 35. See 3.7.śl.10.

Śloka 37. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 11.19.36:

The concentration of knowledge on me is *śama*, the restraint of the senses is *dama*, the enduring of sorrow is *titikṣā*, and the conquest of the tongue and the generative organs is *dhṛti*.

174 The abandonment of desires except that for Kṛṣṇa, this action is to be honored. Thus I know the *śānta* [person] as one [type of] Kṛṣṇa-*bhakta*. 175 The Kṛṣṇa-*bhakta* considers heaven and *mokṣa* as hell. The fixing of Kṛṣṇa [in the mind] and the abandonment of desires—these are the two qualities of the *śānta* man.

Śloka 38. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 6.17.28:

All followers of Nārāyaṇa fear nothing at all; for they look upon heaven, *mukti*, and hell as the same.

176 These two qualities spread to all *bhaktas*, as the sound-quality of the sky among all elements. 177 The nature of *śānta* is without a hint of affection for Kṛṣṇa, but is learned in the knowledge [of Kṛṣṇa as] *parambrahma* and *paramātmā*. 178 In the *śānta-rasa* there is only knowledge of his true form; in *dāsyā* there is additional knowledge of Prabhu with full divinity. 179 [In] knowledge of Īśvara, reverence for his glory is great, and serving him gives infinite pleasure to Kṛṣṇa.

180 In addition to the qualities of *śānta*, there is more of service in *dāsyā*, and thus the qualities of *dāsyā* are double. 181 The qualities of *śānta* and the service of *dāsyā* are doubled in *sakhyā*. In *dāsyā* is reverence for his majesty,

Śloka 37. *Śama*: tranquility; *dama*, the subduing; *titikṣā*: forbearance; *dhṛti*: firmness.

Śloka 38. See 2.9.śl.26.

176. The five elements are earth, water, fire, wind, and sky. The quality of sky is sound; the qualities or *guṇas* of wind are sound and touch; the qualities of fire are sound, touch, and form; the qualities of water are sound, touch, form and *rasa*; and the qualities of earth are sound, touch, form, *rasa*, and smell. In this way, the qualities of *śānta* are in *dāsyā*, the qualities of *śānta* and *dāsyā* are in *sakhyā*, and so on.

177. *Mamata* implies more than "affection"; it means a personal attachment, a feeling that Kṛṣṇa somehow belongs to one.

178. I.e., in *śānta*, one only knows the *svarūpa*, he does not experience it; in *dāsyā*, one not only knows this *svarūpa*, but experience is added. In *dāsyā*, one's deity is personal (*prabhu*), though the experience of this is mingled with the awe one feels before full divinity.

181. *Viśvāsa*: faith. This is defined by Rādhāgovinda Nātha as *viśrambha*, a condition in which love is so great that there is no hesitation or diffidence on the part of either party, and each considers the other his equal and no more.

and service; *sakhya* is full of faith. 182 Riding on their shoulders, and having them ride on his shoulders, and playing at fighting: they serve Kṛṣṇa, and cause Kṛṣṇa to serve them. 183 Faith is primary in *sakhya*, and reverence for majesty less; thus are the signs of the three qualities of *sakhya-rasa*. 184 There is more affection for Kṛṣṇa, and knowledge of him as equal to the self; thus in *sakhya-rasa* Bhagavān is controlled. 185 In *vātsalya* are the qualities of *śānta* and the qualities of *sakhya* are the essence of non-diffidence and non-reverence for majesty, and in deep affection chastisement and reproach are common. 187 Knowledge of the self as protector, and of Kṛṣṇa as the protected; with the qualities of the four *rasas*, *vātsalya* is like nectar. 188 He himself drowns with his *bhaktas* in the bliss of that nectar, and those who perceive his divinity say that Kṛṣṇa is controlled by his *bhaktas*.

Śloka 39. Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin's *Haribhaktivilāsa* 16.99 [quoting *Padma Purāṇa*, *dāmodarāṣṭaka-stotra*]:

You who immersed in the well of bliss all the people of Vraja by such *līlas* of your own, and who proclaimed the conquest of yourself by your *bhaktas* to those who were devoted to the perception of your divine majesty, I bow to you again and again, a hundred hundred times, controlled by *prema*.

189 In *madhura-rasa* is the establishment of Kṛṣṇa and very intense service and the non-diffidence and most loving care of the *sakhya*. 190 In the manner of a lover, one serves him with the whole body. Thus in *madhura-rasa* are the

184. *Vaśa*: control of Bhagavān by the love of the devotee; see text and commentary to 1.4.216; 1.7.138; 1.17.71, *śl.* 5; and 2.23.26.

185. *Palana*: protection, as one protects and nourishes a child.

188. This couplet seems to be answering the complex question of the relationship of Kṛṣṇa the protector and indweller of innumerable crores of Brahmā-worlds to those who protect him, especially Yaśodā and Nanda, who also know Kṛṣṇa's divinity. If Kṛṣṇa does not consider himself as subordinate to, protected by Yaśodā and Nanda, if the relationship is one-sided only, then *vātsalya-rasa* is not tasted, i.e., he who is not hungry, in this case for affection, gets no enjoyment from eating. Thus the desire to protect and the desire to be protected must both be present. This realization arises in Kṛṣṇa because he is controlled by his *bhaktas*: neither will get the full effect of *vātsalya-rasa* unless the appropriate feelings are deeply there on both sides. See above commentary on v. 184.

190. The qualities of the other four *rasas* are present in *madhura*, and in addition there is a fifth, peculiar to this *rasa*: serving him with the whole body, abandoning home and family, which the *gopīs* did for his sake.

qualities of all five. 191 The qualities of sky, etc., are in each of the other elements; the first, second, third, and up to earth, the fifth. 192 In this same way the *madhura* is the aggregate of all the others, and thus the taste of it is most wonderful. 193 This has been a survey of *bhakti-rasa*: reflect and expand on it in your mind. 194 While you reflect on it, Kṛṣṇa will blossom in your heart; by the grace of Kṛṣṇa the ignorant man gains the shore of the ocean of *rasa*.

195 So saying Prabhu embraced him. Prabhu decided to go to Vārāṇasī. 196 And when he rose up in the morning he set forth. Then at his feet Rūpa entreated him, 197 "Give me your permission to come, in the company of your holy feet. I cannot bear the wave of *viraha* from you." 198 Prabhu said, "My words are your duty. You have come here; go to Vṛndāvana. 199 From Vṛndāvana, by way of the Gauḍa country, come to meet me at Nīlacala." 200 And embracing him, Prabhu boarded a boat; [Rūpa] fainted, and fell down on the spot. 201 The Deccanī *brahmaṇa* brought him to his house, and then the two brothers left for Vṛndāvana. 202 Mahāprabhu, after much travelling, came to Vārāṇasī; Candrasekhara came outside the village and met him. 203 In the night he had dreamed that Prabhu would come to his house, and in the morning he came and waited outside the village. 204 When he saw Prabhu he quickly fell at his feet, and joyfully took him to his own house. 205 Hearing of this, Tapana Mīśra came to meet Prabhu. In friendly conversation he extended to Prabhu an invitation. 206 Bringing him to his own house he had Prabhu fed; and Candrasekhara offered an invitation to Bhaṭṭācārya. 207 Having fed him [Caitanya], Mīśra held his feet and said, "Being kind, grant me a boon I beg of you. 208 As long as you remain in Kāśīpura, eat nowhere except at my house." 209 Prabhu knew that he would remain five or seven days, and that he would not eat with *saṁnyāsins*. 210 And knowing this, he gave his promise, and established his residence at the house of Candrasekhara. 211 The Maharashtrian *brahmaṇa* came and met him, and Prabhu in affection manifested his grace to him. 212 The pious people heard that Mahāprabhu had come, and *brahmaṇas* and *kṣatriyas* came to have *darśana*. 213 Thus did Prabhu grant his grace to Śrī Rūpa, and I have told in brief a matter of infinite complexity. 214 Whoever listens to this story with faith gains *prema-bhakti* and the feet of that very Caitanya.

215 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

197. *Viraha*: searing pain of separation.

201. Two brothers: Anupama was with Rūpa.

Madhya Līlā
Chapter 20

Sloka 1.

By whose grace even low people promulgate the *bhakti-śāstras*, whose glories are infinite and wonderful, I bow down to him, the great lord Caitanya.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and the hosts of Gaura-bhaktas.

2 And now Sanātana was in prison in Gauḍa, and at that time came the message from Śrī Rūpa Gosvāmī. 3 Receiving the message, Sanātana was overjoyed, and he began to speak to the Yavana guard, 4 "You are a *zindā-pīr*, greatly blessed, for you have knowledge of the Qur'an and other books. 5 If one allows a prisoner to escape it is his own fortune, for God frees him from *saṁsāra*. 6 Formerly I have done you favors; return the favor and release me. 7 Accept five thousand *mudrās*, and your merit also will be doubled." 8 Then that Yavana said, "Listen, sir. I would release you, except for fear of the king." 9 Sanātana replied, "Do not fear the king. He has gone to the south. If he returns, 10 say to him that 'he went out to relieve himself, and I saw him go toward the Gaṅgā and jump in. 11 I looked much, but caught no sight of him. With his chains on, he must have drowned and drifted away somewhere.' 12 There is no reason to fear; I shall not remain in this country. I shall become a dervish and go to Mecca." 13 Still the heart of the Yavana did not seem well disposed, so he

2. See 2.19.31-34.

3. *Zindā-pīr*: in Sufi terminology, one who has gained perfection while still alive.

5. The term for God is *gosāṇa*, *gosvāmī*.

9. The king had gone to invade Orissa; see 2.19.27.

12. *Darveśa*: dervish, fakir; a Sufi mendicant.

piled seven thousand *mudrās* in front of him. 14 When the Yavana saw this he became greedy, and in the night he cut the chains, and put him on the other shore of the Gaṅgā. 15 He left the path [which ran] through the gate of the fort; he could not go that way. He travelled night and day and came to Pātara mountain.

16 At that place lived a landowner, and he went to him and pleaded with him, "Transport me across the mountain." 17 That landowner had a companion who was a hand-reader, and he whispered into the landowner's ear, 18 "I know something of this; he has eight *moharas* of gold with him." When he heard this, the landowner was delighted, and he said to Sanātana, 19 "In the night I shall have my own people take you across the mountain; but cook and eat." 20 And so saying he gave him rice and paid him respect, and Sanātana went and bathed in the river. 21 After two fast days he cooked and ate. Sanātana, the king's minister, pondered it all, 22 "Why does this landowner pay me so much respect?" And thus reflecting, Sanātana asked Iśāna, 23 "Do you by any chance have some goods with you?" And Iśāna replied, "I have seven gold *moharas* with me." 24 When he heard this, Sanātana rebuked him, "Why have you brought this with you? These are death." 25 Then he took the seven *moharas* in his hand, and going to the landowner, he held out the seven *moharas* and said, 26 "I have these seven gold *moharas*; it is right for you to take them for taking me across. 27 I am a prisoner of the king, and could not go through the gate of the fort; by helping me across the mountain there will be merit [for you]." 28 The landowner smiled and replied, "I knew from the beginning that you had eight gold *moharas* in the *aṅcala* of your servant. 29 Tonight I would have killed you and taken the *moharas*. But what you have said is good, and I have escaped from an evil deed. 30 So I am satisfied; I shall not take the *moharas*. For the sake of merit I shall have you taken across the mountain." 31 The Gosvāmī said, "Taking any goods at all means my death. By accepting the goods you save my life." 32 Then the landowner sent four footsoldiers with the

15. From the fort of Husain Shah's capital at Gauḍa there was a main road—the Trunk Road—which went all the way to Delhi. As an escaped prisoner, Sanātana obviously could not travel that road.

17. *Hathagaṇita*: hand-reader, fortune teller.

21. It had evidently taken him two days to get to Pātara mountain, and he had not eaten in that time.

22. Iśāna: Sanātana's servant.

28. *Aṅcala*: a fold in the cloth at the end of the *dhoti*, where valuables are often tied.

31. I.e., if you did not take them, someone else would kill me to get them.

Gosvāmī, and travelling at night they crossed the mountain on the forest path. 33 And when they were across, the Gosvāmī asked Iśāna, "Perhaps you have some things left about your person?" 34 And Iśāna replied, "I have one last *mohara*." And Gosvāmī said, "Take the *mohara* home with you." 35 And bidding him farewell, Gosvāmī went on alone. He had no fear—he had only a waterpot in his hand, and a torn cloth [on his back].

36 After much travelling, Gosvāmī came to Hājipura; and in the evening he was sitting within a garden. 37 At Hājipura there was a man named Śrīkanta; he was a brother-in-law of Gosvāmī, and worked for the king. 38 The king had given to him three lakhs of *mudrās*, as payment for horses which he had sent to the Bādshāh. 39 He had been sitting on a high place and had seen Gosvāmī [coming], and in the night with a single companion he came to Gosvāmī. 40 The two met there and had a friendly conversation, and the Gosvāmī told him the story of his escape, and everything. 41 And he said, "Stay here two or three days. And act like a civilized man; throw away this dirty cloth." 42 Gosvāmī said, "I shall not stay here a moment; help me across the Gaṅgā. I must go at once." 43 And he took care of him and gave him a fine Bhutanese shawl, and put him across the Gaṅgā, and the Gosvāmī went on.

44 In a few days Gosvāmī came to Vārāṇasī, and when he heard that Prabhu had come he was delighted. 45 Coming to the house of Candraśekhara he sat down in the doorway. Mahāprabhu knew this, and said to Candraśekhara, 46 "There is a Vaiṣṇava at the door; have him summoned." And Candraśekhara looked, and there was no Vaiṣṇava at the door. 47 He said to Prabhu, "There is no Vaiṣṇava at the door"; and Prabhu asked him, "Who is there?" 48 He replied, "There is a dervish at the door." And Prabhu told him to bring him in. And he said, 49 "Dervish, Prabhu tells you to come in." When he heard that, Sanātana entered in delight. 50 And seeing him in the courtyard, Prabhu ran to him and embraced him, overcome with *prema*. 51 At the touch of Prabhu, Sanātana also was overcome with *prema*, and said in a choked voice, "Do not

35. *Karoyā*: a vessel for carrying water, made of clay or a gourd.

36. Rādhāgovinda Nātha speculates that this town was probably in present day Muzaffarpur district in Bihar.

37-38. Sanātana had one sister, whose husband this Śrīkanta was; see 2.19.23-24 commentary. He was a supplier of horses to the emperor at Delhi; or perhaps the Bādshāh refers to Husain Shah.

43. *Bhoṭa-kambala*, an expensive shawl or blanket from Bhutan, usually extravagantly decorated with rich colors and intricate stitching.

50. *Aviṣṭa*: overcome.

touch me." 52 The two embraced each other and wept ceaselessly, and when he saw it Candraśekhara was astonished.

53 Then Prabhu took him by the hand and led him to the *piṇḍa* and seated him beside himself. 54 With his holy hands he began to brush his body, and he said, "Prabhu, do not touch me." 55 Prabhu responded, "I touch you to become purified. By the power of your *bhakti* you can purify the Brahmā-world.

Śloka 2. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 1.13.10:

Bhāgavatas like you are themselves the true forms of pilgrimage places; they make pilgrimage to all the pilgrimage places by means of Gadādhara, who is situated in their own hearts.

Śloka 3. Gopala Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmī's Haribhaktivilāsa 10.91:

He who knows the four Vedas but does not have *bhakti* is not beloved of me; a *śvapaca* who is my *bhakta* is beloved of me. You should give to him and accept from him; he is as honorable as I.

Śloka 4. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 7.9.10:

I consider a *śvapaca* whose mind, speech, efforts, wealth, and life are devoted to him to be better than a *brāhmaṇa* who, though he possess the twelve qualities, has his face averted from the lotus-footed, lotus-navelled one; such a one purifies his family, but the prideful one does not.

56 I see you, I touch you, I sing your praises, and all my senses are fruitful—this is the determination of the *śāstras*.

Śloka 5. Haribhaktisudhodaya 13.2:

By the sight of someone like you, these eyes are fulfilled; by touching the body of someone like you, this body is fulfilled; by singing the praises of someone like you this tongue is fruitful; indeed, among people, *bhaktas* of Bhagavān are most hard to find in the world.

57 When he had said this, Prabhu said, "Hear me, Sanātana. Kṛṣṇa is full of mercy, he is the savior of the fallen. 58 He has rescued you from awful hell; the

53. *Piṇḍa*: a low seat, usually for honored guests.

Śloka 2. See 1.1.śl.31; 2.10.śl.2.

Śloka 3. See 2.19.śl.2; 3.16.śl.2.

Śloka 4. See 3.4.śl.5; 3.16.śl.3.

sea of the grace of Kṛṣṇa is profound and shoreless." 59 And Sanātana said, "I do not know Kṛṣṇa; I consider your grace as the source of my salvation." 60 Prabhu asked him, "How did you escape?" And he told him the whole story, from beginning to end. 61 Prabhu said, "Your two brothers met me at Prayāga; Rūpa and Anupama both have gone to Vṛndāvana."

62 Then, at the instruction of Prabhu, Sanātana met both Tapanā Miśra and Candrasekhara. 63 Tapanā Miśra embraced him. Prabhu said, "Go, Sanātana, and shave." 64 And Prabhu told Candrasekhara to tell him, "Put off this dress, and go put on this one"; 65 and he told him to have him take a bath in the Gaṅgā and make himself decent. Śekhara brought and gave him a new garment. 66 Sanātana refused to accept that garment, and when he heard of it, Prabhu was boundlessly delighted. 67 Having performed the midday rites, Prabhu went to eat, and he took Sanātana to the house of Tapanā Miśra. 68 Having washed his feet, he sat down to eat; and he said to Miśra, "Give food to Sanātana." 69 Miśra said, "Sanātana has some duties to perform; you eat, and afterwards I shall give *prasāda* to him." 70 After he had eaten, Mahāprabhu rested, and Miśra gave the remainder of Prabhu's food to Sanātana.

71 Miśra gave a new cloth to Sanātana. He would not take the new cloth, and entreated him, 72 "If you want to give me clothing, give me old clothing, which you yourself have worn." 73 Then Miśra gave him an old dhoti, and of it he made two loin-cloths and two outer cloths. 74 Prabhu introduced Sanātana to the Maharashtrian *brāhmaṇa*, and that *brāhmaṇa* offered him a generous invitation, 75 "Sanātana, as long as you remain at Kāśī you must eat at my house." 76 Sanātana replied, "I shall beg for alms; how can I take food every day at the house of one *brāhmaṇa*?" 77 The asceticism of Sanātana gave Prabhu infinite joy; but he looked again and again at the Bhutanese shawl. 78 Sanātana realized that it did not please Prabhu, and he thought of ways in which he could put aside the shawl. 79 Thinking thus he went to have his midday bath in the Gaṅgā; there was a Gauḍiyā there who had washed his patchwork wrap, and

63. He had probably been wearing a beard, in the Muslim style.

69. I.e., Sanātana has not yet finished his bathing, etc. It is difficult to know whether he said this because he did not approve of Caitanya eating with a Muslim, or whether it was because he was afraid that Caitanya would be overcome by the presence of one of his *bhaktas*, and not eat. [A third possibility is that by feeding Sanātana after Caitanya, Miśra was able to feed him Caitanya's leftovers (*śeṣapātra*) which would otherwise be impossible. Eating Caitanya's leftovers as *prasāda* was of course what Rūpa did previously; it is the mark of only the closest and most sincere of devotees. TKS]

76. *Madhukarī karibā*: beg for alms, lit., "act like a bee."

79. *Kānthā*: a patch-work upper garment.

was drying it out. 80 He said to him, "Hey brother! Do me a service: take this shawl and give me your patchwork wrap." 81 And he replied, "Why do you, a respectable man, make fun of me? Why would you give me an expensive Bhutanese shawl and take this patchwork piece?" 82 And Sanātana said, "I am not making fun of you; I speak the truth. Take this shawl and give me the patched garment." 83 And so saying he took the patchwork wrap and gave him the Bhutanese shawl, and he came to Gosvāmī, putting the garment up to his cheeks. 84 Prabhu queried, "Where is your fine Bhutanese shawl?" And at the feet of Prabhu, Gosvāmī told everything. 85 Prabhu said, "I have considered this; Kṛṣṇa has caused you to break away from enjoyment of worldly things; 86 why should there remain one last luxury? A good physician, curing an illness, does not let one trace of it remain. 87 A Bhutanese shawl worth three *mudrās* on the body, yet subsisting on alms; this would have been the destruction of *dharma*, and people would have laughed." 88 Gosvāmī said, "At the wish of him, who has broken the enjoyment of evil worldly things, the last of my illness of worldly things is gone." 89 Delighted, Prabhu was gracious to him, and because of his grace [Sanātana] was infused with the power to ask him questions.

90 As formerly Prabhu had asked questions of Rāya, and by his power Rāmananda had given him answers, 91 so now, by the power of Prabhu, Sanātana asked the questions and Mahāprabhu himself explained the truths.

Śloka 6.

That Īśvara, being gracious, explained to Sanātana the *tattva* of *bhakti-rasa*, and the majesty, and the sweetness, and the true form of Kṛṣṇa.

92 Then Sanātana, holding the feet of Prabhu, humbly entreated him, clenching grass in his teeth, 93 "I am of low birth, and low companions, I am fallen and worthless; I have passed my life fallen into the well of evil worldly things. 94 I know nothing of the right and wrong of the self. It is true, I acknowledge, that in worldly matters I am wise. 95 You have rescued me, being merciful; and now in your own mercy, tell me my duty. 96 Who am I? Why do the three types of suffering erode me? And this I do not know—how can they be con-

90-91. See 2.8.12-263.

96. Three types of suffering: *adhyatmika*, *adhibhautika*, and *adhidaivika*. *Adhyatmika* are those types which arise within the self, and they can be mental, spiritual, or physical; *adhibhautika* are sufferings inflicted by the elements or by other creatures; and *adhidaivika* are sufferings inflicted by the gods.

quered? 97 I do not know how to ask what is to be pursued, nor the true means of the pursuit. Be gracious, and personally explain to me all these truths."

98 Prabhu replied, "The grace of Kṛṣṇa is fully on you. You know all the truths, and the three sufferings are not yours. 99 You hold the power of Kṛṣṇa, and you know the *bhāva* of truth. I know you ask about the profound meanings—this is the nature of the holy man.

Sloka 7. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [pūrva-vibhāga, sādhanabhakti-lahari] 1.2.103:

The zealous seeking in the minds of those devoted to true *dharma* will soon gain for them all that they earnestly desire.

100 You are a worthy vessel to propagate *bhakti*; so listen to the development of all the truths as I expound them to you.

101 The true form of the *jīva* is the eternal servant of Kṛṣṇa; it is the *taṭastha śakti* of Kṛṣṇa, manifested as both immanent and transcendent. 102 As a beam of light in a part of the sun, or flame a part of the fire, so the three *śaktis* are of Kṛṣṇa's nature.

97. *Sādhyā*: what is to be pursued or striven after; *sādhana*: means of pursuit.

Sloka 7. See 2.24.śl.57.

100. *Tattva*: truth.

101. This is in answer to the question, "Who am I; what is a *jīva*?" The Vaiṣṇavas answer the question by process of elimination. The *jīva* is not the body, for not only is the body mortal, but it takes different forms in different births. It is not the subtle body which carries over after death, for that too is material; it is said that in the great destruction at the end of the world, the subtle body too is destroyed, while the *jīva* resides in the sea of causation. The mind and the senses cannot be the *jīva*, because these two are material. What then is the *jīva*? It is said that after a man or an animal is dead, the *jīva* was in that body. Therefore there is a relationship between the *jīva* and consciousness, and there is no relationship between the *jīva* and inert matter. But the consciousness cannot be a unitary thing, for one body can die and the next one remain alive. So there must be the possibility of dividing consciousness; it is concluded, then, that the *jīva* is a particle of consciousness, of *cit*. In this couplet, Caitanya makes four remarks about the *jīva*: it is a *śakti* of Kṛṣṇa, the *jīva-śakti* is a *taṭastha-śakti* of Kṛṣṇa, the relationship between the *jīva* and Kṛṣṇa is both immanent and transcendent (*bhedābheda*), and the *jīva* is in *svārūpa* the eternal servant of Kṛṣṇa. The *śaktis* of Kṛṣṇa are three: the *cit-śakti*, otherwise called the *svārūpa-śakti*, the nature of which is *cit*, pure consciousness untouched by *māyā*; this is called intrinsic (*antarāṅga*). At the other end of the spectrum is *māyā-śakti*, the *śakti* which causes the creation of the material universe, which does not partake of the *cit* or *svārūpa*; this is known as *bahirāṅga*, extrinsic. Between these is *taṭastha*, neither intrinsic nor extrinsic, the *jīva-śakti*, which has *cit* as its form, and yet is related to *māyā*. See *Jīva's Paramātmā-sandarbhā* 37. It is defined there as participating in both, and is therefore called both undivided from (*abheda*) and divided from (*bheda*) both extremes.

Sloka 8. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 1.22.54:

As the light from a fire situated in one place spreads itself out, so is the world pervaded by the whole *śakti* of *parabrahman*.

103 The final developments of the three *śaktis* natural to Kṛṣṇa are *cit-śakti*, *jīva-śakti*, and *māyā-śakti*.

Sloka 9. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 6.7.61:

The *śakti* of Viṣṇu is of three kinds: *parā*, *kṣetrajñā*, and the third is called *avidyā-karman*.

Sloka 10. *Bhagavad Gītā* 7.5:

The elemental world is my lower nature; know that I have a higher nature, in which *jīva-śakti* participates, by which the world is upheld, strong-armed prince.

104 To that *jīva* who forgets Kṛṣṇa, and eternally has his face turned outward, *māyā* gives the sorrows of *saṁsāra*. 105 Sometimes he rises up to heaven, and sometimes he sinks into hell, as the king immerses offenders in the river.

103. *Parīṇatī*: development; *śaktis* are known by the functions they perform in the material and immaterial realms. As in v. 102, the warmth and brightness of the sun suggest something of the nature of the sun, but are not the sun: this is analogous to *māyā-śakti*. The rays of the sun carry the brightness and warmth to the earth; this is *jīva-śakti*. But the sun itself is separate from these functions in its true nature; the sun itself on the earth is in fact inconceivable.

Sloka 9. See 1.7.śl.7 and commentary. See also 2.6.śl.10; 2.8.śl.36; 2.24.śl.88.

Sloka 10. See 1.7.śl.6; 2.6.śl.12.

104. Rādhāgovinda Nātha suggests that the phrase "who forgets Kṛṣṇa" or "having forgotten Kṛṣṇa" implies that there is a dynamic involved, by which a *jīva* can attain a state of proper servitude to Kṛṣṇa and then turn away from *bhakti* to a desire, for example, for *mukti*. But the next phrase in the line corrects that, and Rādhāgovinda Nātha says that there are two essential types of *jīvas*, those who are by nature beyond the Pale, those who have their faces eternally turned away, and those who have their faces toward Kṛṣṇa, who can be saved. For one who desires Kṛṣṇa is eligible for Kṛṣṇa's grace, and when that is granted there is no possibility of apostasy. The question, answered by v. 105, is of course: Although extrinsic, *māyā-śakti* is still a *śakti* of Kṛṣṇa; is it then part of the nature of Kṛṣṇa to send *jīvas* into hell? The analogy is to the king, who rewards and punishes in the material world, it being his *dharma* or cosmic duty to do so. Both heaven and hell are in the realm of material nature, and as Kṛṣṇa's *māyā-śakti* functions within material nature—is in fact the operative force in material nature—it is by that *śakti* that reward and punishment come about.

Sloka 11. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 11.2.37:

He who is separated from Īśvara, because of his *māyā*, forgets; because of that, he is in opposition, and because of that is born fear and clinging to things of the body and of the world. For this reason the wise man worships that Īśvara with undeviating *bhakti*, [considering] his *guru* as *devatā*.

106 If, by grace of the *śāstras* and *sādhus*, one's face is turned toward Kṛṣṇa, that *jīva* is saved, then *māyā* leaves him.

Sloka 12. Bhāgavad Gītā 7.14:

This my divine *māyā*, consisting of [the three] *guṇas*, is certainly hard to escape. Those who take refuge in me can overcome this *māyā*.

107 For the *jīva* immersed in *māyā* there is no spontaneous knowledge of Kṛṣṇa. In his mercy for the *jīva*, Kṛṣṇa made the Vedas and Purāṇas. 108 He causes himself to be known in the forms of the *śāstras* and the *guru* and the *ātmā*; and the *jīva* comes to know that 'Kṛṣṇa is my lord and my deliverer.'

109 It says in the Vedas and *śāstras* that [there are three divisions]: *sambandha*, *abhidheya*, and *prayojana*. The gaining of Kṛṣṇa is the *sambandha*, and *bhakti* is the means of gaining him. 110 So *bhakti* is the *abhidheya*, and the *prayojana* is *prema*. *Prema* is the ultimate wealth, the crest jewel of the ends of man. 111 The cause of the attaining of it is the bliss of the service of the sweetness of Kṛṣṇa; service of Kṛṣṇa increases the taste of the *rasa* of Kṛṣṇa. 112 An example of this is: if to the house of a poor man an all-knowing man comes, and seeing his misery he

Sloka 11. See 2.24.śl.44; 2.25.śl.32.

Sloka 12. See 2.22.śl.7; 2.24.śl.45.

107. *Svataḥ*: spontaneous—except for the *śāstras*, *guru*, etc., there is no way for the *jīva* sunk in *māyā* to know his true relationship to Kṛṣṇa, for at this point he is entirely under the control of *māyā-śakti*, which is extrinsic. When the *jīva* is released from the control of *māyā*, however, that relationship is immediately and spontaneously known in the heart.

108. *Ātmā*: the *paramātmā*, which is indwelling in the hearts of all *jīvas*.

109. These are the three parts of all textual argument: what the matter of the discourse is (*sambandha*), what the argument will be, or the means of reaching the conclusion (*abhidheya*), and the resolution (*prayojana*); see 1.7.139. [The *sambandha* (= Kṛṣṇa) is the topic of discourse in chapters 2.20-21; see also below vv. 121-24; 2.25.88-98, śl.22; and 2.25.106, śl.30-32. The *abhidheya* (= *bhakti*) is the topic of chapter 2.22; see also below vv. 125-27; 2.25.99-101; and 2.25.106, śl.30-32. The *prayojana* (= *prema*) is the topic of chapter 2.23; see also below vv. 128-30; 2.25.102-104, śl.24-26; and 2.25.107, śl.33-34. TKS]

asks him, 113 'Why are you so miserable? You have your father's wealth. He did not tell you this, as he died in another place.' 114 The speech of the seer gives him news of wealth; and thus Kṛṣṇa instructs the *jīvas* through the Vedas and Purāṇas. 115 In the speech of the seer, wealth and property are the matter; so in the teachings of all the *śāstras*, the *sambandha* is Śrī Kṛṣṇa. 116 That 'you have the wealth of your father'—this knowledge does not gain him the wealth; for then the seer must tell him the means of getting it. 117 'The wealth is in this place; if you dig in the south, hornets and wasps will rise up, and you will not get the wealth. 118 If you dig in the west, there is a *yakṣa* there, and he will prevent you, and the wealth will not fall into your hands. 119 If you dig to the north, there is a black snake there, and you will not get the wealth; while you are digging he will eat everybody. 120 But turn a little earth to the east, and pots of money will fall into your hands.' 121 Thus the *śāstras* say: abandon *karma* and *jñāna* and *yoga*. Kṛṣṇa is controlled by *bhakti*, and by *bhakti* he should be worshiped.

Sloka 13. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 11.14.20:

O Uddhava, only that very powerful *bhakti* toward me is able to compel me; I am not [compelled by] *yoga*, *sāṃkhya*, *dharma*, Vedic study, *tapas*, or renunciation.

Sloka 14. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 11.14.21:

I, beloved of the souls of holy men, am obedient only to *bhakti* with faith; *bhakti* established toward me purifies even the natures of *śvāpacas*.

122 Thus *bhakti* is the means of gaining Kṛṣṇa, and is celebrated in all the *śāstras* as *abhidheya*. 123 If one gains wealth, he gains its fruits of enjoyment and happiness, and sorrow flees by itself from happiness and joy. 124 In that way does *prema* grow toward Kṛṣṇa, as the fruit of *bhakti*. And when one tastes Kṛṣṇa in *prema*, the world is destroyed. 125 But the destruction of the world and the

115. *Sanubandha* or *sambandha*: matter, the subject of the all-knowing one's discourse or the teachings of the *śāstras*.

118. *Yakṣa*: a ghost, spirit, or demigod, often as here thought to be malevolent.

121. *Vaśa*: control; see also 1.4.216; 1.7.138; 1.17.71, śl.5; 2.23.26.

Sloka 13. See 1.17.śl.5; 2.25.śl.31; 3.4.śl.2.

Sloka 14. See 2.25.śl.30.

124. "The world": the material world, with its three kinds of misery.

125. Rādhagovinda Nātha notes that the destruction of poverty is not the primary result or fruit of the attainment of wealth, but is an accompanying result. So the destruction of the misery

elimination of misery is not the [chief] fruit of *prema*; the primary *prayojana* is the enjoyment of the happiness of *prema*. 126 The Vedas and *śāstras* say that there are *sambandha*, *abhidheya*, and *prayojana*. These are the three great riches, *Kṛṣṇa*, *Kṛṣṇa-bhakti*, and *prema*.

127 In the Vedas and all the *śāstras*, *Kṛṣṇa* is the primary *sambandha*; consequent upon realization of this, the bonds of *māyā* disappear.

Sloka 15. Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [dakṣiṇa-vibhāga, vyabhicāri-lahari] 2.4.142:

Some *purāṇas* and *āgamas*, in order to delude the moving and unmoving creatures of the world, may prattle until the end of time of the primacy of this *devatā* or that; but if one has the power to discriminate the true matter of all the *āgamas*, it will finally be ascertained to be the single and only Bhagavān Viṣṇu.

128 Whether it be a primary or secondary issue, whether it be the rule or the exception—that which the Veda asserts exclusively is called *Kṛṣṇa*.

Sloka 16-17. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.21.42-43:

16 What is enjoined? What is overtly stated? What can be restated by philosophical argument back and forth? No one except for me knows the essence of all of this. 17 They enjoin me; they manifest me; I am the conclusion which they reach, debating it.

129 The *svatūpa* of *Kṛṣṇa* is infinite, its grandeur limitless—*cit-śakti*, *māyā-śakti*, and *jīva-śakti*. 130 Vaikuṇṭha and the Brahman-worlds—these are the creations of his *śakti*. *Kṛṣṇa* shelters equally these creations of his *śakti*, as well as the *svatūpa-śakti* [itself].

Sloka 18. Śrīdhara Svāmī's *Bhāvārthadīpikā* commentary on *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.1.1: In the tenth [book of *Bhāgavata*] the object to be defined, the tenth

of *samsāra* is not the chief result of the gaining of *prema*; the chief result is the tasting of the sweetness of *Kṛṣṇa* through the happiness of service to him in *prema*.

Sloka 15. This verse is also found in Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmī's *HBhV* 1.68; Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Laghuhāgavataṁṛta*, *pūrva-khaṇḍa* 2.53; *Padma Purāṇa*, *pātala-khaṇḍa*, 93.26.

128. See sloka 16-17.

129. The various *śaktis* are also discussed in 1.2.84-86; 1.7.106-19; and 2.6.143-59. The *svatūpa-śakti* is discussed in 1.4.52-61. *Vaibhava*: grandeur.

130. Both the powers of creation (*svatūpa śakti*) as well as creation itself are contained in *Kṛṣṇa*.

Sloka 18. See 1.2.16.

principle, the incarnation of the shelter of those seeking shelter, called *Kṛṣṇa*, the highest place, the refuge of the universe—to him I bow down.

131 Hear, O Sanātana, a discussion of the *svatūpa* of *Kṛṣṇa*: the truth of knowledge of the non-dual is the son of Vrajendra in Vraja. 132 He is the beginning of all things, the container of all things, the crown of youth; his body is *cit* and *ānanda*, the refuge of all, the lord of all.

Sloka 19. *Brahma Saṁhitā* 5.1:

Kṛṣṇa is the highest *Īśvara*, the embodiment of *sat*, *cit*, and *ānanda*, beginningless, yet the beginning of all things, Govinda, the cause of all causes.

133 *Kṛṣṇa* is *svayaṁ bhagavān*; his other name is Govinda. He is full of all divine qualities, and his eternal dwelling place is Goloka.

Sloka 20. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.3.28:

All these are but parts and fractions of parts of the *puruṣa*; but *Kṛṣṇa* is *svayaṁ bhagavān*. They incarnate themselves in every age to protect people persecuted by Indra's enemies.

131. Rādhagovinda Nātha notes that, based on Jīva's *Tattva-sandarbhā* 51, knowledge (*jñāna*) is knowledge of the self as *cit*, as consciousness; the *svatūpa* of *Kṛṣṇa* is *cit*, consisting of the three *śaktis* by which he knows himself as *sat*, *cit*, and *ānanda*. This is his knowledge of himself; and by this *śakti* he also knows himself as non-dual or without a second (*advaya*). The true nature is called *advaya* when it is self-perfected, when there is no condition other than self-perfectedness, when there is no heterogeneity, and when there is no help or assistance other than one's own power. Another definition is "devoid of separation" (*bhedahina*). Separation or difference can be of three kinds: within a category, of different categories, and within the self. "Within a category" is a condition like differences between two men. If it is asked: "Are not *Kṛṣṇa* and Nārāyaṇa within the same category?"—the answer is that in *svatūpa* there is no difference. Or if it is suggested that the *jīva* also participates in *cit*, the answer is that the *jīva* is not self-perfected, but needs the grace of *Kṛṣṇa* for perfection; therefore the categories are different. The *jīva* is therefore neither within the same category, nor of a different category. And "within the self": it has been shown that the body and the possessor of the body may be different in terms of material, but in terms of *Kṛṣṇa* both are made up of *cit*, and thus there is no difference.

Sloka 19. See 1.2.16; 2.8.1.29; 2.21.1.8.

133. *Aiśvarya*: divine qualities.

Sloka 20. See 1.2.1.13; 1.5.1.11; 2.9.1.12; 2.25.1.29.

134 *Jñāna*, *yoga*, and *bhakti*—under the control of these three *sādhana*s are the three—*brahma*, *ātmā*, and *Bhagavān*—realized.

Śloka 21. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.2.11:

The truth-knowing wise men call the ultimate truth that which is undivided knowledge. It is called by three names—*brahman*, *paramātmā*, and *bhagavān*.

135 *Brahma*—its manifestation is the undifferentiated radiance of his body, as the sun fills the naked eye with brilliance.

Śloka 22. *Brahma Saṁhita* 5.40:

That *brahma* whose magnificence is manifest in crores and crores of *Brahma*-worlds, that *brahma* differentiated in all the manifestations of all the elements of earth, etc., endless, undivided, and total—I worship that Govinda as the *ādī-puruṣa*.

136 That which is *paramātmā* is part of *Kṛṣṇa*; *Kṛṣṇa* is the soul of the soul and the ornament of all things.

Śloka 23. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.14.55:

Know that *Kṛṣṇa* as the soul of the souls of all [things]; he manifested himself in this world by his *māyā*, in a body, for the well being of the world.

Śloka 24. *Bhagavad Gītā* 10.42:

O Arjuna! What is the point of your knowing much about all such matters? I, by one single part, support this whole universe!

137 By *bhakti* is *Bhagavān* experienced fully; he has only one *vigraha*, and infinite *svarūpa*. 138 *Svayaṁ-rūpa*, *tadekātmā-rūpa*, and *āveśa-rūpa* are the names

134. *Jñāna* gains for one the unqualified, undifferentiated *brahman*. *Yoga* gains the differentiated indwelling one; see 1.2.7. *Bhakti* will gain the possessor of all form and all qualities, the highest *Bhagavān*.

Śloka 21. See 1.2.14; 1.2.12; 2.24.12; 2.24.15; 2.25.12.

135. His body: the body of *Kṛṣṇa*.

Śloka 22. See 1.2.15.

136. See ante, 1.2. *Ātmā* *ātmā*: the soul of the soul.

Śloka 24. See 1.2.17; 2.20.16.

137. His one *vigraha* is the two-armed, flute playing cowherd boy of *Vṛndāvana*.

of the three *rūpa*s in which *Bhagavān* primarily remains. 139 In his *svayaṁ-rūpa* he appears in two forms: *svayaṁ* and *prakāśa*. The *svayaṁ-rūpa* is singular: *Kṛṣṇa* as a *gopa* in *Vraja*. 140 In *prakāśa* there are two kinds: the *prabhava* and the *vaibhava rūpa*s. One body [contains] many forms, as in the *rāsa-līlā*. 141 In his marriage to the *mahiṣṭ* his forms were many: this is well known in the *śāstras* as *prabhava-prakāśa*. 142 This was not the *kāyavyūha* of *Saubhari* and the other [sages]; if it had been *kāyavyūha*, *Nārada* would not have been astonished.

Śloka 25. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.69.2:

It is indeed a wonderful thing how he, alone, with a single body, in different houses simultaneously and separately married sixteen thousand women.

143 If that same body and that same form appear in different ways, separate in nature and kind, its name is *vaibhava-prakāśa*. 144 In these multitudes of *prakāśa*, there is no division of the form of *Kṛṣṇa*; but in differences in shape and color and weapons, there is division in name.

138. *Svayaṁ-rūpa*: form as self-perfected and contained, *Vrajendranandana*; *tadekātmā-rūpa*: no division in *svarūpa*, but in which different bodily forms, emotional conditions, etc., appear; *āveśa-rūpa*: absorbed, those great *bhaktas* who are absorbed in *Kṛṣṇa*'s power and in knowledge of him; see below, vv. 139, 152, 304. [These and the following divisions establish the primary categories of *Kṛṣṇa*'s multiple forms, especially *avatāra* theory. For a schematic of this system, see the chart in Introduction, Figure 1, pp. 142-43. TKS]

139. I.e., *svayaṁ-rūpa* is of two kinds: *svayaṁ-rūpa* and *prakāśa-rūpa*. [Here and in the next verses *rūpa* is a technical term (to be distinguished from other terms that are roughly synonymous, e.g., *mūrti* and *vigraha*), but which can usefully be read in the general concept of "form." TKS]

140. *Prakāśa-rūpa*: separation of one basic form into many forms, there being no differences among the many forms, or between the many forms and the one basic form; in this way *Kṛṣṇa* appeared between each two *gopis* during the *rāsa-līlā*.

141. In the same way, in the *Dvāraka līlā* he married sixteen thousand queens; each of *Kṛṣṇa*'s sixteen thousand forms was equally real. *Mūrti*: form, image, or shape.

142. *Saubhari*, the legend says, married fifty girls at the same time, having divided himself up by his yogic power into fifty forms. *Kāyavyūha* means a magical or *yoga*-generated replica; *Nārada* himself knew how to make such *kāyavyūhas*, and would not have been astonished, as the next *śloka* suggests, at *Kṛṣṇa*'s having a similar power. [*Kāyavyūha*, literally a manifestation of the body, is a function of *māyā*, whereas *Kṛṣṇa*'s multiplication of *rūpa*s is devoid of *māyā* altogether, a docetism which is of a different order than the less subtle *kāyavyūha*. TKS]

Śloka 25. See 1.1.132.

143. I.e., if in the body of the *svayaṁ-rūpa* differences of color, of number of arms, etc. appear; and if these are manifested in different forms, this is called *vaibhava-prakāśa*.

144. I.e., *Kṛṣṇa* can have one form or many forms; if to the many forms different and separate names are assigned, this is *ananta-prakāśa*. *Mūrti*: form.

Śloka 26. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.40.7:

And others, having cultured souls, are singly devoted to you, and are instructed by you according to injunctions, and worship you as many forms or as one form.

145 The *vaibhava-prakaśa* of Kṛṣṇa is Śrī Balarāma. He is different only in color; in all other ways he is the same as Kṛṣṇa. 146 The son of Devakī is his *vaibhava-prakaśa*, [appearing sometimes] in his two-armed true form, and sometimes as four-armed. 147 When he is two-armed, his name is *prabhava-prakaśa*, and when he is four-armed, his name is *vaibhava-prakaśa*. 148 In his *svayaṃ-rūpa* he is a *gopa* in dress and considers himself a *gopa*; and in the *kṣatriya* dress of Vāsudeva, he realizes: 'I am *kṣatriya*.' 149 Replete with beauty and majesty, and sweetness and skill are his activities as the son of Vrajendra—this is his chief joy. 150 Seeing the sweetness of Govinda, Vāsudeva was agitated, and desire arose to taste that sweetness.

Śloka 27. Rūpa Gosvāmin's Lalitāmādhava 4.19:

O friend, this dance, displaying my duality of the *Ābhīra-līla*, manifesting a sweetness most wonderful, again and again has astonished [me]. Having seen the true form of which [dance], my mind is anxious for that entrancing play, and desires to be like the form of the women of Vraja truly.

151 As it was at the sight of the dance of the *gandharva* at Mathurā, so it was again when he saw the picture at Dvārakā.

146. The son of Devakī and the son of Yaśodā are not separate; yet as the son of Devakī he appears as four-armed, and as son of Yaśodā as two-armed.

148. Vāsudeva: the son of Devakī and Vāsudeva.

149. *Vilāsa*: activities. I.e., Kṛṣṇa realized that as the *gopa*, son of Vrajendra and Yaśodā, his beauty, majesty, etc. were greater, and therefore in his form as Vāsudeva asked Vāsudeva his father to take him to Yaśodā.

150. While the essence is the same, one *prakaśa* can stand aside and admire and desire the qualities of another.

Śloka 27. Ābhīra-līla: līla as gopa, although B. B. Majumdar feels that "the Gopas of the Mathurā region can hardly be identified with the *Ābhīras*"; see *Kṛṣṇa in History and Legend*, 54.

151. When Kṛṣṇa was at Mathurā, the *gandharvas* acted out the *Vraja-līla* of Kṛṣṇa; seeing the sweetness manifested, Vāsudeva became agitated, and wanted to taste that sweetness as Rādhā. Also when in Dvārakā he saw a picture of himself, as Rādhā he was anxious to taste that sweetness.

Śloka 28. Rūpa Gosvāmin's Lalitāmādhava 8.34:

What is this unprecedented, astonishing, ultimate sweetness of mine which throbs so profoundly? When I see this, I am attracted and with greedy mind seek to enjoy it impetuously like Rādhikā.

152 That body takes different forms, and has different reflections; and the name of it when different in sentiment, emotion, and shape is *tadekatma-rūpa*. 153 There are two divisions of *tadekatma-rūpa*: *vilāsa* and *svāṃśa*. And the subdivisions of *vilāsa* and *svāṃśa* are many. 154 *Vilāsa* has two forms, *prabhava* and *vaibhava*. And the *vilāsa* divisions of these *vilāsas* are of endless kinds. 155 *Prabhava-vilāsa* is Vāsudeva and Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha—these four are primary. 156 At Vraja, Balarāma was in the *gopa-bhāva*, and at Pura in the condition of *kṣatriya*. The name of this is *vilāsa* because of differences of color and dress. 157 In *vaibhava-prakaśa* and in *prabhava-vilāsa*—Baladeva appears in one form in different *bhāvas*. 158 There is nothing equal to the *adī-caturvyūha*; it is the cause of the manifestation of innumerable *caturvyūhas*. 159 These four are the *prabhava-vilāsas* of Kṛṣṇa; their dwelling place is eternally at the citadels of Dvārakā and Mathurā. 160 From these four, twenty-four *mūrtis* are manifested; these are *vaibhava-vilāsa*, different in names and in weapons. 161 Again, Kṛṣṇa with the *caturvyūha*, in his former form, dwells in Paravyoma in

Śloka 28. See 1.4.śl.20; 2.8.śl.35.

152. *Sei vapu*: "that body," i.e., the *svayaṃ-rūpa*. There is no division of *svatūpa*, but differences of *bhāva* (sentiment), *aveśa* (emotion), and *akṛti* (shape).

153. *Vilāsa*: in which for a particular *līla* Kṛṣṇa assumes a particular form, or if the form is slightly different from the *svayaṃ-rūpa*. *Svāṃśa*: being of the same nature as the *svayaṃ-rūpa*, as in *vilāsa*, but manifesting slightly less *śakti* than *vilāsa*.

154. *Prabhava-vilāsa* manifests less *śakti* than does *vaibhava-vilāsa*. Rādhāgovinda Nātha bases this on the distinctions made in vv. 140-148 above.

156. Pura: Mathurā and Dvārakā. "Color" is *varṇa*, which might refer to the social distinction between *gopa* and *kṣatriya*.

157. The *prabhava-vilāsa* and the *vaibhava-vilāsa* are not two forms (*mūrti*) of Baladeva; they are one form with different characteristics.

158. The *adī-caturvyūha* is made up of Vāsudeva, Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha, noted in v. 154; there are innumerable *caturvyūhas* in the innumerable Brahman-worlds; but the manifestation in the Brahman-worlds is from the *adī-caturvyūha* in Dvārakā and Mathurā.

160. The twenty-four are Vāsudeva, Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, Aniruddha, Keśava, Nārāyaṇa, Mādhava, Govinda, Viṣṇu, Madhusūdana, Trivikrama, Vāmana, Śrīdhara, Hṛṣīkeśa, Padmanābha, Damodara, Adhokṣaja, Puruṣottama, Upendra, Acyuta, Nṛsiṃha, Janārdana, Hari, and Kṛṣṇa. For weapons, see vv. 193-205.

161. Nārāyaṇa, the *vilāsa-mūrti* of Kṛṣṇa, dwells in Paravyoma. "Former form" means previously mentioned form (*rūpa*): as Kṛṣṇa is in Dvārakā in the *caturvyūha*, so Nārāyaṇa is in the *caturvyūha* in Paravyoma.

the form of Nārāyaṇa. 162 From that, again are manifested *caturvyūhas*, and they dwell all around it in latent form. 163 Again, in each of the four there are three *mūrtis*, from which come Keśava and the rest, the fulfillments of *vilāsa*. 164 These are all differentiated in name and according to whether they hold the disc or other weapons. The *mūrtis* of Vasudeva are Keśava, Nārāyaṇa, and Mādhava. 165 The *mūrtis* of Saṃkarṣaṇa are Govinda, Viṣṇu, and Madhusūdana. This is the other Govinda, not the son of Vrajendra. 166 The *mūrtis* of Pradyumna are Trivikrama, Vāmana, and Śrīdhara; the *mūrtis* of Aniruddha are Hṛṣīkeśa, Padmanābha, and Dāmodara. 167 These twelve are the deities of the twelve months: Keśava of Mārgaśrīṣa, Nārāyaṇa of Pauṣa, 168 Mādhava is the deity of Māgha, Govinda of Phālguna, Viṣṇu of Caitra, Śrī Madhusūdana of Vaiśākha, 169 Trivikrama of Jyāiṣṭha, Vāmana the lord of deities in Āśāḍha, Śrīdhara in Śrāvaṇa, and the deity Hṛṣīkeśa in Bhādra. 170 Padmanābha is in Āśvina, and Dāmodara in Kārttika: he is other than the 'Radha-Dāmodara,' the son of Vrajendra. 171 These are twelve *tilakas*, the names of *mantras* in the ritual, and with the twelve names appropriate places are touched.

172 The *vilāsas* of the four are eight; let me tell you the names of all of these, Sanātana. 173 They are Puruṣottama, Acyuta, Nṛsiṃha, Janārdana, Hari, Kṛṣṇa, Adhokṣaja, and Upendra—these eight. 174 The *vilāsas* of Vasudeva are Adhokṣaja and Puruṣottama; the *vilāsas* of Saṃkarṣaṇa are the pair of Upendra and Acyuta. 175 The *vilāsas* of Pradyumna are Nṛsiṃha and Janārdana, and the *vilāsas* of Aniruddha are Hari and Kṛṣṇa. 176 These twenty-four *mūrtis* are chief in the *prabhava-vilāsa*, and they have different names, according to the differences in the weapons they hold. 177 Among them, of whom there are

162. Vasudeva is in the east, Saṃkarṣaṇa in the south, Pradyumna in the west, and Aniruddha in the north.

167. Mārgaśrīṣa: Agraḥāyana; *devatā*: deity.

170. Dāmodara is another name of Kṛṣṇa.

171. *Ācamana*: ritual, ritual cleansing of the self, especially the mouth, in purification preparatory to worship. In *ācamana* twelve parts of the body are touched, and as they are touched these names are meditated upon: Keśava—the forehead; Nārāyaṇa—the stomach; Mādhava—the breast; Govinda—the pit of the throat; Viṣṇu—the right side of the belly; Madhusūdana—the right arm; Trivikrama—the right shoulder; Vāmana—the left side of the belly; Śrīdhara—the left arm; Hṛṣīkeśa—the left shoulder; Padmanābha—the back; and Dāmodara—the loins. *Tilaka* is an auspicious mark, a sign. Actually, in the Vaiṣṇava *ācamana* the names of the twenty-four deities mentioned above in v. 160 are uttered; these twelve are included among them.

172. The "four," i.e., the *ādi-caturvyūha* of v. 154.

176. The twenty-four are the four *caturvyūhas*, the twelve gods of the months, and the eight *vilāsa-mūrtis* of the *caturvyūhas*. The *caturvyūhas* of Dvārakā are the *prabhava-vilāsas* of Kṛṣṇa; these twenty-four are the *vilāsas* of the *caturvyūhas*.

differences in dress and in form, are separate *vaibhava-vilāsa*. 178 Padmanābha, Trivikrama, Nṛsiṃha, Vāmana, Hari, Kṛṣṇa, etc.—among these there are differences in form. 179 The *prabhava-vilāsas* of Kṛṣṇa are four—Vasudeva and the rest; and the [*vaibhava*]-*vilāsas* of these four are twenty in number. 180 Each one of these is in Vaikuṇṭha Paravyoma, and in each of the eight directions, east, etc., are three. 181 Although Paravyoma is the eternal place of them all, still some are nearby, in the Brahma-world. 182 In the midst of Paravyoma is the eternal place of Nārāyaṇa; and above Paravyoma is the glory of Kṛṣṇa-*loka*. 183 Kṛṣṇa-*loka* is one, but has the tripartite variegation known as Gokulā, Mathurā, and Dvārakā. 184 At Mathurā Keśava is eternally present; at Nīlacalā, Puruṣottama has the name Jagannātha. 185 At Prayāga is Mādhava; at Mandarā Śrī Madhusūdana; in Ānandāraṇya is Vasudeva, Padmanābha, and Janārdana. 186 Viṣṇu is at Viṣṇukāñcī, and Hari remains at Māyāpura. And thus are many other *mūrtis* within the Brahma-world. 187 And in this way all of them are manifested in the Brahma-world, and they all have *vilāsa* in the seven islands and the nine *khaṇḍas*. 188 They are manifested everywhere to give happiness to *bhaktas*, to destroy non-*dharma* in the world, and to establish *dharma*. 189 Among them some are called *avatāras*, such as Viṣṇu, Trivikrama, Nṛsiṃha, and Vāmana.

190 The cause of the differences in their names is the difference in the weapons which they hold; hear, O Sanātana, the differences among the holders of the discus and other weapons. 191 From the lower right hand to the lower left hand, the holding of the various weapons is counted. 192 The *Siddhartha-saṃhitā* numbers twenty-four *mūrtis*, and according to that text, the holding of the discus, etc., is primary. 193 Vasudeva: club, conch, discus, lotus; Saṃkarṣaṇa: club, conch, lotus, discus; 194 Pradyumna: discus, conch, club, lotus; Aniruddha: discus, club, conch, lotus; 195 In Paravyoma, Vasudeva and the rest each hold their own weapons distinctively—Śrī Keśava: lotus, conch, discus, club; 196 Nārāyaṇa:

178. *Ākara*: form.

180. Each of these has a separate and eternal dwelling place or *dhama* in Paravyoma.

183. See 1.5.13-14.

187. The seven islands (*dvīpa*) are Jambū, Prākṣa, Śālmali, Krauñca, Kuśa, Śāka, and Puṣkara; the nine parts (*khaṇḍa*) are Bhāratavarṣa, Bhadrāśvavarṣa, Ketumalavarṣa, Uttarakuruvarṣa, Ilāvṛtavarṣa, Rāmyakavarṣa, Hariṇmayavarṣa, Hariavarṣa, and Kimpuruṣavarṣa. The islands are parts of the earth as defined by rivers, the *khaṇḍas* are parts of the earth as separated by mountain ranges; together they make up the whole earth.

191. Each of them is, obviously, four-armed; to the viewer the sequence is clockwise from the deity's lower right hand, upper right, upper left, and finally lower left.

conch, lotus, club, discus; Śrī Madhava: club, discus, conch, lotus; 197 Śrī Govinda: discus, club, lotus, conch; Viṣṇu-mūrti: conch, club, lotus, discus; 198 Madhusūdana: discus, conch, club, lotus; Trivikrama: lotus, club, discus, conch; 199 Śrī Vāmana: conch, discus, club, lotus; Śrīdhara: lotus, discus, club, conch; 200 Hṛṣīkeṣa: club, discus, lotus, conch; Padmanābha: conch, lotus, discus, club; 201 Dāmodara: lotus, discus, club, conch; Puruṣottama: discus, lotus, conch, club; 202 Acyuta: club, lotus, discus, conch; Nṛsiṃha: discus, lotus, club, conch; 203 Janārdana: lotus, discus, conch, club; Śrī Hari: conch, discus, lotus, club; 204 Śrī Kṛṣṇa: conch, club, lotus, discus; Adhokṣaja: lotus, club, conch, discus; 205 Śrī Upendra: conch, club, discus, lotus. This is the configuration for the conch, discus, etc., in the hands of the twenty-four *mūrtis*.

206 The *Hayaśīrṣa-pañcarātra* speaks of sixteen figures, and according to its configuration these are the [differences in the] holding of the discus and other weapons. 207 Keśava is distinguished by holding lotus, conch, club, and discus; Madhava differs by holding discus, club, lotus, and conch. 208 Nārāyaṇa differs with his various weapons; and there are numerous other differences as well for holding all these weapons.

209 *Svayaṃ bhagavān* and *līlā-puruṣottama*—Vrajendranandana has these two names. 210 In latent form in Purī, in Purī's nine directions, nine *mūrtis* are manifested in the form of nine *vyūhas*.

Śloka 29. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta*, *pārva-khaṇḍa* 5.175:

These four—Vasudeva and the others—and Nārāyaṇa and Nṛsiṃha, Hayagrīva, Varāha and Brahmā—these nine are mentioned.

211 This has been a description of *prakaśa* and *vilāsa*; now hear, O Sanātana, about the divisions of *svāmīśa*. 212 It has two divisions: *saṃkarṣaṇa* and those in the line starting with Matsya. *saṃkarṣaṇa* is the *puruṣa-avatāra*, and the other is the *līlā-avatāra*. 213 There are six kinds of *avatāra* of Kṛṣṇa; the *puruṣa-*

207. *Bheda*: difference, distinction.

209. Evidently in the *Pañcarātra* text these two names are listed among the other differences noted above; Kṛṣṇadāsa is saying that these are names of Kṛṣṇa himself, not merely aspects holding various weapons.

210. *Āvaraṇa*: concealed, which can also mean "protecting," i.e., the deities of the eight directions of the compass; here the ninth, upward, has been added. Purī refers to Mathurā and Dvārakā, "the cities," and should not be confused with Nīlācala, which is on occasion called Purī in the early Gaudīya Vaiṣṇava literature.

212. *Līlā-avatāra* means Matsya, Kūrma, and the rest.

avatāra is one, and the *līlā-avatāra* another. 214 The others are: *guṇa-avatāra*, *manvantara-avatāra*, *yuga-avatāra*, and *śaktyāveśa-avatāra*. 215 Boyhood and youth are the *dharma*s of his *vigraha*; in these forms does Vrajendranandana have *līlā*. 216 The *avatāras* of Kṛṣṇa are so many, there is no counting them; they pervade all directions like the moon through branches.

Śloka 30. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.3.23:

O *brāhmaṇa*, from the lotus pond which is never depleted thousands and thousands of streams flow; so from Hari, the ocean of being, innumerable *avatāras* are manifested.

217 In the beginning, Kṛṣṇa fashions his *puruṣa-avatāra*, and that *puruṣa* is of three kinds.

Śloka 31. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta*, *pārva-khaṇḍa* 2.9 [quoting *Satvata Tantra*]:

Viṣṇu has three forms which they know under the name *puruṣa*: the first is the creator of *mahat-tattva*, the second is the *puruṣa* immanent in all *Brahmā*-worlds; the third is the *puruṣa*, immanent, the god indwelling in each creature. If one is able to realize this, he is freed from the material world.

218 Among the infinite *śaktis* of Kṛṣṇa, three are primary; their names are *icchā-śakti*, *jñāna-śakti*, and *kriyā-śakti*. 219 Primary in *icchā-śakti* is Kṛṣṇa

214. These will all be discussed below.

215. Kṛṣṇa has *līlā* in the forms of his *prakaśas*, *vilāsas*, and the rest, in his *puruṣa-avatāra*, and in the five other kinds of *avatāra*; and apart from that, he takes his true form as boy and youth for his manifest *līlā* on the earth. *Vigraha*: the true form of the body of Kṛṣṇa. *Dharma* here might be something like "characteristics" or "particularities."

216. This is a puzzling verse. Rādhāgovinda Nātha explains it in this way: as one is standing under a tree thick with leaves and branches and looks up at the moon, one sees only a sliver or a hint of it; so it is when the *jīva* looks at the *avatāras* of Kṛṣṇa: he sees a hint of the *svatāpa*.

217. Although the Bengali of this period was rather loose about its tenses, the verb here is present, perhaps implying a continuous process.

Śloka 31. See 1.5.śl.10.

218. He is speaking of the *puruṣa-avatāra*, the cause of creation. These three *śaktis* are described in the following verses.

219. *Ichchā*: wish or desire. By this *śakti*, Kṛṣṇa desires the creation to come about. When this desire arises, the intelligence, knowledge, or consciousness *śakti*, which is ruled by Vasudeva, ascertains the means by which the creation is to be effected; and then the creation is performed by the "doing" or *kriyā-śakti*, ruled by *saṃkarṣaṇa*.

[who] effects everything according to his desire. Primary in *jñāna-śakti* is Vasudeva [who] rules. 220 Apart from *icchā*, *jñāna*, and *kriyā*, there is no creation; these three *śaktis* together compile the phenomenal world. 221 Primary in *kriyā-śakti* is Saṁkarṣaṇa-Balarāma, [who] fabricates material and immaterial creation. 222 He rules self-consciousness according to the wish of Kṛṣṇa, and by *cit-śakti* he creates Goloka and Vaikuṇṭha. 223 Even though they are uncreated and eternal as *vilāsa* of *cit-śakti*, still they are manifested according to the desire of Saṁkarṣaṇa.

Sloka 32. *Brahma Saṁhita* 5.2:

There is a thousand-petalled lotus named Gokula, which is the place of the great one, and the seed-pod of that lotus is the place of him, arisen from a particle of his infinitude.

224 By *māyā* he creates the multiple Brahma-worlds; material nature, which is inert, is not the cause of the Brahma-worlds. 225 Creation cannot emerge from inert matter apart from the *śakti* of Īśvara; for that reason Saṁkarṣaṇa generates *śakti*. 226 By the *śakti* of Īśvara material creation is brought about, as iron, by the *śakti* of fire, has the power to burn [one].

Sloka 33. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.46.31:

Rāma and Mukunda—these two are the seed and the womb of the universe; they are *prakṛti* and *puruṣa*; being ancient they have entered into all material things, and control the various kinds of creatures.

227 That *mūrti* which takes shape in the phenomenal world for the purpose of creation, that Īśvara-*mūrti* is called '*avatāra*.' 228 All of these dwell in Paravyoma, which is apart from *māyā*; but having descended into the universe,

222. *Ahaṁkāra*: self-consciousness. Kṛṣṇadāsa, it seems, is saying that Saṁkarṣaṇa was creating these places, or "manifesting" them, as in v. 223, out of pure consciousness, *cit*.

223. "Manifested" implies that these places are eternal, as consciousness is eternal and as Kṛṣṇa is eternal, but that the consciousness out of which they were manifested was somehow shaped.

Sloka 32. "Arisen from a particle of his infinitude" has an alternative reading: "is manifested from Saṁkarṣaṇa."

Sloka 33. *Jñānasya*: "creatures," literally "rational beings." The reading is that of Radhagovinda Nātha.

they have the name *avatāra*. 229 To survey *māyā*, Śrī Saṁkarṣaṇa was first manifested in the form of *puruṣa*.

Sloka 34. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.3.1:

Bhagavān in the beginning assumed the form of the *puruṣa*—composed of *mahat*, etc., and consisting of the sixteen component parts—out of a desire to create the world.

Sloka 35. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 2.6.42:

The *puruṣa* is the *ādi-avatāra* of Bhagavān. Of the supreme are time, nature, *prakṛti*, which is cause and effect, [the *mahat-tattva* of] mind, etc., substance, transformation, *guṇa*, senses, vastness, splendor, and the totality of all creatures, moving and unmoving.

230 That *puruṣa* lay on the Virajā [Sea], and, called Kāraṇābdhiśāyī, is the cause of the world. 231 On one shore of the Causal Waters *māyā* is eternally situated; it cannot cross over to Paravyoma, on the shore of the Virajā [Sea].

Sloka 36. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 2.9.10:

[It is] where there is no *rajas* or *tamas*, and *sattva* is not mixed with them, nor overcoming by death, where there is no *māyā* nor influence of *māyā*, and where the followers of Hari are worshiped by *suras* and *asuras*.

232 There are two conditions of *māyā*—*māyā* and *pradhāna*. *Māyā* is the cause of the material cause, and *pradhāna* is the motive cause. 233 That *puruṣa* looks toward *māyā*, and, having agitated material nature, impregnates her. 234 Touching *prakṛti* with the special lustre of his own body, he sowed his seed in the form of *jīvas*.

229. *Avalokite*: to survey; the creation of the material world was brought about by Saṁkarṣaṇa's energizing *māyā* by a glance; *avatṛṇa*: manifested. The first *puruṣa*, Saṁkarṣaṇa as Kāraṇābdhiśāyī, is discussed in vv. 229-41.

Sloka 34. See 1.5.13.

Sloka 35. See 1.5.12.

231. Kāraṇābdhi: Causal Waters. On one side of the Virajā sea or river is pure consciousness, *cit*, and on the other the material creation; they cannot touch one another.

232. *Māyā* here means *jīva-māyā* and *pradhāna* means *guṇa-māyā*; *jīva-māyā* is the secondary material cause (*nimitta-kāraṇa*) and *guṇa-māyā* the secondary motive cause (*upādāna-kāraṇa*). See ante, commentary on 1.5.50.

233. *Prakṛti*: material nature.

Sloka 37. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 3.26.19:

Because of destiny the *parama-puruṣa* sowed his seed in his own womb, affected by qualities; and it became the *mahat-tattva*, golden.

Sloka 38. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 3.5.23:

By the power of time, the potent Adhokṣaja has sowed the seed of the *puruṣa*, by himself becoming the *puruṣa*, in that *māyā* which is full of qualities.

235 Then from the *mahat-tattvas* came three kinds of consciousness of self, from which proceed the elements, the *devatās*, and the senses. 236 All the *tattvas* together created the multiple Brahman-worlds; the Brahman-worlds are infinite, and there is no numbering of them. 237 This *puruṣa* is the creator of the universe, and his name is Mahaviṣṇu; in the pores of his skin dwell innumerable Brahman-worlds. 238 As motes of dust come and go through windows, so do Brahman-worlds float out with the breathing of the *puruṣa*. 239 And again they float in, with his breathing. His majesty is infinite, and all beyond *māyā*.

Sloka 39. Brahma Saṁhitā 5.48:

I worship that Govinda, the *ādī puruṣa*, for the duration of whose breath the lords of the Brahman-worlds that are born from his pores live, and of whom Mahaviṣṇu is a special fraction.

240 He is indwelling in all the Brahman-worlds and the lord of all the worlds, Kāraṇabdhīśayī. 241 Thus has been explained the truth of the first *puruṣa*, and now hear the great truth of the second *puruṣa*.

235. According to sloka 37, *prakṛti*, material nature, was transformed by the seed-glance of the *puruṣa*, and this transformation is called *mahat-tattva*. Three kinds of consciousness: *sattvika*, *rājasika*, and *tāmasika ahaṁkāra*. The last part of the verse might read: "and the *devatās* who control the senses." The progression is as follows: when *prakṛti* is infused with *śakti* by the *puruṣa*, her equilibrium is destroyed, and the first transformation which comes about is *mahat-tattva*; by the activity of *śakti*, the three *guṇas* are agitated, and as a result the three join and separate, and from that movement consciousness of self comes about. This consciousness is of the three kinds above, depending on which of the *guṇas* is primary. Then from the *sattvika-guṇa* proceed the *devatās*, from the *rājasika-guṇa* the senses, and from the *tāmasika-guṇa* the five primary sensations of form, taste, smell, touch, and sound.

236. All the *tattvas*: *mahattattva*, *devatā*, senses, and elements. What has been translated here and throughout the text as Brahman-world is literally Brahman-egg (*brahmāṇḍa*).

239. *Aiśvarya*: majesty, divinity.

Sloka 39. See 1.5.18; 2.21.10.

242 That [first] *puruṣa*, having created unnumbered crores of Brahman-worlds, assumed many forms, and entered each [world] in a distinct form. 243 Having entered them he saw that all was darkness, and that there was no place to rest, and he reflected on this. 244 He filled half of each Brahman-world with the water of the sweat of his own body, and on that water he rested on his Śeṣa-couch. 245 From his lotus-navel a lotus grew, and in that lotus was the birth-place of Brahman. 246 In the stalk of that lotus were the fourteen worlds; and he, becoming Brahman, created the creation. 247 Assuming the form of Viṣṇu, he protected the world; Viṣṇu is apart from qualities—he is untouched by *māyā*. 248 Taking the form of Rudra, he destroys the world. By whose desire come creation, maintenance, and destruction, 249 his *guṇa-avatāras* are Brahman, Viṣṇu, and Śiva. And these three control creation, maintenance, and destruction [respectively]. 250 Garbhodakaśayī is indwelling in Hiraṇyagarbha; in the Vedas he is celebrated as Sahasraśrīṣa, etc. 251 And this second *puruṣa* is the Īśvara of Brahman-worlds; he is the refuge of *māyā*, but he is beyond *māyā*.

252 The third *puruṣa* is Viṣṇu the *guṇa-avatāra*; he is counted as within two *avatāras*. 253 He is the indweller in the Virāṭa and in individual *jīvas*; he is Kṣīrodakaśayī, he is the lord and the protector. 254 This then is the description of the *puruṣa-avatāras*; now hear, O Sanātana, of the *līlā-avatāras*.

255 The *līlā-avatāras* of Kṛṣṇa are beyond counting; let me survey the primary ones among them. 256 The Matsya, Kūrma, Raghunātha, Nṛsiṁha, Vāmana, Varāha and the rest—the numbers in the writings cannot be counted.

Sloka 40. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.2.40:

O Īśvara! You protect us and protect the three worlds by descending as Matsya, Aśva, Kacchapa, Varāha, Nṛsiṁha, Haṁsa, Rājanya, Vipra, and Vibudha; in this way now, destroy the burden of the earth; supreme homage to them.

257 The *līlā-avatāras* have been briefly surveyed; now hear a description of the *guṇa-avatāras*.

242. The second *puruṣa*, Garbhodakaśayī, is discussed in vv. 242-51.

247. "Apart from qualities," i.e., the material *guṇas*.

249. Brahman creates as the controller of *rajas*, Viṣṇu protects as controller of *sattva*, and Rudra destroys as controller of *tamas*.

252. As he is controller of the *sattva-guṇa* and protector of the world, he is a *guṇa-avatāra*. He is also the third *puruṣa-avatāra*. The third *puruṣa*, Kṣīrodakaśayī, is described in vv. 252-54.

253. Virāṭa: the fourteen worlds; *svāmī*: lord.

256. I.e., fish, tortoise, Rāma, man-lion, dwarf, boar, etc.

258 Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva—these are the three *guṇa-avatāras*; they accept the three *guṇas* and carry out creation and the rest. 259 There are certain worthy *jīvas*, who do meritorious deeds mingled with *bhakti*, and their minds are distinguished by the *rajas-guṇa*. 260 Pervading [them] with *śakti* by means of the Garbhodakāśayī, Kṛṣṇa, taking the form of Brahmā, himself creates.

Sloka 41. *Brahma Saṁhita* 5.49:

As the sun manifests its own brightness a little in its own jewels, so [does] this Brahmā, the creator of the world-eggs; I worship that *adi-puruṣa*, Govinda.

261 When in certain *kalpas*, no *jīva* is worthy, Iśvara himself then becomes Brahmā in part.

Sloka 42. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.68.37:

All the *lokapālas* take the dust of his lotus feet upon their heads, of him who is the *tīrtha* for whom *tīrthas* are venerated; and we—Brahmā, Śiva, myself, and Śrī—are a part of a part of him; where should we carry the royal throne of his leisure?

262 In the part of his own part, Kṛṣṇa accepts the *tamas-guṇa*, and takes the form of Rudra, together with *māyā*, for the purpose of destruction. 263 Rudra transformed with *māyā* is of a form both the same and different: he is not the

259. Those who follow the path of *karma* mingled with *bhakti* gain a lower form of realization than those who follow pure *bhakti*; but they are nonetheless worthy. These *jīvas* become Brahmā, who is the controller of *rajas-guṇa*.

260. Rādhāgovinda Nātha comments: in those *kalpas* (ages of Brahmā) in which such worthy *jīvas* are found, Bhāgavān inspires their minds with *rajas-guṇa*, and by means of Garbhodakāśayī the second *puruṣa* causes the infusion of the creative *śakti* in them and makes them Brahmā. By them in that *kalpa* the creation of *jīvas* is brought about. In this way, that *jīva* who becomes Brahmā is called the *jīva-koṭi* Brahmā. And in those *kalpas* in which such worthy *jīvas* are not found, the Garbhodakāśayī himself becomes manifest as Brahmā, and this is called the *īśvara-koṭi* Brahmā.

261. I.e., this Brahmā is a part (*aṁśa*) of Bhāgavān.

Sloka 42. See 1.5.śl.20.

262. I.e., he is a part of the second *puruṣa*, which is itself a part.

263. Rudra in conjunction with *māyā* is called "transformed" (*vikārti*): "Both the same and different" from Kṛṣṇa. Rudra or Śiva is a part of a part (*aṁśakāla*) of Kṛṣṇa, and as there is no difference between the part and the container of parts, so there is no difference in *svarūpa* between Śiva and Kṛṣṇa. But because he has accepted *māyā*, Śiva must be different, and Kṛṣṇa is unchanged.

jīva-tattva, nor is he the *svarūpa* of Kṛṣṇa. 264 It is as milk mixed with a coagulant sours to form curd, and no longer has the substance of milk within it, and cannot become milk again.

Sloka 43. *Brahma Saṁhita* 5.45:

As milk, mixed with a transforming substance is changed into curd, but is not separate from its source, so he has taken on Śambhu-ness to carry out his work; I worship that *adi-puruṣa*, Govinda.

265 Śiva is linked with *māyā-śakti*, and is controlled by the *tamas-guṇa*; but Viṣṇu Parameśvara is beyond *māyā* and beyond *guṇas*.

Sloka 44. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.88.3:

Śiva is eternally linked with *śakti*, and characterized by the *trilinga-guṇas*; he has the *vaikārika*, *taijasa*, and *tāmasa*—this [*ahaṁkāra*] is threefold.

Sloka 45. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.88.5:

Hari is himself free from *guṇas* and apart from *prakṛti*; he is the manifest *puruṣa*, all-seeing, all-witnessing; if one worships him, one becomes free from *guṇas*.

266 With the aim of protection, he comes down in the form of Viṣṇu, a part of himself; he directs his gaze toward *sattva-guṇa*, but he is beyond the *guṇas* and beyond *māyā*. 267 The full divine majesty of his true form is almost equal to [that of] Kṛṣṇa; but 'Kṛṣṇa is the container of parts, and he is a part': This is celebrated in the Vedas.

V. 101, has the *jīva* as "*bhedabheda prakāśa*" of Kṛṣṇa, a revelation which is both the same and different. The difference is that the *jīva* is controlled by *māyā*; Kṛṣṇadāsa is saying here that although Śiva has relationship to *māyā*, he is not controlled by it, thus he is not the same as the *jīva*. Nor, because he does have that relationship, is he the *svarūpa* of Kṛṣṇa. See Gopala Bhaṭṭa's *HBhV* 1.73 and 11.283.

264. Amla: coagulant

Sloka 43. Śambhu: Śiva.

Sloka 44. Rādhāgovinda Nātha comments: *trilinga* is the attribute of Śiva when the three *guṇas* are agitated by the *śakti* of the *puruṣa*. *Vaikārika* is *sattvika*, and *taijasa* is *rājasa*. On the question of how Śiva comes to be linked with all three *guṇas*, when his power is that of destruction and his *guṇa* that of *tāmasa*, Baladeva Vidyabhūṣaṇa comments that *tāmasa* is merely his primary *guṇa*.

266. I.e., he protects by his glance; he does not touch the material *guṇas*.

267. *Aiśvarya*: divine majesty.

Śloka 46. *Brahma Saṁhita* 5.46:

As the flame of a lamp lights another wick, and manifests a role like that of its source although in another lamp, just so does he appear in the form of Viṣṇu; I worship that *ādī-puruṣa*, Govinda.

268 Brahmā and Śiva are *avatāras* to carry out commands, they are *bhaktas*; and with the aim of preservation, Viṣṇu is the form of Kṛṣṇa's *svarūpa*.

Śloka 47. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 2.6.32:

I create enjoined by him; Hara, controlled by him, destroys; he, possessing the three *śaktis*, in the form of *puruṣa*, sustains the universe.

269 Now, O Sanātana, hear of the *manvantara-avatāras*; they are innumerable; hear their causes. 270 In one day of Brahmā are fourteen *manvantaras*; and Īśvara makes fourteen *avatāras* in them. 271 These fourteen are in one day; in a month there are four hundred and twenty, and in a year of Brahmā there are five thousand and forty. 272 One hundred years is a lifetime of Brahmā, so there are five lakhs and four thousand *manvantara-avatāras*. 273 Thus they are enumerated in the infinite Brahmā-worlds; and one breath of Mahaviṣṇu is the lifetime of Brahmā. 274 There is no end to the breaths of Mahaviṣṇu; so you see the limit in writing of one *manvantara-avatāra*. 275 In the Svāyambhuva it is Yajña; in Svārociṣa it is Vibhu; in Uttama it is Satyasena; and in Tāmāsa its name is Hari. 276 In Rāivata it is Vaikuṇṭha; in Cakṣuṣa it is Ajita; and in Vaivasvata it is Vamana; in Sāvāṇa it is Sārvabhauma; and in Dakṣasāvāṇa it is Rṣabha. 277 In Brahmasāvāṇa it is Viśvaksena; in Dharmasāvāṇa it is Dharmasetu; in Rudrasāvāṇa it is Sudhama; and in Devasāvāṇa it is Yogeśvara. 278 In Indrasāvāṇa it is called Bṛhatbhanu. These are the names of the fourteen *avatāras* in the fourteen *manvantaras*.

Śloka 47. See 2.21.31.9.

272. [The printed text reads "five lakhs, forty thousand" (*pañcalakṣa-calliṣa-hajāra*), which is in error. TKS]

14 *manvantaras*/day x 30 days = 420 *manvantaras*/month

420 *manvantaras*/month x 12 months = 5040 *manvantaras*/year

5040 *manvantaras*/year x 100 years = 504,000 *manvantaras*.

275-278. These are the names of the *manvantaras* (e.g., Svāyambhuva) and the *avatāras* of each (e.g., Yajña).

279 Now, O Sanātana, hear of the *yuga-avatāras*. The four *yugas* are counted as Satya, Tretā, Dvāpara, and Kali. 280 Light, blood, dark, and yellow—these, in order, are the four colors; and taking these four colors Kṛṣṇa establishes the *dharma* of the age.

Śloka 48. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.8.13:

From age to age, there are three colors of him who embodies himself: white, red, and yellow. Now he has become black.

Śloka 49. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.5.21:

In the Kṛta [age] he is of light color and four armed, with matted hair, wearing garments made of bark, the skin of a dark-colored deer, the sacred thread, and a rosary of seeds, and carries a staff and an earthen pot.

Śloka 50. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.5.24:

In the Tretā age he is blood-colored, four-armed, holding the trident, his hair tawny, his self made up of the three, and having the signs of garlands and flowing water.

281 In the Satya age, with light-colored *mūrti*, he established the *dharma* of meditation, and, being gracious, granted a boon to Karddama. 282 Meditating on Kṛṣṇa, people [became] proficient in *jñāna*. And in the Tretā age, having blood-color, he established sacrifice as the *dharma*. 283 Worship of the feet of Kṛṣṇa was the *dharma* of the Dvāpara age, and in his dark color he established the duty of the worship of Kṛṣṇa among the people.

279. These four ages or *yugas* make up one *divya-yuga*; seventy-one *divya-yugas* make up one *manvantara*.

Śloka 48. See 1.3.31.6; 2.6.31.3.

Śloka 49. Kṛta: Satya age.

Śloka 50. "Made up of the three": RGN comments: *vedamaya śartraviśiṣṭha*, "characterized by being made of the Vedas."

281. Meditation: *dhyāna*; see BhG 6.11-14. In BhP 3.21, this story is told: Brahmā instructed his son Karddama to create *pāṇi*; Karddama thereupon to satisfy Bhagavān sat in meditation for ten thousand years on the bank of the Sarasvatī River. So powerful was his meditation and asceticism that Bhagavān appeared to him. Karddama then asked a boon of him: a wife. So Bhagavān granted him this boon: that the Svāyambhuva-manu would present him his own daughter in marriage, and that they would have nine daughters who would marry *ṛṣis*.

Sloka 51. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.5.27:

In the Dvāpara [age], Bhagavan, of dark color, wears yellow clothing and bears his own weapons, characterized by signs like the *śrīvatsa* curl, and by certain marks on his body.

Sloka 52. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.5.29:

Homage to that Vasudeva, homage to Saṁkarṣaṇa, to Bhagavan Pradyumna and Aniruddha both, homage.

284 By this *mantra* they worship Kṛṣṇa in the Dvāpara age. And in the Kali age the *dharma* is the *nāma-saṁkīrtana* to Kṛṣṇa. 285 In his yellow color, then, he propagated this; he gave *prema-bhakti* to the people, with his *bhaktas*. 286 Vrajendranandana propagated the *dharma*, and in *prema* the people sang and danced and made *saṁkīrtana*.

Sloka 53. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.5.32:

Good and wise people indeed worship [him] by sacrifice, [namely] chiefly *saṁkīrtana*, together with his followers and weapons of *aṅga* and *upāṅga*, black-colored yet light-colored in his glory.

287 Those fruits which are gained by meditation and the rest, in the other three ages, those same fruits are gained in the Kali age by the name of Kṛṣṇa.

Sloka 54-55. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 12.3.51-52:

54 O *rāja*! Though it is a storehouse of faults, the Kali age has one great quality; by the praise of Kṛṣṇa alone, the *jīva* is freed from his bondage and is able to gain the supreme one. 55 What was gained in the Kṛta age by meditation on Viṣṇu, and what in the Tretā age was gained by sacrifice, and by worship in the Dvāpara age, that in the Kali age is gained by *kīrtana*.

Sloka 51. *Śrīvatsa* is a curl of hair on the chest of Kṛṣṇa. See 1.3.51.7.

284. The *mantra* quoted as *śloka* 52.

Sloka 53. See 1.3.51.10; 2.6.51.4; 2.11.51.10; 3.20.51.2.

Sloka 56. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 6.2.17:

Which is gained in the Kṛta by meditation, by sacrifices of the offering in the Tretā, by worship in the Dvāpara, that is gained in the Kali Yuga by *kīrtana* of Keśava.

Sloka 57. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.5.36:

Noble men, discerning virtue and holding to the essence, revere [him] in the Kali age, when all the ends can be gained by *saṁkīrtana*.

288 When previously I wrote about the *guṇa-avatāras* I said they were innumerable and could not be counted. 289 And thus have been considered the *avatāras* of the four ages." And when he heard this, Sanātana, with a gesture, questioned him.

290 Sanātana was a minister of the king, and was as Bṛhaspati in wisdom; and by the grace of Prabhu he asked him unhesitatingly, 291 "I am a most insignificant *jīva*, a low man who has done low things; how shall I know who is the *avatāra* in the Kali age?" 292 Prabhu answered, "We know the other *avatāras* by means of the *śāstras*; and so, respecting the words of the *śāstras*, [we know] the Kali-*avatāra*. 293 The *śāstras* are the words of all-knowing sages, and are proof. All we *jīvas* are informed by the *śāstras*. 294 The *avatāra* does not say 'I am an *avatāra*,' but the sages, knowing all, determine it by the signs.

Sloka 58. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.10.34:

By all that unparalleled greatness, by his might which does not accompany any *jīva* who possesses a body, and by these [signs] all the *avatāras* into bodies by the Bodiless are known.

295 By *svarūpa-lakṣaṇa* and by *taṭastha-lakṣaṇa*—by these two *lakṣaṇas* the seers know the matter. 296 Form and nature—these are *svarūpa-lakṣaṇa*; and knowledge by means of deeds—this is *taṭastha-lakṣaṇa*. 297 In the beginning of the *Bhāgavata*, in the *maṅgalācāraṇa* of Vyāsa, he ascertains Parameśvara by these two signs.

Sloka 56. Also found in *Padma Purāṇa*, *uttara-khaṇḍa* 72.25; *Bṛhannāradya* 38.97; Gopala Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmī's *HBhV* 11.239.

295. *Lakṣaṇa*: mark, sign, characteristic.

296. *Ākṛti-prakṛti*: form and nature. Some of these might be four arms, arms reaching to the knees, lameness, color of skin, etc. Characteristics of nature would be internal. "Knowledge by means of deeds": activities from which true nature can be deduced. The usual example is that sugar is known by the act of tasting, and its quality is sweetness.

Sloka 59. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 1.1.1:

Let us meditate upon the highest truth, from which the birth, etc., of this world derive, who has come from the other side, who is cognizant and of self-perfected knowledge, who spans the *brahman* with his heart, about whom the original poets and sages are confused, in whom fire, water, and earth are mixed, in whom the three creations serve no purpose, by whom all deception is discarded with its own splendor.

298 In this *śloka*, in the word 'para' is the determination of Kṛṣṇa, and in the word 'satya' is his *svatūpa-lakṣaṇa*. 299 He created the universe, etc., and taught Brahmā the Vedas. Knowledgeable of the ends, he dispelled *māyā* with his *svatūpa-śakti*. 300 All these deeds are his *taṭastha-lakṣaṇa*, and in this way the seers knew the other *avatāras*. 301 At the time of *avatāra* he is perceived in the world; and some recognize Īśvara by these two *lakṣaṇas*.

302 Sanātana continued, "On whom are the signs of Īśvara, the yellow color, the deeds, the giving of *prema* and *saṁkīrtana*, 303 he is certainly the *avatāra* of Kṛṣṇa in the Kali age. Speak more deeply, that my doubt be dispelled." 304 Prabhu replied, "Abandon your trickery, O Sanātana; hear the description of the *śaktyāveśa-avatāra*."

305 The *śaktyāveśa-avatāras* of Kṛṣṇa are innumerable; let me give a survey of the chief amongst them. 306 *Śaktyāveśa* is of two kinds: primary and secondary. 'Avatāra' is by means of manifest *śakti*; 'vibhāti' is by a hint of it. 307 Sanaka and the rest, Nārada, Pṛthu, Paraśurāma, and Brahmā in *jīva*-form are the names of the *āveśa-avatāras*. 308 And Śeṣa in *Vaikuṇṭha* and Ananta, who holds the world—these are primary *āveśa-avatāras*; there is no end to elaborating on them. 309 Sanaka and the others are [infused with] *jñāna-śakti*, Nārada with *bhakti-śakti*, Brahmā with the *śṛṣṭi-śakti*, and Ananta with the *bhūdharaṇa-*

Sloka 59. See 2.8.śl.51; 2.25.śl.39.

298. Para: "greatness, exaltation"; satya: "truth."

299. These are the *taṭastha-lakṣaṇas*. Being omniscient, he knew what effect would result from what cause. Artha: ends.

301. I.e., at that time he appears to human eyes.

304. [Sanātana appears to be pressing Caitanya to admit that he is the *avatāra* for the Kali age, but Caitanya resists. TKS] The *śaktyāveśa-avatāras* are described in the next several verses. The term means one who is possessed or absorbed (*āveśa*) by the manifest *śakti*. The two degrees are defined by the degree of *śakti* in each.

306. *Vibhāti*: majesty, glory, used here to denote the secondary type of *śaktyāveśa*, which has only a hint of *śakti*, while primary *avatāra* has it fully. Cf. 1.10.54.

309. *Śṛṣṭi*: creation; *bhūdharaṇa*: holding the world.

śakti. 310 In Śeṣa is the *svasevana-śakti*, and in Pṛthu is the *pālana-śakti*. In Paraśurāma is the heroic *śakti* of destroying evil-doers.

Sloka 60. Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta*, *pārva-khaṇḍa* 1.18:

Where Janārdana is absorbed into his parts, *jñāna-śakti* and the rest, all those very great *jīvas* are known as *āveśa-avatāra*.

311 *Vibhātis* are described in the eleventh chapter of the *Gītā*, where the *bhava-veśa-śakti* of Kṛṣṇa pervades the world.

Sloka 61-62. Bhagavad Gītā 10.41-42:

61 Those objects which are full of majesty, blessed, and mighty, you will know all those to be sprung from parts of my glory. 62 O Arjuna! What is the point of your knowing much about all such matters? I, by one single part, support this whole universe!

312 Thus the *śaktyāveśa-avatāras* have been spoken of; now hear a description of the *dharma* of boyhood and youth.

313 Vrajendranandana is the holder of the *dharma* of the crest-jewel of young manhood when he decides to make his *līlā* manifest. 314 First he causes to be manifested his mother and father and *bhaktas*; afterwards he becomes manifest in succession in his birth and other *līlās*.

Sloka 63. Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [dakṣiṇa-vibhāga, vibhāva-laharī] 2.1.63:

Whatever his age, he is the refuge of the *bhakti-rasa* of all, the source of *dharma*, possessing the eternal *līlā* and *vilāsa*, and this he does as a youth.

315 As many *līlās* as there are—the killing of Pūtana and the rest—every moment he manifests progressively all these eternal *līlās*. 316 Brahmā-worlds are

310. *Sva-sevana*: service of self, or here, Bhagavān; *pālana*: protection, upholding.

Sloka 62. See 1.2.śl.7; 2.20.śl.24.

313-14. [The theological proposition that Kṛṣṇa comes to earth preceded and accompanied by his heavenly retinue (*nitya parikara*), provides the basis for the popular *pañca-tattva* and *dhāma* incarnation theories. See GGUD. TKS]

315. I.e., when a *līlā* such as the killing of Pūtana is finished in one Brahmā-world, or better, becomes unmanifest, that same *līlā* becomes manifest in another Brahmā-world; Brahmā-worlds are infinite, and so is each *līlā*. [The implications of this statement bear directly on the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava concept of time and eternity, and the *sādhana*s practiced by adept devotees to tap into

infinite—there is no counting of them; and each *līla* is manifested in each Brahmā-world. 317 In this way all the *līlas* [are manifested], like the streams of the Gaṅgā; Vrajendrakumāra manifests them all. 318 Progressively the boyhood, youth, and adolescence are reached; in his eternal condition of youth he has the *rāsa* and other *līlas*. 319 All the *śāstras* speak of the eternal *līla* of Kṛṣṇa; we cannot understand. How can the *līla* be eternal? 320 If I give an example, then people will understand. The Kṛṣṇa-*līla* is eternal—and the proof of it is in the wheel of the planets. 321 In the wheel of planets the sun travels night and day, and crosses over the seven islands and seas and gradually returns. 322 In a night and a day is the quantity of sixty *daṇḍas*, which in measurement are three thousand six hundred *palas*, 323 and the *kramodaya* is sixty *palas* from sunrise, and that is one *daṇḍa*, and eight *daṇḍas* make up a *prahara*. 324 One, two, three, and at the end of the fourth *prahara*, the sun sets; and when four *praharas* of the night have passed, again the sun rises. 325 Thus is the circle of the Kṛṣṇa-*līla* in the fourteen *manvantaras*; it returns gradually, pervading the circle of Brahmā-worlds. 326 A hundred and twenty-five years was the manifest *līla* of Kṛṣṇa; and there he had *vilāsa* in Vrajapura. 327 The wheel of that *līla* returns like a wheel of fire; thus all *līlas* gradually take place in all the Brahmā-worlds. 328 His birth, boyhood, adolescence, and youth are manifested; he has *vilāsa* from the initial killing of Pūtana, to the final battle with clubs. 329 There are locations for certain *līlas* in certain Brahmā-worlds, and because of this the *āgamas* and *purāṇas* say ‘eternal *līla*.’ 330 The places Goloka and Gokula are all-pervasive, like Kṛṣṇa; at the wish of Kṛṣṇa they appear in the Brahmā-worlds. 331 Thus he has eternal activities in Goloka, and he is progressively manifested in the Brahmā-worlds. 332 In Vraja Kṛṣṇa manifested most fully all his divine qualities; in the two citadels more fully, and in Paravyoma fully.

these *līlas*, all of which are constantly and simultaneously occurring. It suggests that when devotees “witness” events in the life of Kṛṣṇa—through drama, dream, recitation, or yogic practice—they are in fact literally watching and/or participating in Kṛṣṇa endless acts. See Dimock, “On *Māyā*,” *Journal of Religion* 71, no. 4 (Oct. 1991): 523-37. TKS]

319-20. *Nitya*: eternal; literally daily, or constantly recurring. See commentary to v. 315 above.

321-25. [This breakdown of the diurnal cycle is central to the devotional practice of observing the *aṣṭakālyāṇa-līla* of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, i.e., the activities in each of the eight watches (*praharas*) of the day. TKS]

328. He killed the demoness Pūtana in his babyhood by sucking her life from her; and in his last *līla* he disposed of the Yādavas, and himself disappeared or died.

329. *Nitya*: eternal.

332. *Purī*: citadel, i.e., Mathurā and Dvārakā.

Śloka 64-66. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*dakṣiṇa-vibhāga, vibhava laharī*] 2.1.221-23:

64 Hari is praised as triple—as full, rather full, and most full—by the words *śreṣṭha*, *madhya*, and *ādī*, in the *nāṭya-śāstras*. 65 By wise men, when his qualities are fully manifested he is called most full; when his qualities are incompletely manifested he is called fuller; and when they are little seen, he is called full. 66 The most full Kṛṣṇa is manifest in the ultimate Gokula; his more full and full [manifestations] are in Dvārakā and Mathurā.

333 There is one Kṛṣṇa in Vraja, and he is fullest Bhagavān; all his other *svarūpas* are called fuller and full. 334 Thus briefly I have spoken of the description of the *svarūpa* of Kṛṣṇa; Ananta could not detail the matter fully. 335 The *svarūpa* of Kṛṣṇa is infinite, there is no calculating it; I have surveyed it as [one looks at] the moon through branches. 336 He who reads or hears this is fortunate, for he has some knowledge of the *svarūpa-tattva* of Kṛṣṇa.”

337 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the ‘nectar of the acts of Caitanya,’ the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

335. See commentary to v. 216 above.

Madhya Līla
Chapter 21

Sloka 1.

I bow down to Śrī Caitanya, the seeker for the poor and lowly, the refuge of those without refuge, and I write of a little portion of his majesty and his sweetness, which effects fortune.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and the host of Gaura-bhaktas.

2 [Caitanya continues:] "The place Paravyoma is the *dhāma* of all the *sva-rūpas*, and each has his own *Vaikuṇṭha*—there is no counting them. 3 The extent of each *Vaikuṇṭha* is a hundred thousand *ayutas* of lakhs of crores of *yojanas*. 4 All the *Vaikuṇṭhas* are pervaded by *cit* and *ananda*, and their retinues are all full of the six divine qualities. 5 And that of which these endless *Vaikuṇṭhas* are but single countries, who can describe that Paravyoma? 6 And that of which the endless *Vaikuṇṭhas* and Paravyoma are but lotus petals, above all these, is the *Kṛṣṇa-loka*, which is counted as '*karṇikaya*.' 7 Such is the place, and the *avatāras*, of the six divine qualities; *Brahmā* and *Śiva* do not gain the end of it, nor does the worthless *jīva*.

Sloka 1. See 1.7.51.

3. *Ayuta*: ten thousand; *lakh*: one hundred thousand; *crore*: ten million; *yojana*: about eight miles. [The total is 10^{15} *yojanas* or 80 quadrillion miles. TKS]

5. *Deśa*: country, is of indefinite size, and in fact is a relative word; it obviously here suggests that these countries, "*deśas*," are small parts of the whole.

6. *Karṇikā* is the central bud of the lotus; the endless *Vaikuṇṭhas*, etc., are the petals surrounding it.

7. *Bhagavān* is possessed of the six divine qualities, and so are his *dhāma* and his *avatāras* and all that is associated with him: they are extensions of himself.

Sloka 2. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.14.21:

O pervader of the world, *bhagavān*, *paramātmān*, *yogeśvara*! Oh! When you play, spreading out your *yoga-māyā*, then how can men know all your play—where, in what way, how many, and when—in the three worlds?

8 In this way are the divine true qualities of *Kṛṣṇa* infinite; *Brahmā*, *Śiva*, *Sanaka* and the rest cannot gain the end of them.

Sloka 3. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.14.7:

Who are able to count all the qualities of you, who descend for our good, the very soul of qualities, who can in time count the atomic parts of the earth, the dew-drops in the air, and the motes in sunbeams?

9 *Brahmā* and the rest aside, *Ananta* with his thousand mouths, in ceaseless song, could not exhaust his qualities.

Sloka 4. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 2.7.42:

These elder brothers of yours, the *munis*, and even I do not know the limits of the *māyā*-power of the *puruṣa*, to say nothing of others. The *adī-deva* *Ananta-deva*, with his thousand mouths singing his qualities, even now has not found their limit.

10 And those too aside, *Kṛṣṇa* the crest-jewel of all knowledge, does not find the limit of his own qualities, being thirsty for them.

Sloka 5. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.87.41:

Lord, even the lords of heaven do not reach your limit; even you, infinite, concealing within yourself all the *Brahmā*-worlds, which wander about in time like particles of dust in the sky with the wind; all the *śrutis*, in poverty of knowledge, are successful [only] in expressing contradictions about you.

11 And those too aside, when the *avatāra* of *Kṛṣṇa* takes place in *Vraja*, by discussion of his activities the mind does not reach the shore. 12 He made the visible and invisible creations in one moment, the endless *Vaikuṇṭhas* and

Sloka 5. *Dyupatayah*: lords of heaven.

Brahmā-worlds, each with its own lord. 13 There is nothing else like this, and hearing of it is wonderful; the very hearing of it cleanses the mind. 14 The word of Sukadeva is 'by the calves of Kṛṣṇa which are numberless'; how many *gopas* were the companions of Kṛṣṇa—I do not know the number. 15 Each *gopa* tended one calf, and their number is a crore of *arbbudas* of *padmas* of *śaṅkhas*. 16 Canes and flutes and bamboo staffs and conches and clothes and ornaments—I cannot write how many the *gopas* had. 17 And in all these was the four-armed lord of Vaikuṇṭha, and the Brahmā of each of the Brahmā-worlds praises him. 18 From the body of a single Kṛṣṇa all of these were manifested; and in an instant all enter that body again. 19 Seeing this, Brahmā was astonished and charmed; and uttering praises, after that he decided: 20 He who says 'I know all the glory of Kṛṣṇa,' let him think so; I do not perceive it in body or in mind. 21 This is the ocean of nectar of your infinite glory, and I do not realize a drop of it in speech or in mind.

Śloka 6. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.14.38:

Prabhu, let those knowledgeable people know; what is the good of long speeches? I do not perceive your greatness in mind or in body or in speech.

22 Place too the greatness of Kṛṣṇa aside—who can know it? See the wonderful glory of the place Vṛndāvana. 23 In the *śāstras* it is said that Vṛndāvana is sixteen *krośas*. Yet in one part of it appear Vaikuṇṭha and the Brahmā-worlds. 24 The glory of Kṛṣṇa is endless—there is no counting of it. But let me survey it, like the moon through branches."

25 Speaking of its glories made swell up the sea of the glories of Kṛṣṇa, and the mind and the senses of Prabhu drowned in it, and he became senseless. 26 He recited this śloka of the *Bhāgavata*, and to taste its meaning he himself expounded it in joy.

14. Part of *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.12.3.

15. *Arbbuda*: one hundred millions; *padma*: ten billions; *śaṅkha*: one hundred billions.

16. Rādhāgovinda Nātha defines *dala* as a kind of bamboo. The canes are *betra*, a rod used for driving cattle.

Śloka 6. See 2.21.śl.16.

23. *Krośa*: approximately two miles.

24. For this unusual expression, see the commentary to 2.20.216.

Śloka 7. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 3.2.21:

Who himself is great without equal, the lord of the three, who has attained all works by the fortune of his own majesty, and who is worshiped with sacrifice by the long-lived protectors of the world, and whose feet are praised by a crore of crowns.

27 Kṛṣṇa is the highest Īśvara, *svayaṁ bhagavan*; there is none greater, none equal, no other like him.

Śloka 8. *Brahma Saṁhita* 5.1:

Kṛṣṇa is the highest Īśvara, the embodiment of *sat*, *cit*, and *ānanda*, beginningless, yet the beginning of all things, Govinda, the cause of all causes.

28 Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Hara—these were the initial creations of Īśvara; the three carry out the commands of Kṛṣṇa, for Kṛṣṇa is the highest Īśvara.

Śloka 9. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 2.6.32:

I create enjoined by him; Hara, controlled by him, destroys; he, possessing the three *śaktis*, in the form of *puruṣa*, sustains the universe.

29 This is the ordinary meaning 'tryadhīśvara'; hear now some additional meanings of it. There are three *puruṣa-avatāras*, who are causes of the world. 30 Mahāviṣṇu, Padmanābha, and Kṣīrodakasvāmī—these three are indwelling in all things, gross and subtle. 31 The refuge of all of them is the lord of the world. And they are all fractions of parts, and Kṛṣṇa is lord over them.

Śloka 10. *Brahma Saṁhita* 5.48:

I worship that Govinda, the *adī puruṣa*, for the duration of whose breath

Śloka 7. Lord of the three: see below, v. 28 ff.

Śloka 8. See 1.2.śl.17; 2.8.śl.29; 2.20.śl.19.

28. Kṛṣṇa is the lord of the three: Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva (Hara), for they carry out his commands; the word is *tryadhīśvara*, and Kṛṣṇa unpacks it further.

Śloka 9. See 2.20.śl.47.

30. Mahāviṣṇu: Kāraṇārṇavaśayī; Padmanābha: Garbhadaśayī, from whose navel the lotus grew, the birthplace of Brahmā; Kṣīrodakasvāmī is Kṣīrodakasvāmī. Kṛṣṇa is lord also of these three. The final meaning of "lord of the three" is explained in v. 32 ff. See 2.20.221-54.

Śloka 10. See 1.5.śl.8; 2.20.śl.39.

the lords of the Brahmā-worlds that are born from his pores live, and of whom Mahaviṣṇu is a special fraction.

32 This is the middle meaning; hear now the essential one. There are three dwelling places of Kṛṣṇa which are celebrated in the *śāstras*. 33 The innermost one is Goloka, Śrī Vṛndāvana, where his mother and father and friends stay eternally. 34 It is a storehouse of grace and sweetness and gentleness and the rest, where his hand-maiden is *yoga-māyā*, and where take place the most wonderful of all *līlās*—*rāsa* and the rest.

Sloka 11.

Tender in masses of compassion, filled with qualities of sweetness and majesty, the son of the king of Vraja triumphs, and no hint of worry besets us.

35 Beneath it is Paravyoma, the name of the place of Viṣṇu, and the place of the infinite *svarūpas*—Nārāyaṇa and the rest. 36 This is the middle abode of Kṛṣṇa, the storehouse of his six divine qualities, where his infinite *svarūpas* play. 37 Here are the infinite Vaikuṇṭhas, the parts of the storehouse; here his retinue is, filled with the six divine qualities.

Sloka 12. *Brahma Saṁhita* 5.43:

He is in his own place, called Goloka; below it are the places of the *devīs*, the *Maheśa-dhāma*, and the *Hari-dhāma*, and in them he has established great glory—I worship that *adī puruṣa*, Govinda.

Sloka 13-14. Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta*, *pūrva-khaṇḍa* 5.247-48 [quoting *Padma Purāṇa*]:

13 There is a sky-river, pure, flowing with waters sprung from the sweat of the body of the Vedas, between Pradhāna and Paravyoma. 14 On the

32. [The expression "middle meaning" (*artha madhyama*) is somewhat ambiguous, for it could be interpreted as "the meaning of the middle," because of vv. 35-37, *śl* 13-14, which describe Paravyoma in nearly identical terms. TKS]

34. Kṛṣṇa is the container of *śaktis*, and *yoga-māyā* is a *śakti*; she is thus personified as his hand-maiden.

Sloka 12. *Maheśa-dhāma*: the place where the queens are, Paravyoma, full of all divine majesty, but not the sweetness of Vṛndāvana.

Sloka 14. See 2.21.*śl* 17.

farther bank of [the river] is Paravyoma, with the glory of Tripad, eternal, immortal, infinite, unending, perpetual, the most high place.

38 Beneath it is the outer dwelling, on the shore of Virajā, where Brahmā-worlds are, and boundless places. 39 Its name is 'Devī-dhāma,' where *jīvas* dwell, where *māyā* remains as a maid-servant, preserving the fortune of the world. 40 Kṛṣṇa is the supreme lord of these three *dhāmas*; but Goloka and Paravyoma are apart from material nature. 41 They are the *dhāmas* where *cit-śakti* reigns, and they are called 'tripadaiśvarya'; and where *māyā* reigns, the word 'ekapada' applies.

Sloka 15. Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta*, *pūrva-khaṇḍa*, 5.286:

Because it is the *dhāma* of him of *tripad* glory his place has become *tripad*; and for that reason, the glory of all that relates to *māyā* is called *padatmika*.

42 The *tripada* glory of Kṛṣṇa is incommunicable by speech; but hear the description of the *ekapada* glory.

43 As many Brahmās and Rudras as there are in the innumerable Brahmā-worlds, they are considered as the 'ciraloka-palas.' 44 One day in Dvārakā, a Brahmā came to see Kṛṣṇa, and the guard at the door informed Kṛṣṇa of this. 45 And Kṛṣṇa said, 'What Brahmā is it? What is his name?' And the guard went and asked the Brahmā again. 46 Brahmā was astonished, and said to the guard, 'Go and tell him that the father of Sanaka, the four-faced one, has come.' 47 So the guard informed Kṛṣṇa of this, and brought Brahmā in, and Brahmā made obeisance at Kṛṣṇa's feet. 48 And Kṛṣṇa having honored and done *pūjā* to him, asked him, 'For what have you come here?' 49 Brahmā said, 'Afterwards, I shall make a request of you. But there is a question in my mind, and that you can dispel. 50 What did you mean when you asked "Which Brahmā?" Are there

38. Virajā: the sea or river of causation. On its shore is the material world, where *jīvas* dwell.

39. *Jagalakṣmī rākhi*: "preserving the fortune (or prosperity) of the world"; this is Viṣvanātha's interpretation. Rādhāgovinda Nātha comments further that "prosperity" means the search for material happiness and welfare, which is the condition of the *jīva* who is sunk in *māyā*.

41. If divinity or majesty is three-fold (*tripadaiśvarya*) in Goloka and Paravyoma, it is only one third that (*ekapada*) in the material world.

Sloka 15. *Padatmika*: *ekapada*.

43. *Ciraloka-pala*: perpetual guardians of the directions; these are usually lesser deities. The story which follows demonstrates that.

other Brahmas than I in the world?' 51 When he heard this, Kṛṣṇa smiled, and then sat in meditation, and innumerable Brahmas came there; 52 some had a hundred, or twenty, or a thousand, or an *ayuta*, or a lakh of faces, and some a crore of *arbbudas* of faces, and those of some could not be counted. 53 And Rudras came, with lakhs of crores of faces, and Indras came with lakhs of crores of eyes. 54 And when he saw these, the four-faced Brahmā was overcome; he was like a rabbit in the midst of a herd of elephants. 55 And all the Brahmas came to the stool in front of the feet of Kṛṣṇa, and bowing there, they touched their crowns to that stool at his feet. 56 No one is able to write of the unknowable *śakti* of Kṛṣṇa; as to many Brahmas as there are, he showed that many *mūrtis*, but in only one body. 57 And from the assembly of crowns lowered to the feet of Kṛṣṇa there rose up a sound, as if the crowns were praising the pilgrimage place of his feet. 58 And with palms together the Brahmas and Rudras and the rest praised him, 'You have been most merciful, Prabhu. For you have shown us your feet. 59 Our fortune is great, for you have agreed to call us servants. Whatever command you have, that we take upon our heads.' 60 And Kṛṣṇa replied, 'It was in my mind to see you all, and for that I summoned you all here. 61 May you all be at peace, and have no fear of demons.' And they said, 'By your grace, victory is everywhere. 62 Recently there was one who was a burden to the earth, and becoming incarnated you slew him.' 63 Dvārakā and the others are all-pervading, and this is the proof of that: 'Kṛṣṇa is in my Brahmā-world'—this is the perception of everyone. 64 With Kṛṣṇa they experienced the glory of Dvārakā, and though all were together in one place, one did not see the other. 65 Then Kṛṣṇa bade farewell to all the Brahmas, and all, bowing to him, went to their own places. 66 When he saw this, the four-faced Brahmā was astonished, and coming to the feet of Kṛṣṇa he made obeisance. 67 And Brahmā said, 'That of which I was certain before, I have seen an example of today.'

52-53. See commentary to vv. 3, 15, above, for the explanation of numbers.

56. For each of the Brahmas who came, there was one *mūrti* of Kṛṣṇa, so that each Brahmā thought that he was bowing to and conversing with Kṛṣṇa alone; but, as we have seen before, it is Kṛṣṇa's power to do this, his essential self remaining one and unchanged.

62-63. Each Brahmā thought that Kṛṣṇa had become incarnated in his Brahmā-world alone, and had slain a demon there; the Dvārakā-*līla*, in which demons were slain, is thus shown to take place in all the Brahmā-worlds.

Śloka 16. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.14.38:

Prabhu, let those knowledgeable people know; what is the good of long speeches? I do not perceive your greatness in mind or in body or in speech.

68 And Kṛṣṇa said, 'This Brahmā-world is fifty crores of *yojanas*, and in it you of the four faces are most insignificant. 69 Some Brahmā-worlds are a hundred crores, and some a lakh of crores, and some a *niyuta* of crores, and some a crore of crores. 70 And according to the Brahmā-worlds are the faces and bodies of the Brahmas; I protect the Brahmā-worlds in this way. 71 This is still not the extent of the glory of the *ekapāda*; so who could measure the glory of the *tripād*?'

Śloka 17. Rāpa Gosvāmī's *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta, pārva-khaṇḍa*, 5.248 [quoting *Padma Purāṇa*]:

On the farther bank of [the river] is Paravyoma, with the glory of Tripād, eternal, immortal, infinite, unending, perpetual, the most high place.

72 Then Kṛṣṇa bade farewell to Brahmā. The glory of the true form of Kṛṣṇa cannot be known.

73 But there is another, deeper meaning in the word '*adhīśvara*.' And by the word '*tri*' is meant the three places of Kṛṣṇa. 74 Goloka means Gokula, Mathurā, and Dvāravātī, and in these three places Kṛṣṇa dwells naturally and eternally. 75 These three *dhāmas* are full of full divinity and are intrinsic, and the supreme lord of the three is Kṛṣṇa, *svayaṁ bhagavān*. 76 I mentioned before all the *dik-pālas* of the Brahmā-worlds, and the *ciraloka-pālas* of the hidden infinite Vaikuṇṭhas. 77 The crowns of all of them are before the pilgrimage-place of the feet of Kṛṣṇa, and when they bow, their jewels touch the *pīṭha*; 78 and from the jewels touching the *pīṭha* rises up a jingling sound, and it seems that the crowns are praising the *pīṭha*. 79 Kṛṣṇa is shining eternally in his own *cit-śakti*, and the name of this glory of his *cit-śakti* is 'the six divine attributes.' 80 He is *svarājya-lakṣmī*, and eternally fulfills all desires. And thus the Vedas call

Śloka 16. See 2.21.śl.6.

69. *Niyuta*: one million. See also commentary to v. 3, 15.

Śloka 17. See 2.21.śl.14.

75. *Antaraṅga*: intrinsic.

77. *Pīṭha*: lit., seat; here the low stool at Kṛṣṇa's feet.

80. *Svarājya-lakṣmī*: "prosperity which is fulfilled independently": i.e., he fulfills his own desires by his own *śakti*.

him *svayaṃ-bhagavān*. 81 The divinity of Kṛṣṇa is endless, a sea of nectar. One cannot immerse one's self in it, but can only touch a drop of it."

82 While he was speaking of the majesty, Kṛṣṇa bloomed in Prabhu; his mind tasted the sweetness, and he recited a *śloka*.

Śloka 18. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 3.2.12:

To show his own *śakti* of *yogamāyā*, appropriate to his mortal *līlā*, and the highest condition of his awe-inspiring grandeur, he revealed himself, his jewel-body decorated with jewels.

83 "Such was the play of Kṛṣṇa,
his human *līlā* the greatest of all,
his *svarūpa* in human body;
in *gopā*'s dress, flute in his hand,
of new youth, master of the dance,
appropriate to his human *līlā*.

84 Hear, O Sanātana, of the sweetness of Kṛṣṇa's form.
One particle of that form
drowns all the three worlds,
and attracts all living things. [refrain]

85 *Yogamāyā* the *cit-śakti*,
transformation of pure being,
to show his *śakti* among men,
this jewel of beauty,
profound wealth of *bhaktas*,
was manifested from the eternal *līlā*.

86 Seeing his own form,
Kṛṣṇa was astonished,
and desire rose in his mind to taste it.
Whose name is "self-fortuned,"

82. See commentary to *śloka* 1 above.

85. *BhP* 10.29.1; Sanātana Gosvāmīn's *Bṛhadvaiṣṇavatoṣaṇī* commentary on this *śloka*, defines *yogamāyā* as *cit-śakti*. This should not be confused with *māyā-śakti*, which is extrinsic.

86. [Cf. the "three desires" of Kṛṣṇa as the primary cause of his descent to earth as Caitanya, 1.4.89-178. TKS]

the place of qualities of beauty and the rest,
this beauty is his eternal *dhama*.

87 His body a jewel to jewels,
graceful in *tribhaṅga* pose,
above it his brows, like bows, dancing.
Arrows from the corners of his slanting eyes,
fixed firmly to his bow,
pierce the hearts of Rādhā and the *gopīs*.
88 [In] crores of Brahmā-worlds and Paravyoma,
what *svarūpas* are there,
their hearts are stolen by his power.
Crown-jewels of truth to wifely vows,
as the Vedas call them,
those *lakṣmīs* are attracted.

89 Mounting the chariot of the minds of the *gopīs*,
he charmed the mind of Manmatha,
and thus is called "the charmer of Madana."
Conquering the pride of the five-arrowed one,
he is himself the new Kandarpa,
as he has *rāsa-līlā* with the *gopīs*.
90 With his companions like himself,
he plays while tending cows,
spontaneous is his sport in Vṛndāvana.
Hearing the sound of his flute,
living things, moving and unmoving,
shed streams of tears, and tremble and thrill.

91 His pearl necklace is a row of herons,
his peacock-tail crown a bow of Indra,
his yellow garment a flash of lightning.
Kṛṣṇa the new raincloud,
above the crops of the earth,
rains down streams of the nectar of his *līlā*.

88. *Svarūpa*: Nārāyaṇa and the rest in Paravyoma, Matsya and the other *avatāras* in the Brahmā-worlds.

89. Manmatha, Madana, Kandarpa: Kāmadeva; Madanamohana: charmer of Madana, i.e., Kṛṣṇa.

91. Bow of Indra: the rainbow. "Kṛṣṇa . . ." or: "dark as the new raincloud." Kṛṣṇa is frequently compared to the first clouds of the monsoon, bringing fertility and joy.

- 92 His divine essence is sweetness,
he propagated it in Vraja,
and Suka, the son of Vyāsa,
from place to place in the *Bhāgavata*
has described it for us;
and *bhaktas* who hear there are enchanted.”
- 93 While speaking of the *rasa* of Kṛṣṇa
overcome with *prema* he recited a *śloka*,
and in *prema* held Sanātana's hand.
The *gopīs*' fortune and Kṛṣṇa's qualities,
he did describe, controlled by the *bhava*
of the women of Mathurā.”

Śloka 19. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.44.14:

What great austerities have the *gopīs* performed, that they ceaselessly drink the full form of the beauty of Kṛṣṇa with their eyes? There is no beauty greater than his; it is complete, and renews itself at every moment; it is the only refuge of majesty, of beauty, of fame; it is most hard to attain.

- 94 “The sea of the nectar of youth,
its waves the essence of beauty,
and in it is a whirlpool spouting *bhava*.
Whirlwinds of the sound of the flute:
the leaves and grass of the hearts of women
drown there, never to rise again.
- 95 O *sakhī*! What austerities did the *gopīs* perform?
The sweetness of the form of Kṛṣṇa
they drink and drink and fill their eyes,
and make praiseworthy their births, bodies, hearts. [refrain]
- 96 There is no other sweetness
as lofty as this,
in the qualities of the *svarūpas* in Paravyoma.

92. *Mādhurya*: sweetness.

Śloka 19. See 1.4.31.24.

- He who is the container of all *avatāras*,
the lord of Paravyoma,
such sweetness is not in that Nārāyaṇa.
That lovely woman present there,
most beloved of Nārāyaṇa,
who deserves the worship of *pativrata*s,
even she, in lust for his sweetness,
abandoned all enjoyment and desires,
and taking a vow, did penance.
- 97 He is the essence of that sweetness,
there is no other goal than that;
he is the container of the qualities of sweetness and the rest.
And in all manifestations,
qualities given by him appear,
and these are known by action.
- 98 Mirror of the *gopī-bhava*,
appearing new in every moment,
before them is the sweetness of Kṛṣṇa.
Both jostle one another,
and grow, heads not bent down,
and the expanse of both is ever new.
- 99 *Karma, japa, yoga, jñāna,*
vidhi-bhakti, tapas, and dhyāna—
from these his sweetness is hard to obtain.
Only in the *rāga-mārga*,
by worshiping Kṛṣṇa in passion,
does one gain Kṛṣṇa's sweetness.

97. The couplet describes Lakṣmī; see ante, 2.14.120-125.

98. Goal: *siddhi*, that which is gained through penance and austerity. “Known by action” means that his sweetness is known by Lakṣmī's austerity and penance, which she would not have undertaken were he resistible.

99. The line means that the joy of Kṛṣṇa and that of the *gopīs* are like mirrors facing one another: each reflects the other to infinity; the *gopīs*' love for Kṛṣṇa gives him pleasure, and this pleasure causes the *gopīs* added pleasure, and so on.

100. *Japa*: the muttering of *mantras*; *vidhi-bhakti*: following the prescriptions of the *śāstras*; *tapas*: asceticism; *dhyāna*: meditation. The *rāga-mārga* is that condition of the *bhakta* after he has passed beyond ritual activity and has taken on a permanent relation to Kṛṣṇa.

- 101 That form, the refuge of Vraja,
full of sweetness and divinity,
is the treasury of jewels and divine qualities.
Others may have greatness and excellence,
and divinity given by Kṛṣṇa;
but Kṛṣṇa is the container of parts, the refuge of all things.
- 102 Beauty, modesty, compassion,
fame, steadiness, skilled intelligence—
all these are established in Kṛṣṇa.
As giver of nobility and sweetness,
there is none equal to Kṛṣṇa;
Kṛṣṇa conquers the world.
- 103 Various people seeing Kṛṣṇa
condemned the blinking of their eyes,
as the *gopīs* in Vraja blamed Vidhata.”
So reciting all those *śloka*s,
Mahāprabhu expounded their meanings,
and in delight he tasted their sweetness.

Śloka 20. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 9.24.65:

Men and women, having drunk with their eyes the face of him filled with eternal rejoicing, smiling with wonderful delight, adorned with crocodile-shaped earrings, his cheeks glowing, and being delighted by this [sight], are not satisfied, and are angry at the brevity of the time.

Śloka 21. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.31.15:

When you wander in the forest in the daytime, to those who gain no sight of you a half a moment is an age. And those who do see, with faces turned upward, your charming curly locks of hair [must say], ‘He who has made lashes upon our eyes is surely most unskilled.’

- 104 “The form of the *mantra kāmāyatrī*
is the true form of Kṛṣṇa;

101. *Aṁśa*: container of parts (*aṁśa*).

103. I.e., while their eyes were closed in blinking, they could not see Kṛṣṇa.

Śloka 21. See 1.4.śl.21.

104. The *kāmāyatrī* is: *kāmadevāya vidmahe puṣpavāṇāya dhīmahi tanno'naṅgaḥ pracodayāt*: “We meditate on the god of love, whose arrows are flowers, so that the bodiless one may compel

there are twenty-four and a half syllables in it.
Those syllables are moons,
and rising in Kṛṣṇa,
they fill the three worlds with desire.

- 105 O *sakhi*! The face of Kṛṣṇa is the lord of moons.
The body of Kṛṣṇa is on the lion-throne,
sitting in royal command.
And with him is an assembly of moons. [refrain]

- 106 His two cheeks are very bright,
conquering the jewel-mirror,
I know those two as full moons.
His forehead is the half moon of *aṣṭamī*,
on it the dot of sandalwood
seems like a full moon.
- 107 The nails of his hands are an array of moons,
dancing on his flute,
and their song is the rhythm of the flute.
His toenails are moons
which dance below,
and their song is the sound of the *nāpura*.
- 108 His crocodile earrings dance,
the lotus of the *līlā* of his eyes,
the king of playfulness ever makes them dance.
His brows a bow, his nose the arrow,
his ears the bow-string;
the targets, the women, are pierced.
- 109 The great dance of this moon,
this cluster of a multitude of moons,
distributes his own nectar at a price.

it.” “Rising in Kṛṣṇa”: this can also be interpreted as saying that the *mantra* is Kṛṣṇa, the moon, and uttering the *mantra* can make Kṛṣṇa rise, or appear to one. This is in fact the usual function of a *mantra* (see PHM, 228-30, 235-45). “Desire” here, all the commentators are quick to point out, is desire for Kṛṣṇa.

106. *Aṣṭamī*: the eighth day of either fortnight, when the moon would be half.

107. *Nāpura*: jingling anklets.

109. *Hāṭa*: multitude, also means weekly or periodic market, which makes the next line clear.

- With the nectar of the moonlight of his smile,
 with the nectar of his lips,
 he nourishes all the world.
- 110 The vast long-drawn dawn;
 reeling with the wine of Madana,
 are his ministers, these two eyes,
 that residence of the play of beauty,
 longed for by human eyes,
 is the face of Govinda, full of happiness.
- 111 By the fruit of the collection of merit,
 who gets the sight of that face,
 how can he drink it with [only] two eyes?
 Greed and thirst grow twice over,
 and not being able to drink, grief grows in the mind,
 and in sorrow he prays to Vidhata:
- 112 'You did not give us a lakh of crores,
 but gave to all two eyes,
 and make them hide for moment [in blinking].
 Vidhata is harsh, a wealth of asceticism,
 his heart is devoid of *rasa*.
 he does not know the right way to create.'
- 113 To him who will see the face of Kṛṣṇa,
 he gave only two eyes;
 Vidhata was so inconsiderate.
 Had he consulted me,
 he would have made a crore of eyes,
 and then he would be a proper creator.
- 114 The sea of the sweetness of the body of Kṛṣṇa,
 his face a moon of sweet nectar,
 in the moonbeam of his smile is great sweetness.

110. The eyes of Kṛṣṇa are still being described, and the image is very complex. They are large and long, marks of beauty; they are red as the dawn, from dallying all night with the *gopis*, and from drinking the wine of Madana, the god of love; they also are reeling from that wine, moving around unsteadily, which is another attractive feature for eyes. In addition they are ministers (in v. 108 Kṛṣṇa was described as the king of playfulness), and drinking is something that courtiers are inclined to do.

114. These three: the sweetness of the body of Kṛṣṇa, the sweetness of his face, and the sweetness of his smile.

My heart is struck by these three,
 and longs to taste them."
 and, moving his hands, he recited a *śloka*.

Śloka 22. Līlāśūka Bilvamaṅgala's *Kṛṣṇakarmāmṛta* 1.92:

The body of the lord is the sweet of the sweet; his face is the sweet of the sweet of the sweet, and his gentle honey-fragrant smile is the sweet of the sweet of the sweet of the sweet.

- 115 "O Sanātana, Kṛṣṇa's sweetness is a sea of nectar.
 My heart is feverish,
 and I want to drink it all,
 but the accursed physician gives me not a drop. [refrain]
- 116 The body of Kṛṣṇa is a city of beauty,
 more sweet than sweetness,
 his face is like a moon upon it.
 Sweeter than sweetness,
 and sweeter still than that,
 filled with the radiance of his smile.
- 117 Sweeter than sweetness,
 and sweeter still than that,
 and sweeter still than even that,
 one particle of himself
 pervades all the three worlds;
 it flows in the ten directions and fills them all.
- 118 The moonbeams of his smile are like pure camphor,
 entering the honey of his lips,
 and that honey intoxicates the three worlds.
 The holes in his flute are the sky,
 its sound qualities enter,
 and are transformed into music.
- 119 That music runs to the four directions,
 and goes to the various worlds and Vaikuṇṭhas,
 and enters with force the ears of the world.

Śloka 22. See 2.23.śl.17.

118. The *guṇa* of the element "sky" is sound; "music" is *dhvani*, which is also "sound," perhaps implying a harmonic of various levels of reverberation.

- All are drunken,
and forcibly seized,
especially young women.
- 120 The sound is greatly arrogant,
and the vows of chaste women are broken;
it snatches them by force from the laps of their husbands.
The *lakṣmīs* of *Vaikuṇṭha*
are attracted by it,
and to these, what are the *gopīs*?
- 121 The knots of clothing are loosened before the lord,
they leave their housework,
and are dragged to the place of *Kṛṣṇa*.
Fear and modesty, the *dharma* of social behavior—
all knowledge of that is gone,
and thus all the women dance.
- 122 Dwelling within their ears,
and always by itself bursting there,
it allows no other sound to enter.
The ears hear no other sound,
they forget others, and what others say to them,
this is the way of the flute of this *Kṛṣṇa*.”
- 123 And again he spoke, regaining normal consciousness,
“While speaking certain things I say other things;
The grace of *Kṛṣṇa* is upon you.
My mind has wandered;
he who is the divine sweetness himself,
has spoken to you through my mouth.

124 I am mad; while saying one thing I say other things; I drift in the stream of the nectar of the sweetness of *Kṛṣṇa*.” 125 Then Prabhu remained silent for a moment, and when he had gathered himself together again he spoke to

120. It is a common poetic conceit that if those sophisticated and knowing queens are drawn from their vows to fall in love with *Kṛṣṇa*, what chance have the simple cowherd girls of *Vṛndāvana*?

121. *Patī*: lord, which can also mean “husband” or “lover.”

123. Caitanya says to Sanātana: *Kṛṣṇa* has spoken to you through me; I have been raving, and what I have said it was not my intention to say. *Bahya jñāna*: external or normal waking consciousness.

Sanātana. 126 There was more of the sweetness of *Kṛṣṇa* in the mouth of Mahāprabhu, and he who hears this floats in the happiness of *prema*.
127 *Kṛṣṇadāsa*, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rāpa and Raghunātha, tells of the ‘nectar of the acts of Caitanya,’ the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

Madhya Līlā Chapter 22

Śloka 1.

By whom this most profound *bhakti* was manifested in the Kali age, I bow down to that Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, an ocean of mercy.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya and to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*.

2 [Caitanya continued,] "Thus has been explained the truth about *sambandha*; according to the instructions of the Vedas and *śāstras*—Kṛṣṇa is the single essence. 3 Now listen and let me tell of the characteristics of the *abhidheya*, from which we gain Kṛṣṇa, and the wealth of the *prema* of Kṛṣṇa. 4 All the *śāstras* speak of Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti* as the *abhidheya*; thus the sages have ascertained.

Śloka 2.

Mother Śruti was asked, and responded, concerning the manner of worship of you. The words of the mother were also those of Sister Smṛti, and all the *purāṇas*, etc., which as kinsmen follow it. O holder of the flute! thus you alone are truly known as the refuge.

5 The truth of non-dual knowledge is that Kṛṣṇa is *svayaṁ bhagavān*, situated in the form of *svarūpa-śakti*. 6 His own *aṁśa* and separated *aṁśas* permeate

2-3. *Sambandha* was outlined in chapters 2.20-21. *Abhidheya* (*bhakti-sādhana*) is the subject of this entire chapter.

5. See ante, 2.20.131. Another possibility: his place is in his *svarūpa* and in his *śaktis*. The latter would mean that he is in Rādhā, the manifestation of *hlādinī-śakti*, in *jīvas*, as manifestations of his *jīva-śakti*, in Nanda and Yaśodā as manifestations of his *sandhinī-śakti*, etc. *Tattva*: truth, i.e., the distinguishing feature(s) of something, quiddity or "thatness," what makes a thing what it is.

and sport in the infinite Vaikuṇṭhas and Brahmanā-worlds. 7 The permeation of his own *aṁśa* is the *caturvyūhas* and the *avatāras*, and the separated *aṁśas*, the *jīvas*, are among his *śaktis*. 8 These separated *aṁśas*, *jīvas*, are of two kinds: one is eternally free, and the other is habitually bound in *saṁsāra*. 9 The eternally free always have their faces turned upward toward the feet of Kṛṣṇa; they are called 'Kṛṣṇa's followers,' and they enjoy the happiness of service. 10 Those habitually bound ones always have their faces turned away from Kṛṣṇa; they suffer continual passage through *saṁsāra*, and the miseries of hell. 11 Because of their faults, the *piśācis* of *māya* torment them; they afflict them deeply, immersing them in the spiritual and the other torments. 12 They are slaves to lust and anger, and receive the blows of their feet. And if in their wanderings they find a holy man-physician, 13 by the *mantras* of his commands they drive the *piśācis* away. And they gain Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti* and then go near Kṛṣṇa.

Śloka 3. Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [pāścima-vibhāga, prtibhaktirasalahari] 3.2.25:

I have received many kinds of evil commands from desire and the rest, but I have not obeyed them; but they have not been kind to me, and neither compassion nor shame has come to me; O eternal Yadupata, now I have come to realize that having left behind me all those things, I have gained you, the refuge, the fearless one; take me as your servant.

14 So Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti* is primary among *abhidheyas*. *Karma*, *yoga*, and *jñāna*—these look toward the face of *bhakti*. 15 But all these *sādhana*s yield most worthless fruit, for without Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti* they have not the power to give.

7. The *caturvyūha* and the *avatāras* are called his "own *aṁśa*" (*svaṁśa*); the *jīva* too is an *aṁśa* of Kṛṣṇa, but the two are not identical. The *caturvyūha* are *aṁśas* of the *svarūpa*; all are full of *sat*, *cit*, and *ānanda*. The *jīva* however is not an *aṁśa* of the *svarūpa*; it is not a function of the *svarūpa-śakti*, but of the *jīva-śakti*, which is *taṭastha*. Rādhāgovinda Nātha defines "separated *aṁśa*" (*bibhinnaṁśa*) as that which has a quality of separateness from the *svaṁśa*: the *jīva*. 2.20.153, 212-89 address the concept of *svaṁśa*.

8. *Nitya-mukta*: eternally free.

10. [*Nitya-saṁsārt*: habitually bound to the rounds of existence. The "eternally free" (*nitya-mukta*) of the preceding verse are forever turned toward Kṛṣṇa with no possibility of relapse. The "habitually bound" (*nitya-saṁsārt*), however are not irrevocably lost, as seen in vv. 12-13 below. TKS]

11. *Piśāci*: demons or malevolent spirits.

14. They look toward the face of *bhakti* to find help, for by themselves these are not efficacious. See *Nārada-pañcarātra* 4.2.17-20.

Sloka 4. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 1.5.12:

Naiṣkarmya, even when unattached and pure, when it is devoid of emotion for God, does not gain the full glory. The less so *karma* which is always bad, and even that *karma* which is selfless, if it is not offered to *Īśvara*.

Sloka 5. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 2.4.17:

There are ascetics of great power, and generous men, and those who have offered the sacrifice, and *yogins*, and those who know the *mantras*, and those who do all good deeds, but if they do not offer these to him, they will gain no auspicious result; that is the famous blessing, and I bow to it.

16 *Jñāna* alone, without *bhakti*, cannot give *mukti*; but for those whose faces are turned toward *Kṛṣṇa*, that *mukti* comes about without *jñāna*.

Sloka 6. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.14.4:

O all-pervading one, to those who, abandoning *bhakti* to you as the way of realization, toil in the acquiring of wisdom, nothing else remains but anguish; they are like threshers of solid chaff.

Sloka 7. Bhagavad Gītā 7.14:

This my divine *māyā*, consisting of [the three] *guṇas*, is certainly hard to escape. Those who take refuge in me can overcome this *māyā*.

17 The *jīva* forgets that he is the eternal servant of *Kṛṣṇa*; and it is because of that fault that *māyā* seizes him by the throat. 18 For him who worships *Kṛṣṇa* and serves the *guru*, the trap of *māyā* flees away, and he gains the feet of *Kṛṣṇa*. 19 If one who is a believer in the four *varṇas* does not worship *Kṛṣṇa*, though he does his own work, he is plunged into hell.

Sloka 8-9. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 11.5.2-3:

8 By means of the *guṇas*, each of the four *varṇas*, twice-born and the rest, are born respectively from the mouth, arms, thighs, and feet of the

Sloka 4. *Naiṣkarmya*: abstinence from acts and their consequences.

Sloka 6. See 2.24.śl.46; 2.25.śl.2.

Sloka 7. See 2.20.śl.12; 2.24.śl.45.

19. "His own work": *svakarma*, the work appropriate to his *varṇa*; some MSS read *svadharma*.

Sloka 8. See 2.22.śl.52; 2.24.śl.48.

Sloka 9. See 2.22.śl.53.

puruṣa, together with the *āśramas*. 9 Those among them who do not worship the *Īśvara-puruṣa* as their own fathers, and despise him, are hurled from their own places and fall below.

20 The *jñānīs* consider, 'we have gained the condition of the *jīvan-mukta*'; but in truth, perception is not pure without *Kṛṣṇa-bhakti*.

Sloka 10. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.2.32:

Lotus-eyed one, those who, devoid of *bhakti* towards you and therefore of impure mind consider themselves as free, with great difficulty gain the high place, and having disrespect for your feet, they fall from there.

21 *Kṛṣṇa* is like the sun, *māyā* is the darkness; wherever *Kṛṣṇa* is, *māyā* does not control that.

Sloka 11. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 2.5.13:

Those who are ashamed to remain on the path of the vision of him, confused by *māyā*, those of slow intelligence say 'Me, mine.'

22 'Kṛṣṇa! I am yours!'—if one says this once, *Kṛṣṇa* rescues him from the bondage of *māyā*.

20. The *Vedāntasāra* defines a *jīvan-mukta* as one whose ignorance, and deeds proceeding from ignorance, have disappeared, and for whom no bonds remain, tying him to the things of the world; one who is freed from the world while he is still living. This is also the statement of *śloka* 10 below; *Viśvanātha* has commented on that *śloka* that when indifference to the world is gained by asceticism and renunciation, one sees even the image, the *vigraha*, as being made up of *māyā*, and this is "disrespect" for the deity. *Jīvan-mukti* is gained by *jñāna*, and there are three types of followers of the *jñāna-mārga*: those who accept the supreme *brahman* as having form, and the *vigraha* as full of *sat*, *cit*, and *ānanda*, and with *bhakti* desire union with him; those who do not accept that *brahman* has form and qualities (their *sādhana* is worthless, according to the *bhakti-śāstras*); and those who regard *brahman* as having form and qualities, but consider the *vigraha* as *māyā*. The first and third of these have possibilities of *bhakti*, the third only if it is recognized that the form and qualities are not material *guṇas*, but made up of *cit*.

Sloka 10. See 2.24.śl.40; 2.24.śl.47; 2.25.śl.3.

Sloka 11. Even those who are on the right path can be so confused by *māyā* that they mix reality with egoism, and consider that the self and the satisfaction of the self are the ends of life. The truth is that the *jīva* is not his own, but as in v. 22., the *jīva* is *Kṛṣṇa*'s; the *jīva* must recognize this fact and confess it. See also ante, v. 17: the *jīva* is the eternal servant of *Kṛṣṇa*; that is his true condition.

Śloka 12. Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin's *Haribhaktivilāsa* 11.397 [quoting *Rāmāyaṇa*]:
He who, seeking refuge, prays only once 'I am yours', I give him always
freedom from fear—this is my vow.

23 Those who are desirous of *bhukti*, *mukti*, or *siddhi*, if they are wise, worship
Kṛṣṇa, profoundly immersed in *bhakti*.

Śloka 13. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 2.3.10:

One who is desireless, or one who desires everything, or one who is
desirous of *mokṣa*, if he is wise, worships the *parama-puruṣa* with strong
and deep *bhakti*.

24 He who is desirous of other things, if he worships Kṛṣṇa, even though he
might not ask for them, Kṛṣṇa grants him his own feet. 25 Kṛṣṇa says, 'He
worships me, he asks for the happiness of material things; abandoning nectar,
he asks for poison, this is most stupid. 26 How can I, knowing this, give worldly
things to this fool? Giving him the nectar of my own feet, I shall make him
forget material things.'

Śloka 14. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 5.19.26:

It is true that being prayed to, he grants desired objects to men; but he is
not the giver of objects, because even after that, [man] is desirous of more.
To those who have no selfish desires, and to those who worship, he himself
grants the shoots of his own feet by which all desires are obscured.

27 He who worships Kṛṣṇa in regard to desires, gains [them] in the Kṛṣṇa-rasa;
and abandoning his desire he longs to become a servant of Kṛṣṇa.

Śloka 15. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [uttara-vibhāga, *vīrabhaktirasa-laharī*]
4.3.44 [quoting *Haribhaktisudhodaya* 7.28]:

I was desirous of position, and performed austerities. Then I found you,
obscure even to Indra and the *devas* and the *munis*. It was as if while

23. *Bhukti*: the enjoyment of heaven, which comes from meritorious action, the *karma-mārga*;
mukti: release or liberation, the result of following the *jñāna-mārga*; *siddhi*: the attainment of pow-
ers (see 2.19.132 commentary), the result of following the *yoga-mārga*.

Śloka 13. See 2.24.śl.28; 2.24.śl.72.

Śloka 14. See 2.24.śl.32; 2.24.śl.74.

Śloka 15. See 2.24.śl.82.

searching for glass, I found a divine jewel. Lord, I am crowned with
success, and I have not even prayed for a boon.

28 While wandering in *saṁsāra*, some fortunate ones are saved, just as a stick
in the current of a river sometimes strikes the bank.

Śloka 16. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.38.5:

No, it cannot be that a low man like me sees Acyuta; but some, some-
times, drifting in the river of time, are rescued.

29 Certain ones, fortunate, look forward to the destruction of *saṁsāra*; and then,
in the company of holy men, love for Kṛṣṇa grows.

Śloka 17. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.51.52:

O Acyuta! when the wandering person reaches the end of his suffering in
the world, then he goes with true men. When the company of true men
is gained, the only way of holy men to the lord of high and low, the
proper attitude toward you is born.

30 If Kṛṣṇa is gracious to some fortunate one, he himself teaches in the form of
the indwelling *guru*.

Śloka 18. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.29.6:

Lord, not in a lifetime as long as Brahmā's do the poets diminish in their
ample joy as they dwell upon your feats. O lord! You are embodied in
the *ācārya* or temple, internal and external; you drive off and make
distant inauspicious things of the embodied, and make manifest your
own cause.

31 If one is a believer in the *bhakti* of Kṛṣṇa, in the company of holy men, the
fruit of *bhakti* is *prema*, and *saṁsāra* is destroyed.

Śloka 19. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.20.8:

There are those people who by some good fortune become believers in
me by talking of me and so on, but they are not indifferent to the world
nor completely devoted; their *bhakti-yoga* is ultimately successful.

Śloka 17. See 2.22.śl.36.

Śloka 18. See 1.1.śl.19.

32 *Bhakti* does not come about by any *karma*; except for grace of great men, *Kṛṣṇa-bhakti* remains at a distance, and *samsāra* is not destroyed.

Sloka 20. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 5.19.12:

O Rāhugaṇa, not by asceticism, nor by injunction, nor by charity, nor by doing the duties of a householder, nor following the Vedas, nor by worship of water or fire or sun, is he to be gained.

Sloka 21. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 7.5.32:

This mind does not touch the foot of the great-striding one—the purpose of which is the disappearance of disaster—until it has chosen consecration by the dust of the feet of the great ones who are without possessions.

33 All the *śāstras* repeat 'the company of *sādhus*, the company of *sādhus*.' By the merest fraction of company with *sādhus*, all is attained.

Sloka 22. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 1.18.13:

By the merest association with the companions of Bhagavān, [that which is gained] we cannot compare to heaven, nor can we compare it to freedom from the rounds of rebirth, what can I say of its blessing to mankind?

34 Kṛṣṇa, full of mercy, showed [it] to Arjuna, and by his counsel he preserved the world.

Sloka 23-24. Bhagavad Gītā 18.64-65:

23 Let me repeat the most mysterious truth, and listen to my words. You are profoundly dear to me, and so I speak, for your benefit.

24 Dedicate your mind to me, become my *bhakta*, worship me, bow down to me, and you shall come to me. This I promise you as truth: you are beloved of me.

35 His previous commands had been about the Vedic *dharma*, *karma*, *yoga*, and *jñāna*; and having finished those, he gave this instruction. 36 If *bhaktas*

Sloka 21. See 2.25.śl.16.

35. His: Kṛṣṇa's instructions in the *BhG*.

36. *Karma* here seems to include the sixty-four devotional acts of *vidhi-bhakti*; this is suggested

believe, by the power of this instruction, then they abandon all *karma* and worship Kṛṣṇa.

Sloka 25. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 11.20.9:

You shall work until a condition of renunciation arises, or until faith, in listening, etc., to my story, is born in the heart.

37 By the word 'faith,' he means a very profound belief, and if one performs *Kṛṣṇa-bhakti*, all *karma* is [automatically] performed.

Sloka 26. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 4.31.14:

As trunk, branches, and twigs are nourished by water poured at the foot of the tree, and as all the senses [are satisfied] by the offering of the the *prāṇa*, so worship to all [the gods] is the worship of Acyuta.

38 One who has faith is the chief of *bhaktas*; the gradations of faith are: highest, middle, and least. 39 He who has profound faith is very learned in the *śāstras*, is the 'highest of adepts'; he is rescued from *samsāra*.

Sloka 27. Rūpa Gosvāmin's Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu [pārva-vibhāga, sādhanabhakti-laharī] 1.2.17:

He who is learned in the *śāstras* and logic, and who in all ways has profound certainty, who is the adept of the greatest faith, he is called a *bhakta*.

40 He who has profound faith but does not know the injunctions of the *śāstras*, he is greatly fortunate, and is called 'middle adept.'

Sloka 28. Rūpa Gosvāmin's Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu [pārva-vibhāga, sādhanabhakti-laharī] 1.2.18:

He who is not skilled in the *śāstras* and the rest, but who has faith, he is called the middle adept.

by *śloka 25*, which specifically mentions *śravaṇa* (listening to the *BhP*) and *kathā* (stories of Kṛṣṇa), which are among the sixty-four. See below vv. 60-73.

Sloka 25. See 2.9.śl.23.

37. The reference is to *śloka 25*. Faith is *śraddhā* and "profound belief" is *viśvāsa*. In *bhakti*, when the ultimate condition is reached, all action is proper action.

Sloka 26. Prāṇapohāra: offering of the prāṇa.

39. *Adhikarī*: adept. This is used consistently in the following passage.

41 He whose faith is immature, he is called 'least'; gradually that *bhakta* will become highest.

Sloka 29. Rūpa Gosvāmī's Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu [pārva-vibhāga, sadhanabhakti-lahari] 1.2.19:

He whose faith is tender is called *kaniṣṭha* adept.

42 *Bhaktas* are greater or lesser according to their greater or lesser *rati* and *prema*; in the eleventh *skandha* [of the *Bhāgavata*] the signs of it have been given.

Sloka 30-32. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 11.2.45-47:

30 He who sees his own god in all things of the earth, and sees all things as in his own *bhagavān*, he is the greatest of *bhāgavatas*. 31 He who practices love for the lord, friendship for dependents, compassion for children, and indifference to enemies, he is 'the middle one.' 32 He who worships Hari in pictures, with faith, but does not do *pājā* to other *bhaktas*, he is called the *prākṛta bhakta*.

43 In the bodies of *Vaiṣṇavas* are all the great qualities; all the qualities of *Kṛṣṇa* pervade *Kṛṣṇa-bhaktas*.

Sloka 33. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 5.18.12:

Who has absolute *bhakti* toward *Kṛṣṇa*, the group of gods possessed of all qualities dwell in him. But how [could this be] the virtue of the great person who is devoid of *bhakti* to Hari, who runs outside with a desire for the unreal?

44 All these qualities are the signs of a *Vaiṣṇava*; to tell them all cannot be done, so I make a survey: 45 compassion, doing no injury or malice, the essence of truth, treating everything equally, freedom from fault, generosity, gentleness, purity, indifference to the world, 46 benefaction to all, peacefulness, having

41. *Kaniṣṭha*: least.

Sloka 30. See 2.8.51.52; 2.25.51.25.

Sloka 33. See 1.8.51.5.

45. *Nir-doṣa*: freedom from fault. *Doṣas* can be of a great many kinds, but among them there are eighteen major ones: infatuation, lassitude, error, cruel anger, desire of a kind that will cause unhappiness to others, fickleness, drunkenness, malice, grief because of injury, fatigue, untruth, wrath, expectation, error about the nature of the world, inequality (or seeing things as being unequal), and reliance on others.

refuge only in *Kṛṣṇa*, freedom from passion or desire, freedom from longing, being steadfast, having conquered the six passions, 47 eating moderately, abstinence, honoring all things, not having pride in self, gravity, mercy, friendliness, poesy, skill, and silence.

Sloka 34. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 3.25.21:

Sādhus are forgiving, compassionate, friends of all living things, have no enemies, are peaceful, and ornaments to holy men.

Sloka 35. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 5.5.2:

The service of great ones is called the door of *mokṣa*; association with women is the door to darkness. Those whose minds see sameness, and who are peaceful, devoid of anger, and compassionate, and who do good actions, they are great ones.

48 So the root of the birth of *Kṛṣṇa-bhakti* is association with holy men, and that again is the primary part of the birth of *Kṛṣṇa-prema*.

Sloka 36. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.51.52:

O *Acyuta*! when the wandering person reaches the end of his suffering in the world, then he goes with true men. When the company of true men is gained, the only way of holy men to the lord of high and low, the proper attitude toward you is born.

Sloka 37. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 11.2.30:

Thus, O blameless ones! I ask from you [the way] to spiritual prosperity. In this *saṁsāra*, association with holy men even for a half a moment is the effective way for mankind.

Sloka 38. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 3.25.24:

Such tales, full of the knowledge of my greatness, are heard from the exalted company of holy men, and are potions to my heart and ear. By cultivating such discourse, *śraddha*, *rati*, and *prema-bhakti* will quickly proceed on the way to highest bliss.

46. "The six" enemies are listed as either desire, anger, greed, infatuation, drunkenness, and malice, or as hunger (desire), thirst, lassitude or exhaustion, illness, grief, and infatuation.

Sloka 36. See 2.22.51.17.

Sloka 38. See 1.1.51.29; 2.23.51.7.

49 Abandoning the company of untrue people—these are the actions of a Vaiṣṇava. And one who keeps the company of women is unholy and is not a *bhakta* of Kṛṣṇa.

Śloka 39. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 3.31.35:

As from association with women and from association of those who associate with women, man is fruitlessly deluded, which does not arise from association with others.

Śloka 40-41. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 3.31.33-34:

40 As from association with whom truth, purity, compassion, silence, wisdom, modesty, beauty, fame, patience, tranquility, self-control, prosperity are destroyed, 41 you should not keep company with unholy people: those who are restless [in desire], foolish, impure, whose self is split up, and those who, like deer, sport with women.

Śloka 42. Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin's *Haribhaktivilāsa* 10.224 [quoting *Katyāyana-saṃhitā*]:

Being in the middle of a cage of flames of fire is preferable to the pain of association with those whose faces are averted from thinking on Śauri.

Śloka 43.

One should nowhere look toward men of tiny virtue, who are devoid of *bhakti* for Bhagavān.

50 Abandoning all this and the *varṇāśrama-dharma*, one should become indifferent to the world and take refuge only in Kṛṣṇa.

49. The line could also read: "These are the actions of a Vaiṣṇava—abandoning the company of untrue people: those who associate with women, with non-holy men, and with non-*bhaktas* of Kṛṣṇa." Viśvanātha, commenting on this, says that this applies to one's own wife as well, and it seems as if he practiced what he preached (see *PHM*, 156). Pronouncements of this sort cause the apologists endless trouble, however, for the question is whether or not all those followers of Caitanya, Śivānanda Sena and others (including Advaita and later Nityānanda), who were householders and obviously had wives, were unholy (*asādhu*). Rādhāgovinda Nātha's comment is perhaps typical: the meaning here is not anyone who has anything to do with women, but those who are particularly attracted and attached to women. The Vaiṣṇava householders could associate with women without being attached to them.

Śloka 42. Also found in Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [parva-vibhāga, sādhanabhakti-lahari] 1.2.111.

Śloka 43. The śloka is Kṛṣṇadāsa's own.

Śloka 44. *Bhāgavad Gītā* 18.66:

Abandon all the Laws and instead seek shelter with me alone. Be unconcerned, I shall set you free from all evils.

51 He is affectionate to his *bhaktas*, all-knowing, powerful, and generous; leaving this Kṛṣṇa and worshiping someone else is not wise.

Śloka 45. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.88.26:

What wise man will go for shelter but to you, who are loving to your *bhaktas*, true-spoken, friendly, grateful? You, who neither increase nor decrease, grant to the man of pure heart, the worshiper, all desired things, even yourself.

52 If the wise man knows the qualities of Kṛṣṇa, he abandons all others and worships him; Uddhava is the proof of this.

Śloka 46. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 3.2.23:

How wonderful, that he whom the evil Vakti desired to kill by causing him to suck at her nipples smeared with poison, obtained the way appropriate to a wet-nurse, should I take refuge in anyone merciful other than him?

53 One sign of him who is free from attachment, who has taken refuge [in Kṛṣṇa], is that the dedication of self has entered within him.

Śloka 47-48. Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin's *Haribhaktivilāsa* 11.417-18 [quoting an unidentified Vaiṣṇava *tantra*]:

47 Of desire to serve, by the abandonment of antagonism, by the faith that 'he will protect me' and accepting him as the protector, by the dedication of the self and compassion, these are the six modes of refuge. 48 'I am yours'—by saying this in speech, and by knowing it with the mind, and taking refuge in his place with the body, the man who has taken refuge experiences bliss.

Śloka 44. See 2.8.śl7; 2.9.śl22.

Śloka 46. Vakti: Pūtana. Way of a wet-nurse: Kṛṣṇa sucked away her life; see *BhP* 10.6.3-18. These are the words of Uddhava.

54 He who takes refuge and dedicates himself to Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa makes him like himself, in due time.

Sloka 49. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 11.29.34:

When a mortal leaves all *karma* and dedicates himself to me, then I wish to change him; he gains immortality and is fit to become [like] myself.

55 And now, O Sanātana, hear the characteristics of *sādhana-bhakti*, from which is gained the great wealth of Kṛṣṇa-prema.

Sloka 50. Rūpa Gosvāmī's Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu [pūrva-vibhāga, sādhanabhakti-laharī] 1.2.2:

The name *sādhana* refers to that by which the object to be realized is apprehended and produced. This object is the manifestation in the heart of an eternally pure emotion.

56 The performance of *śravaṇa* and the rest—these are the *svārūpa*-signs of it; the wealth of *prema* is born in the *taṭastha* signs. 57 Kṛṣṇa-prema is eternal and is perfect—it is never 'to be attained,' and in the pure mind *śravaṇa* and the rest arise.

58 This *sādhana-bhakti* is of two kinds: one is *vaidhī-bhakti*, and the other is *rāgānuga-bhakti*. 59 People without *rāga* worship according to the injunctions of the *śāstras*; this is called *vaidhī-bhakti*, and all the *śāstras* celebrate it.

54. Like himself: the question is, by definition of the *advaya-jñāna tattva*, Kṛṣṇa's knowing himself as totally without a second, there can be no one or no thing identical with him; what then does "like" mean? According to *śloka* 29, one such similarity is immortality: Viśvanātha comments that such a man becomes a *jīvan-mukta*.

Sloka 49. See 3.4.51.9.

56. For *svārūpa* and *taṭastha-lakṣaṇa*, see 2.20.295-296. That which is internal and essential to something is *svārūpa*; *śravaṇa* and the rest of the types of *vidhī* actually constitute *sādhana-bhakti*, and thus can be termed internal to it. That which can be deduced about the nature of something from its external effects is *taṭastha*; Kṛṣṇa-prema is the result of *sādhana-bhakti*, and thus its *taṭastha-lakṣaṇa*.

57. I.e., it is never in process, but is an eternal condition, as a function of *hlādinī-śakti*. This is not to say that the *jīva* can never attain it; the *jīva* is in fact, assuming that it is properly oriented toward Kṛṣṇa in the first place, by its true nature a servant of Kṛṣṇa (ante, v. 17); but its mind is spoiled and muddled by *māyā*, and does not recognize its true condition. When the mind is purified, by association with *sādhya* and the rest, attraction toward Kṛṣṇa increases and the acts of *sādhana-bhakti*, such as *śravaṇa*, are performed naturally.

59. *Rāga*: a longing so passionate and profound that the heart is restless until the longed-for

Sloka 51. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 2.1.15:

Therefore, O Bhārata! If *mokṣa* is desired, Bhagavān Hari, the soul of all, *Īśvara*, should be praised and celebrated and meditated on.

Sloka 52-53. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 11.5.2-3:

52 By means of the *guṇas*, each of the four *varṇas*, twice-born and the rest, are born respectively from the mouth, arms, thighs, and feet of the *puruṣa*, together with the *āśramas*. 53 Those among them who do not worship the *Īśvara-puruṣa* as their own fathers, and despise him, are hurled from their own places and fall below.

Sloka 54. Rūpa Gosvāmī's Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu [pūrva-vibhāga, sādhanabhakti-laharī] 1.2.8 [quoting Padmottara Purāṇa 72.100]:

Viṣṇu is always to be remembered, and should never be forgotten. All the injunctions and prohibitions of the *śāstras* are servants of these two.

60 *Sādhana-bhakti* is of various parts, and is widely diffused; let me speak briefly of some of the essential parts of *sādhana*. 61 Having refuge at the feet of the *guru*, [taking the] *dīkṣa mantra*, serving the *guru*, conversation and learn-

object can be attained. Rādhāgovinda Natha, sharing Kṛṣṇadāsa's fondness for food, makes the distinction by the following charming analogy: *rāgānuga-bhakti* is like the cooking of a wife or mother: she is not satisfied unless the son or husband is made happy, and she feeds and serves him out of pure love. The hired cook might be as skilled, but he cooks and serves because that is what he has been hired to do; he also seeks to satisfy his employer, but because if he does not do so he will be fired.

Sloka 52. See 2.22.51.8; 2.24.51.48.

Sloka 53. See 2.22.51.9.

60-73. The sixty-four kinds of *sādhana-bhakti* are enumerated. At this point the distinction between *vaidhī* and *rāgānuga* is two-fold and mildly confusing. In one sense *rāgānuga* follows upon *vaidhī* (VFM, 130): by following these sixty-four enjoined acts, one attains a spontaneous state of *rāgānuga* (see below, v. 85), in which one realizes one's proper and true relationship to Kṛṣṇa. From this point of view, the injunctions are no longer necessary. But this does not necessarily mean that one dispenses at this point with these acts; theoretically, of course, one could do so. But in fact it is the motivation which has changed; one continues these ritual performances, but now not because the *śāstras* say to do so, but out of love and devotion. The acts themselves are natural to one's changed condition. It should be pointed out that the first twenty of these are considered the doorway to *bhakti*, ten prescriptions and ten proscriptions. If these are not accepted and completely absorbed, no further progress can be made.

61. BHP 11.20.17: it is the *guru* who takes one to the other shore of *saṁsāra*, where Bhagavān can be gained. The Vaiṣṇavas are very particular about the *guru*, and several things might be noted. First, he must be a Vaiṣṇava (HBHV 4.144); he must himself have tasted *rāsa*, or how can he direct

ing about true *dharma*, and following along the way of *sādhus*, 62 abandonment of enjoyment in love for Kṛṣṇa, dwelling at the pilgrimage places of Kṛṣṇa, acceptance only of what is necessary for living, fasting on the Ekādaśī, 63 the worship of *dhātṛi* and *aśvattha* [trees], cows, *brahmanas*, and Vaiṣṇavas, and renunciation and keeping at a distance the offences to *nāma* and *seva*. 64 One should not take too many pupils, and should avoid association with non-

others to do so? Secondly, one should examine the *sampradaya* the prospective *guru* belongs to. The tradition must be appropriate to the Gauḍīya order. Thirdly, one should see that the *sampradaya*, and the individual characteristics of the *guru*, are appropriate: the *bhāva* of the *guru* must be that of oneself, i.e., if one wants to worship in the *vatsalya-bhāva*, the *guru* should be of that *bhāva* as well. Fourthly, the *guru* should be learned in the *śāstras* (including the *tantras* and *āgamas*), and be clever in the interpretation of them. Fifthly, he must have the signs of a great devotee; and one's mind and heart must be immediately attracted to him. And finally, if anyone does mistakenly take as a *guru* a non-Vaiṣṇava, immediately upon discovering this he should go and take *dikṣā* from a Vaiṣṇava. The *dikṣā-mantra* is the individual ritual formula given by the *guru* to his disciple; it infuses the power of the *guru* into the disciple, and the disciple repeats and meditates on his *mantra*; one must take *dikṣā* before proceeding further.

Serving the *guru* is of two kinds: first, when the *guru* is present, doing *pāja* to him with flowers, sandalwood, etc., and doing all services for him with love. And secondly, when he is not present, thinking about him and offering flowers, etc., before his picture. One should not feed the *guru* anything but *prasāda*; one should not think of the *guru* as an ordinary man, but as a servant of Kṛṣṇa or Caitanya, already in a state of grace. "True *dharma*" can either be the *dharma* of truth, or true men, *sādhus*, or it can be the *dharma* of him who is true, Kṛṣṇa. "The way of *sādhus*" can also be either literal or figurative.

62. "Fasting": on the Ekādaśī (the eleventh day of either fortnight) is absolutely enjoined for all Vaiṣṇavas of all castes and both sexes. It is said that on that day *papa* enters into all food. Rādhagovinda Natha: *upavāsa* means not only fasting, but living (*vāsa*) near (*upa*) the deity.

63. *Dhātṛi* is the myrobalan tree; *aśvattha* is the peepul tree. There are thirty-two types of *sevā-aparādha* ("offences to service") usually listed, and they are: riding in a cart, getting into a palanquin or going to the temple in leather or wooden sandals, not observing the feast days, not making *pranāma* (obeisance) in the presence of the image, making obeisance when in an impure condition, making *pranāma* with one hand, improper circumambulation of the image (one should keep the image to the right), stretching out one's feet before the image, squatting before it, telling lies before it, speaking in a loud voice before it, having conversation with someone else before it, weeping before it, quarreling before it, kindness to anyone, or cruelty to anyone, before it, abuse of another before it, praise of another before it, speaking crudely or erotically before it, breaking wind in its presence, not supplying the best materials available for worship, eating unknown foods, not offering the deity fruits and vegetables as soon as harvested, giving to someone other than the deity the best part of an offering, sitting behind the image's back, salutation or obeisance to another man before the image, remaining silent if the *guru* asks a question, praising one's self, and abuse of the deity. The *Varāha Purāṇa* adds a few more proscriptions: eating rich foods, touching the image in a dark house, going near the image in violation of rules, accepting food contaminated by dogs, breaking silence after having sat for *pāja*, or getting up to defecate after sitting for *pāja*, offering *pāja* with wilted flowers, burning of incense before having offered perfume and garlands, not cleaning the teeth, not cleaning the self after sexual intercourse, touching a menstruating woman, touching

Vaiṣṇavas, and should renounce commentary and concern with art and with many books; 65 [one should] consider loss and gain as the same, and not being conquered by grief and such; nor should one condemn other *śāstras* and other gods. 66 One should not listen to reviling of Viṣṇu or of Vaiṣṇavas, nor to idle gossip, nor give anxiety in mind or word to any living thing. 67 Listening, praise, remembering, worship, obeisance, service, servanthood, friendship, and self-dedication, 68 singing and dancing before [the image], *vijñāpti*, and prostration before it, elevation of the image, following the image, and going to pilgrimage places, 69 circumambulation, the recitation of praises, *japa*, and *saṅkīrtana*, [worship with] incense and perfume and garlands, and the eating of *mahāprasāda*, 70 [observing] the *arati*, the great festivals, and having *darśana* of the holy image, the giving of that which is dear to one, meditation, and service of that which is his. 71 'That which is his' is *tulast*, Vaiṣṇavas, Mathurā, and the *Bhāgavata*: service of these four is desired by Kṛṣṇa. 72 And dedication of all efforts to Kṛṣṇa, the witnessing of his grace, and [celebration] with the *bhaktas* of his birthday and other great festivals; 73 in all things taking refuge [in him], and the observation of the Kārttika and other *vrātas*. These sixty-four parts are the highest greatness. 74 Association with *sādhus*, *nāma-kīrtana*,

the lamp, touching a corpse, wearing blood-stained or unclean clothes, looking at a dead man, breaking wind, being angry, going to the burning ground, taking *gānjā*, eating opium, and massaging with oil. There are various others listed in various texts.

There are ten main types of *nāma-aparādha* ("offences to the name"): abuse or vilification of holy men, considering the name, *rāpa*, and *hīla* of Śiva as separate from those of Viṣṇu, scorn or disrespect for the *guru*, condemnation of the Vedic and other *śāstras*, considering the power of the name as imaginary, the use of the name for wrong-doing or in sinful situations, to consider the results of *dharma*, sacrifice, renunciation, etc., as equal to those of the use of the name, carelessness in taking the name or listening to it, not giving primacy of thought to the greatness of the name, especially while listening to it, and giving instruction to one who is not attentive, inclined properly, or faithless. See *HBhV* 11.282-286.

67. *Dāsyā*: service: fanning the image, preparing his bed, cleansing the temple, gathering flowers and *tulast*, etc.

68. *Vijñāpti*: expressions of the relationship of the self to the deity. These are of three kinds: expression of love, expressions of humility, and expressions of longing and desire for the happiness of the god.

69. *Japa*: uttering the *mantra* or the name of the deity, though under the breath so that no one else can hear.

72. *Tatkrpāvalokana*: witnessing; seeing the grace and mercy of Kṛṣṇa in all things.

73. Kārttika is a special month for Vaiṣṇavas, and during this month various kinds of *vrātas* or vows and worship are undertaken; Rādhagovinda Natha comments that *bhakti*, which is hard to gain, is gained easily if one serves Kṛṣṇa at Mathurā only once during this time. Actually, to this point only fifty-eight types of *sādhana* have been mentioned. Rāpa's *BhRS* [*pārva-vibhāga, sādhana-bhakti-laharī*] lists the other six (the list starts with 1.2.72): putting the signs of the Vaiṣṇava

listening to the *Bhāgavata*, dwelling at Mathurā, and the service, in faith, of the sacred image— 75 these five are the best of all the *sādhana*s. And in the merest association with these five, Kṛṣṇa-prema is born.

Śloka 55-56. Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [pūrva-vibhāga, *sādhana*bhakti-laharī] 1.2.90-92:

55 Love in the service of the feet of the holy image, with special faith, delighting with *rasikas* in the content and name of the *Bhāgavata*, 56 association with a *sādhu*, whose type of loving nature is better than one's own, praising of the name, living in the area of Mathurā.

Śloka 57. Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [pūrva-vibhāga, *sādhana*bhakti-laharī] 1.2.238:

These five are hard to know and of wondrous power; let there be faith in the five, for even the slightest relationship with them leads to the rise of *bhāva* in the hearts of the good.

76 Some follow one *aṅga*, and some follow many *aṅga*s; and if they are firm, the wave of *prema* rises up. 77 Many *bhaktas* gain perfection through one *aṅga*.

Śloka 58. Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [pūrva-vibhāga, *sādhana*bhakti-laharī] 1.2.265 [quoting Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Padyāvalī* 53]:

Parīkṣit, by listening about Viṣṇu, Vayāsaki by *kīrtana*, Prahlāda by remembering, Lakṣmī by serving his feet, Pṛthu by *pūjā*, Akṛura by obeisance, Kapipati by being a servant, Arjuna by friendship, and Vali by the total dedication of self, were fulfilled; all of them gained Kṛṣṇa in the highest way.

on the body (i.e., the *tulasī*-garland, *tilakas* on the twelve parts of the body, as previously mentioned), writing the letters of the name of Hari on the body, drinking the nectar of the feet (i.e., the water used to wash the feet of the image), touching the image, acceptance of the garlands worn by the deity, and association with holy men who are of like heart and mind (the latter being emphasized above in vv. 31-54).

Śloka 57. See 2.24.171.

76. These sixty-four acts (lit. limb, *aṅga*) are called the *cātuhṣaṣṭi-aṅga*; according to one's taste and inclination, one can put more emphasis on one or on several than on the others; but the last five are the most efficacious.

77. Occasionally Kṛṣṇadāsa, when he is about to demonstrate a point by a *śloka*, gives a Bengali singlet as introduction, as here.

Śloka 58. Vayāsaki: Śukadeva; Kapipati: Hanumān. The stanza is unattributed in Rūpa's text.

78 Amvārīṣa and others were *bhaktas* who followed several branches.

Śloka 59-61. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 9.4.18-20:

59 He employed his mind on the lotus feet of Kṛṣṇa, his speech in descriptions of the qualities of Vaikuṇṭha, his hands in the cleansing etc., of the temple of Hari, his ears in purifying words about Acyuta, 60 his eyes in the sight of the place and the image of Mukunda, his own limbs touching the bodies of [Kṛṣṇa's] servants, his nose in the fragrance of the touch of his lotus feet, his tongue with that which had been offered to [Kṛṣṇa] with the *tulasī*, 61 his feet on following the path of Hari, his head with obeisance to the feet of Hṛṣīkeśa, and his desires—not desires for worldly things—in servitude, and from it came love for him of highest fame.

79 He abandoned *kāma* and worshiped Kṛṣṇa, honoring the instructions of the *śāstras*. If this is done there is never any debt to the *devas*, or the *ṛṣis*, or to ancestors, etc.

Śloka 62. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.5.41:

O king! He who abandons the performance of duties and in all things makes Mukunda his refuge has no debt to *devas*, *ṛṣis*, *bhūtas*, men and ancestors, and is no servant.

80 He who abandons the *dharma* of injunctions and worships the feet of Kṛṣṇa, there is never in his mind wrong or forbidden actions. 81 If, because of ignorance, an evil deed occurs, Kṛṣṇa makes him pure, and he does not do penance.

79. *Kāma*: here not only sexual passion, but all desire for the satisfaction of the self, including desire for the happiness of heaven. The following *śloka* lists the five kinds of debts that man has. Rādhagovinda Nātha: man is indebted to the *devas* for rain and other life-giving forces of nature; to the *ṛṣis* for preservation of the status in which rain, etc., continues to fall and for the *śāstras*; to ancestors for life itself; to the elements, for the earth and for animals which give food such as milk and crops; and to fellow men for the society which makes it possible to live.

80. Rādhagovinda Nātha interprets this as *varṇa*, *āśrama*, *dharma*, etc., but it is also possible to read it as meaning the sixty-four acts, i.e., that in the condition of *rāgānuga* one has gone beyond the necessity of any ritual for that is a condition of spontaneous passionate love (see below v. 85); when one is in that state, he has truth within him, and nothing he does can be wrong, for the society and its restrictions are no longer relevant.

81. "Because of ignorance" is stressed by the use of the emphatic particle *-o-*; ignorance is obviously not in the metaphysical sense, for the worshiper is at this point in a pure condition, but

Sloka 63. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 11.5.42:

If a bad action is done by a beloved one, who has abandoned his passion for others, who is a worshiper of his own lotus feet, the supreme lord Hari enters his heart and destroys it all.

82 Knowledge and renunciation are never parts of *bhakti*.

Sloka 64. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 11.20.31:

Thus, for the *yogin* who has me as his soul, and is absorbed in *bhakti* for me, neither knowledge nor renunciation are generally beneficial.

83 Self-control and regulation accompany the *Kṛṣṇa-bhaktā*.

Sloka 65. Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [pārva-vibhāga, *sādhana-bhakti-laharī*] 1.2.262 [quoting *Skānda Purāṇa*]:

O hunter! All your qualities, *ahimsa* and the rest, are not to be wondered at; he who is occupied with Hari-*bhakti* is not violent toward others.

84 So this is the description of *vidhi-bhakti sādhana*; now hear, O Sanātana, the signs of *rāganuga-bhakti*.

in the sense of no longer recognizing the restrictions of society and custom. Presumably such deeds might include touching an untouchable, etc., for which under ordinary circumstances purificatory rites would be necessary; but the worshiper is not conscious of such necessities, which are only external.

Sloka 63. All: all the effects of bad action.

82. *Jñāna*: knowledge, here means the *jñāna-mārga*, by which the identity of *jīva* and *Bhagavān* is held and reached, not knowledge of the nature of the self or the relationship of the self to *Bhagavān*. *Vairāgya*: renunciation, which is also of two kinds. There is nothing antithetical to *bhakti* in renunciation of pleasure in order to give pleasure to Kṛṣṇa; but it is inappropriate for a *bhaktā* to renounce the world and become an ascetic in order to accomplish his own selfish ends; it is the second kind that is spoken of here.

83. I.e., these two initial steps of virtually all forms of *yoga* are secondary to *bhakti*, and by themselves not efficacious; another interpretation might be that they come naturally when the state of *bhakti* is attained. Self control (*yama*) is defined by the *Manava-dharmaśāstra* as being of five kinds: non-injury, truth in speech, moderation, non-pride, and non-vanity. Other texts include such as forgiveness, gentleness, meditation, and purity. Regulation (*niyama*), according for instance to the *Vedāntasāra*, include such as cleanliness, satisfaction, religious power, study, and profound meditation on the deity.

Sloka 65. See 2.24.183.

85 *Rāgātmikā-bhakti* was primary among those who dwelt in Vraja, and because of that the name *rāganuga-bhakti* comes.

Sloka 66. Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [pārva-vibhāga, *sādhana-bhakti-laharī*] 1.2.272:

Deepest absorption, spontaneously, in the desired object is *rāga*; and the *bhakti* which is full of that is here called *rāgātmikā*.

86 Deep longing for the desired object is *rāga*—this is its *svarūpa*-sign. Absorption in the desired object—this is its *taṭastha* sign. 87 The name of *bhakti* filled with *rāga* is *rāgātmikā*; hearing that, certain fortunate people become greedy [for it]. 88 And in their greed they follow in the *bhava* of the dwellers of Vraja; they do not honor the injunctions of the *śāstras*, for their nature is that of *rāganuga*.

Sloka 67. Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [pārva-vibhāga, *sādhana-bhakti-laharī*] 1.2.270:

That *rāgātmikā bhakti* which is followed, the one displayed clearly among those who dwelt in Vraja, etc., that is called *rāganuga*.

Sloka 68. Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [pārva-vibhāga, *sādhana-bhakti-laharī*] 1.2.292:

If the sweetness of the various *bhāvas* is heard, the wise man does not depend on the *śāstras* and logic; this is the sign of the arising of longing.

89 This *sādhana* has two parts: external and internal. External is the performance of *śravaṇa* and *kīrtana* with the body of the *sādhaka*. 90 In their minds, [these *sādhakas*] mentally construct their own perfected bodies, and day and night they serve Kṛṣṇa in Vraja.

85. *Rāgātmikā*: the *bhakti* of which the essence or soul (*ātma*) is intense passion and longing (*rāga*). This was characteristic especially of the *gopīs*, who literally and figuratively embodied passion for Kṛṣṇa, but all of the Vraja-dwellers were in some intense emotional relationship to him. *Rāganuga*: lit., a following after of passion, in a manner of passion, the transformative process that leads to a condition of *rāgātmikā*.

86. See commentary above on v. 56.

90. Here the internal *sādhana* is described. [This advanced *sādhana* takes different forms, but that practiced by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja and other *bhaktas* of Vraja is called *manjari-sādhana*, wherein the devotee assumes or discovers a female identity appropriate to his *bhāva*, and which allows him to serve Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa directly in their love play. See also 1.6.69-73 and 2.8.165-66, 169. TKS] *Siddha-deha*: perfected body.

Śloka 69. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [pārva-vibhāga, sādhanabhakti-lahari] 1.2.295:

Those *sādhakas* who are greedy for the *bhāva* of them, by the body and by the perfected body, necessarily serve him and [his] companions in Vrajaloka.

91 Following after one who is beloved of Kṛṣṇa, [in the *bhāva* which] is longed for by the self, in their inner minds they serve him eternally.

Śloka 70. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [pārva-vibhāga, sādhanabhakti-lahari] 1.2.294:

He, remembering Kṛṣṇa, his beloved people and that which is most beloved of him, and devoted to the stories of those various things, should always dwell in Vraja.

92 The servants, friends, fathers, etc. and lovers—all these *bhāvas* are counted in *rāga-mārga*.

Śloka 71. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 3.25.38:

I am of those who are attached to me, beloved, soul, son, friend, guru, intimate, *iṣṭa-deva*; and in *śānta-rūpa* they are never without that which is to be enjoyed, nor are they destroyed by my wheel of time.

Śloka 72. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [pārva-vibhāga, sādhanabhakti-lahari] 1.2.308 [quoting *Nārāyaṇa-vyāha-stava*]:

Those who zealously meditate on Hari, with constant attention, and consider him husband, son, intimate friend, brother, and father, or like a friend, I bow to them.

93 In this way are those who have *rāgānuga-bhakti*, and their love arises toward the feet of Kṛṣṇa. 94 The sprout of love is *rati* and *bhāva*, these are the two names of it. And from it Śrī Bhagavān is controlled. 95 That from which the

91. One takes on a *bhāva* appropriate to one's own taste, personality, and inclination; this *bhāva* is also that of one of the people of Vraja. This transformation is inward and eternal; and through this one eventually joins Kṛṣṇa in heavenly *Vṛndāvana*, i.e., one attains salvation.

Śloka 71. *Iṣṭa-deva*: that aspect of a deity appropriate to each particular devotee; *śānta-rūpa*: in *Vaikuṇṭha*, where the divine majesty is primary, and experience is that of peace.

94. *Vaśa*: control; see 1.4.216; 1.7.138; 1.17.71, śl.5; and 2.23.26.

loving service of Kṛṣṇa is gained has been described as *abhidheya*. 96 Those who hear this *abhidheya* of the *sādhana-bhakti* quickly gain the wealth of the *prema* of Kṛṣṇa."

97 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

Madhya Līlā
Chapter 23

Sloka 1.

I take refuge in that light-colored Kṛṣṇa, of greatest generosity, who has distributed to all people, even the lowliest, the nectar of the name and his own *prema*, wealth hidden by himself and undistributed for a long time.

1 Glory, glory to Gauracandra, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*.

2 [Caitanya continues] "Now hear the fruits of *bhakti*, *prema* the *prayojana*; who hears it gains knowledge of *bhakti-rasa*. 3 When *rati* to Kṛṣṇa is deep, it is called *prema*; this is the name of the *sthāyi-bhāva* of Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti-rasa*.

Sloka 2. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [pārva-vibhāga, *bhāvabhakti-laharī*] 1.3.1:

The essence of the characteristics of purity and truth is like the rays of the sun of [the form of] *prema*, and by means of its rays it accomplishes the coolness of the mind—this is called *bhāva*.

4 These two are the *svārūpa* and the *taṭastha* signs of *bhāva*; now hear, O Sanātana, the signs of *prema*.

Sloka 3-4. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [pārva-vibhāga, *prema-bhakti-laharī*] 1.4.1-2:

3 That *bhāva* by which one's nature is completely softened, marked by an excess of possessiveness, and soaking the soul, the wise call *prema*.

2. Vv. 2-52 are devoted to a discussion of the *prayojana*, which is *prema*.

3. When *sādhana-bhakti* is firm in the *rāga-mārga*, love for Kṛṣṇa is born; that is *rati*, the sprout from which grows full *prema* for Kṛṣṇa. For *sthāyi-bhāva*, see 2.19.154-155 commentary.

4 [quoting *Nārada-pañcarātra*]: Bhīṣma, Prahlaḍa, Uddhava, and Nārada call *bhakti* a possessiveness, an incomparable possessiveness, *prema*, and attachment to Viṣṇu.

5 If by some fortune some *jīvas* have faith, then those *jīvas* associate with holy men. 6 From association with holy men listening and praising arises, and in *sādhana-bhakti* all evil is eradicated. 7 From the eradication of evil is firmness in *bhakti*, and from firmness, the appetite for listening and the rest is born. 8 And from these appetites comes deep attachment to *bhakti*, and from this attachment the sprout of love for Kṛṣṇa is born in the mind. 9 When that *bhāva* is deep, it has the name *prema*; that *prema* is the *prayojana*, the place of all bliss.

Slokas 5-6. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [pārva-vibhāga, *prema-bhakti-laharī*] 1.4.15-16:

5 First there is faith, and after that association with holy men, and then the performance of worship, and as a result of that the sloughing off of evil things, and when that happens *niṣṭhā* comes about, 6 and then appetite, and then attachment, and then *bhāva*, and then *prema* arises. This is the order in which *prema* gradually appears in the *sādhakas*.

Sloka 7. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 3.25.24:

Such tales, full of the knowledge of my greatness, are heard from the exalted company of holy men, and are potions to my heart and ear. By cultivating such discourse, *śraddhā*, *rati*, and *prema-bhakti* will quickly proceed on the way to highest bliss.

10 In whose heart this sprout of *bhāva* appears, these are the signs of him, so all the *śāstras* say:

4. The reference is to *śloka* 2. "Purity and truth" are the *svārūpa-lakṣaṇa*, and the accomplishing of the coolness and satisfaction of the mind is the *taṭastha-lakṣaṇa*. ["Signs of *prema*" should be read generally, for vv. 5-20 explain the technical signs of *rati*, while vv. 20-44 tell those of *prema*. TKS]

Sloka 4. Also in Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin's *HBhV* 11.382.

7. *Niṣṭhā*: firmness, the point at which *bhakti* has taken firm hold.

Sloka 7. See 1.1.śl.29; 2.22.śl.38.

Śloka 8-9. Rāpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [pārva-vibhāga, bhāvabhakti-laharī] 1.3.25-26:

8 Tranquility, effective use of time, asceticism, humility, hope, eagerness, zeal in singing of the name, attachment, 9 love for the description of the qualities of him, love for his dwelling places, and the rest: all these *anubhāvas* are born in one who has the sprout of *bhāva*.

11 He, who has in his mind these nine sprouts of love, has no grief in disappointments in material things.

Śloka 10. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.19.15:

O *brāhmaṇas*! You and the goddess Gaṅgā must promise to visit me, who has taken refuge in and whose mind is firmly fixed on Iśa; may the trickery sent by the twice-born come, and let Takṣaka bite me, only sing me the songs of Viṣṇu.

12 Except for relationship to Kṛṣṇa, time does not pass.

Śloka 11. Rāpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [pārva-vibhāga, bhāvabhakti-laharī] 1.3.29 [quoting *Haribhaktisudodhaya* 12.37]:

Praising with constant speech, remembering with the mind, making obeisance with the body, and even then not satisfied, true *bhaktas*, weeping, present the whole span of their lives to Hari alone.

13 He does not like enjoyment, supernatural power, and the objects of the senses.

Śloka 12. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 5.14.43:

He, exalted, ardent for the illustrious one, even while a youth, abandoned like dirt his friends and kingdom, and his wife and son, which are dear to his heart and hard to leave.

14 The best among men considers himself as lowly.

Śloka 9. These are "subsidiary *bhāvas*," the ensuants which follow and strengthen the mood (De, *Sanskrit Poetics* 2.274).

Śloka 10. Takṣaka was one of the eight main *nāgas*, the brother of Vasuki king of the *nāgas*. "Trickery" is *kuhaka*.

12. The reference is to "effective use of time" in ślokas 8 and 9 above; the only proper use of time is in worship and service to Kṛṣṇa.

13. The *bhakta* is the subject of the sentence. *Bhukti*: enjoyment; *siddhi*: supernatural power.

Śloka 12. See 3.6.śl.2.

Śloka 13. Rāpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [pārva-vibhāga, bhāvabhakti-laharī] 1.3.33 [quoting *Padma Purāṇa*]:

This one, who was the crest jewel of kings, carried away with *rati* for Hari, went to beg in the cities of his enemies, and bowed down to Śvapakas.

15 He knows profoundly that Kṛṣṇa will have mercy.

Śloka 14. Rāpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [pārva-vibhāga, bhāvabhakti-laharī] 1.3.35 [quoting a *pada* of *Sanātana*]:

No *prema*, or *śravaṇa-bhakti* or the rest, or attachment to Vaiṣṇavas, or knowledge, or any good *karma*, or even high birth [have I]; still, O lover of the *gopīs*, my hope in you, who fulfills the needy, gives me pain, its root being uncuttable.

16 'Samutkaṇṭha' has as its chief characteristic constant yearning.

Śloka 15. Līlāśuka Bilvamaṅgala's *Kṛṣṇakarmāmṛta* 1.32:

If you would know that your childhood is most wonderful in all the three worlds, then you would know my weakness, as I know it, and would tell me how I can see with these two eyes your beautiful lotus-face graced with the playing of the flute.

17 He always has a desire to sing the name, and he takes the name of Kṛṣṇa.

Śloka 16. Rāpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [pārva-vibhāga, bhāvabhakti-laharī] 1.3.38:

O Govinda, the girl, whose voice is sweet, and whose lotus eyes flow with the honey of tear drops, today sings all your names.

18 He is always attached to the expounding of the qualities of Kṛṣṇa.

Śloka 13. The reference is to the story of the great *maharāja* Bhārata, as told in *BhP* 5.

Śloka 14. Mukundadāsa, in his commentary on this verse, suggests that the mentions of *yoga*, *jñāna*, and *karma* signify extreme humility: I do not have even these, to say nothing of the *aṅgas* of *bhakti*.

16. *Samutkaṇṭha*: anxiety; the reference is again to ślokas 8 and 9 above.

Śloka 15. See 2.2.śl.9.

17. This is a comment on *ruci*, "appetite" or "eagerness," in ślokas 8 and 9 above.

Śloka 16. "The girl" (*bala*) refers to Rādhā; the verse is spoken by a *sakhī*.

18. This is a comment on *asakti*, "attachment" or "love," in ślokas 8 and 9.

Sloka 17. Līlāśuka Bilvamaṅgala's Kṛṣṇakarmāmṛta 1.92:

The body of the lord is the sweet of the sweet; his face is the sweet of the sweet, and his gentle honey-fragrant smile is the sweet of the sweet of the sweet of the sweet.

19 He always dwells in the place of Kṛṣṇa-līla.

Sloka 18. Rūpa Gosvāmī's Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu [pārva-vibhāga, sādhanabhakti-laharī] 1.2.156:

O lotus-eyed one, when shall I dance on the bank of the Yamuna, singing your names in praise, with tears trickling down?

20 Thus have the signs of Kṛṣṇa-rati been described; now hear, O Sanātana, the signs of Kṛṣṇa-prema. 21 In whose mind Kṛṣṇa-prema arises, his speech and actions and gestures are not understood by the uninitiated.

Sloka 19. Rūpa Gosvāmī's Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu [pārva-vibhāga, premabhakti-laharī] 1.4.17:

In whose mind this new prema arises, this fortunate man's gestures even wise men will find difficult fully to understand.

Sloka 20. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 11.2.40:

The man, thus aroused, his affection inspired by his own nāma-saṅkīrtana, with spinning thoughts, like a madman, transported beyond the world of men, sometimes laughs out loud, sometimes weeps, sometimes cries out, and sometimes sings and dances.

22 Prema grows gradually: sneha, māna, praṇaya, rāga, anurāga, bhāva, and mahabhāva. 23 Seed, cane, juice, guḍa, then khaṇḍa and sara, śarkarā, sita, miṣṭi, and śuddha-miṣṭi: 24 as it is gradually purified, the flavor gradually increases; and just so the flavor increases through rati, prema, and the rest. 25 Rati has

Sloka 17. See 2.21.śl.22.

19. This is a comment on tadvasatisthale, "love for his dwelling places," in śloka 8 and 9.

Sloka 19. See 3.19.śl.7.

Sloka 20. See 1.7.śl.4; 2.9.śl.20; 2.25.śl.34; 3.3.śl.9.

22. See 2.19.152.

23. The analogy to the growth of prema is that seed of sugarcane to increasingly refined sweets.

five main divisions: śānta, dāsyā, sakhyā, vātsalyā, and madhura-rati. 26 These five sthāyi-bhāvas become the five rasas; and by the rasa which is pleasing to the bhakta, Kṛṣṇa is controlled. 27 Prema and the other sthāyi-bhāvas, all mixed together, finally gain the svarūpa of Kṛṣṇa-bhakti-rasa. 28 Vibhāva, anubhāva, sāt-tvika, and vyabhi-cārī—when these four are mixed, the sthāyibhāva becomes 'rasa.' 29 As when curd is mixed with sugar, black pepper, and camphor, the rasa which results is 'rasāla,' wonderful to taste. 30 There are two kinds of vibhāva: alambana and uddīpana. The tune of the flute, etc., these are uddīpanas. And Kṛṣṇa etc., are alambanas. 31 Anubhāvas are smile, dance, song, etc., clearly manifested; and stupor, etc., are sāt-tvikas, and are within anubhāvas. 32 Vyabhi-cārīs are thirty-three: indifference, delight, etc. All of these mixed together make most wonderful rasa. 33 Rasa is of five kinds—śānta, dāsyā, sakhyā, vātsalyā, and madhura, called śṛṅgāra, which is the most powerful of all. 34 In śānta-rasa, śānta-rati develops up to prema. Dāsyā-rati gradually grows up to rāga. 35 Sakhyā and vātsalyā gain the limit of anurāga. The greatness of the prema of Subālā and the others is up to bhāva. 36 There are two divisions of śānta and the other rasas—yoga and viyoga. In sakhyā and vātsalyā there are many divisions of yoga,

26. For "control" (vaśa) see text and commentary to 1.4.216; 1.7.138; and 1.17.71, śl.5.

27. All mixed together: the sthāyi-bhāvas, increased and enhanced by the anubhāvas and the rest, gradually build up to the condition of bhakti-rasa.

28. See 2.19.154.

30. Tune of the flute, etc.: all those things which remind one of Kṛṣṇa: smiles, the flute and its sound, the nāpura (anklets), the conch, footprints, tulasi, etc. The alambanas are Kṛṣṇa and the Kṛṣṇa-bhakta.

31. When realization of relationship with Kṛṣṇa is born in the mind, that condition is called sāt-tva or sāt-tvika-bhāva. And when a bhāva or condition thus arises, it manifests itself in the external body in certain ways: delight is manifested by a smile, for example, and these are called anubhāvas. See also text and commentary to 1.7.86-93; 1.17.5; 2.8.135; 2.18.151-74.

32. See 2.19.155; 2.8.135.

34-35. Comparing these verses with v. 22, it seems as if prema, the first stage in development, is as far as one can go in the śānta-bhāva, but that with the proper stimuli, prema can be encouraged to grow through sneha, māna, and praṇaya, up to rāga, which is within the purview of dāsyā. The statement about Subālā means that ordinarily sakhyā extends up to anurāga, but in this instance it extends up to bhāva.

36. Yoga: union (though not identity) with, or being in the presence of, Kṛṣṇa; viyoga: being separated from Kṛṣṇa, after having been with him. In sakhyā and vātsalyā, yoga is of three kinds, and viyoga is of ten kinds. Rūpa's BhRS [pāścima-vibhāga, prītabhaktirasa-laharī] 3.2.129-36. The division of yoga are perfected (siddhi), satisfaction (tuṣṭi), and permanent (sthiti); divisions of viyoga are dejection, emaciation, insomnia, helplessness, unstableness, inertia, illness, madness, fainting, and death.

etc. 37 And only in *madhura* there are *rāḍha* and *adhirāḍha bhāvas*; *rāḍha* was of the *mahiṣṭs*, while *adhirāḍha* appeared among the *gopikās*. 38 *Adhirāḍha mahābhāva* is of two kinds, and their names are 'mādana' in enjoyment, and 'mohana' in the pain of separation. 39 Of *mādana* there are infinite varieties—kissing, etc., and there are two kinds of *mohana*—*udghārṇa* and *citrajalpa*. 40 *Citrajalpa* has ten parts, and their names are *prajalpa*, etc. The proof of them is in the ten *ślokas* of the *Bhramara Gītā*. 41 *Udghārṇa* is when all efforts are paralyzed, and is called 'divine madness'; it is when in *viraha* Kṛṣṇa appears, or when

37. Only *madhura* extends to *mahābhāva*, which has these two *bhāvas*. *Madhura-rati* is of three kinds, called *sādharaṇī*, *samañjasa*, and *samartha*. The first kind is exemplified by Kūbjā, and is somewhat selfish: Kūbjā wanted Kṛṣṇa to satisfy her own desire. Even though selfish, this can be called a *rati* because Kṛṣṇa is pleased that he is loved enough to inspire such an attitude; it is however the least of the three. *Samañjasa*, that which is "proper" is the attitude of Kṛṣṇa's queens, Rukmiṇī and the rest, in which there is some element of pride, in that they are proud to be his wives. As we have seen before, however, this is a state characterized by viewing Kṛṣṇa as a mighty lord, and is therefore less than the pure love shown by the *gopīs*. That pure love of the *gopīs* is called *samartha*, in which there is desire only for the happiness and satisfaction of Kṛṣṇa. The love of the *mahiṣṭs* is called "deep," *rāḍha*, and that of the *gopīs* is called "most profound," *adhirāḍha*. See also 2.6.12 and commentary.

38. *Mādana*: intoxication; the "enjoyment" condition is called *sambhoga*; *mohana* can be something like "stupefaction," and its condition is *viraha*.

39. Rādhāgovinda Nātha, with reference to the following two couplets, breaks it down this way: "divine madness" (*divyonmāda*) is one of the states of *mohana*: running madly this way and that in order to regain the lost loved one. This condition has many states, among them being the two primary divisions *udghārṇa* and *citrajalpa*. *Udghārṇa*, "whirling," suggests the many helpless things the *gopīs* do in separation from Kṛṣṇa, to recreate their lost love: preparing the bower in the grove for the tryst, ornamenting themselves, as if Kṛṣṇa were coming, and so on. *Citrajalpa* suggests the passionate and fruitless raving that overcomes the *gopīs* on meeting a representative of the separated Kṛṣṇa: their response to Uddhava when he comes from Mathurā, makes them realize even more that Kṛṣṇa is far away.

40. These ten subdivisions are given in Rūpa's *UNM [sthāyibhāva-prakarṇa]* 14.199-217. They are: *prajalpa*, a spiteful and malicious attack on the representative of the loved one; *parijalpa*, demonstrating one's own cleverness in enumerating the faults of fickleness and cruelty of the loved one; *vijalpa*, sarcasm, or outwardly manifesting scorn as a demonstration of an inner unbearable longing; *ujjalpa*, malicious praise; *samijalpa*, criticism of the ingratitude of Kṛṣṇa by irony; *avajalpa*, outlining maliciously attraction to Kṛṣṇa because of his cruelty and selfishness; *abhijalpa*, comparing the self unfavorably with other people and animals in Kṛṣṇa life, i.e., he released birds from the trap, but will not release the *gopīs*; *ājalpa*, describing his giving of happiness to others; *pratijalpa*, describing how the wives of Kṛṣṇa are always with him; and *sujalpa*, asking news of Kṛṣṇa with great agitation, humility, cleverness, etc. These ten types of expression are in the ten *ślokas* addressed by the *gopīs* to the bees (*bhramara*) in *BhP* 10.47.12-21.

41. Because of *viraha*, Kṛṣṇa appears everywhere, in the imagination. When *viraha* is sufficiently deep, one thinks more and more profoundly on Kṛṣṇa, and because of those deep thoughts, it seems as if Kṛṣṇa is actually within. *Divyonmāda*: divine madness.

the self is considered as Kṛṣṇa. 42 *Sambhoga* and *vipralambha* are two kinds of *śṛṅgāra*; *sambhoga* is endless in kinds, there is no limit to it. 43 *Vipralambha* is of four kinds: *pārvarāga*, *māna*, *pravāsakhyā*, and *premavaicittya*. 44 Among Rādhā and the others, *pārvarāga*, *pravāsa*, and *māna* were well known, and *prema-vaicittya* among the *mahiṣṭs*, in the holy tenth book:

Śloka 21. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.90.15:

O Kurari, Īśvara is in hiding, sleeping in the nighttime [somewhere] in the world; you are sleepless and not lying down, and are lamenting endlessly. O friend, are you ever not deeply wounded in your mind by the playful sidelong glance, made richer by his smile and lotus-eyes, as we are?

45 Kṛṣṇa the Vrajendranandana is the crest jewel of *nāyakas*; and the crest jewel of *nāyikās* is Rādhā Thakuraṇī.

Śloka 22. Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Bhaktirasamṛtasindhu* [dākṣiṇa-vibhāga, vibhāva-laharī] 2.1.17:

Kṛṣṇa, *svayaṁ bhagavān*, is the crest jewel among *nāyakas*, in whom all great qualities are eternally displayed.

Śloka 23. *Bṛhadgautamīya Tantra*.

Rādhā is said to be Devī, Kṛṣṇamayī, Paradevatā, Sarvalakṣmīmāyī, Sarvakāntī, and the highest Sanmohinī.

42. *Madhura-rati*, when it reaches the *rasa* level, is often called *śṛṅgāra-rasa*. As above, *sambhoga* is enjoyment in union. *Sambhoga* is of two kinds: primary and secondary, and primary, which is in a waking state, is again of four kinds: the first union after initial attraction; the union which takes place after separation because of *māna*; the union which takes place after living apart for a little time and at a little distance; and that which takes place after separation of long distance and duration. The secondary type is that which occurs in dreams.

43. *Vipralambha* is that condition of longing which occurs during separation after union, a longing for reunion. *Pārvarāga* is the early stage of love, in which longing is aroused by suggestions, pictures, glimpses, etc., of the beloved one. *Māna* is that condition discussed previously, in which separation occurs, but temporarily and for reasons of love: the beloved one is piqued or disconsolate because of her lover's association with other women. *Pravāsakhyā*: when distance intervenes between the lover and beloved. *Premavaicittya*: a condition of fear of separation which arises, even though lover and beloved are together.

44. An example of *premavaicittya* among the *mahiṣṭs* of Kṛṣṇa is in the following *śloka*.

Śloka 23. See 1.4.ś.13.

46 The qualities of Kṛṣṇa are infinite, but sixty-four are primary. Let the ear of the *bhakta* listen and be refreshed [as I list] these qualities one by one.

Slokas 24-31. Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [dakṣiṇa-vibhāga, vibhāva-laharī] 2.1.23-30:

24 He the *nāyaka* is most attractive in body, and imbued with all auspicious signs, lustrous, glorious, very strong, eternally young, 25 skilled in various wonderful languages, truthful, sweetly spoken, eloquent, most learned, wise, intelligent, 26 skilled, clever, dexterous, grateful, most resolute in vows, knowing the right recipients in time and space, having the insight of *śāstra*, pure, controlled, 27 steady, continent, forgiving, grave, steadfast, viewing all things as equal, generous, following *dharma*, a hero in war, compassionate, respectful to those worthy of respect, 28 good natured, humble, modest, protector of refugees, happy, a friend to *bhaktas*, controlled by *prema*, doing good things to all, 29 powerful, famous, the object of the passion of all, a refuge for holy men, a charmer of women, to be propitiated by all, prosperous, 30 the greatest of all, *Īśvara*—these qualities of him are enumerated. These fifty qualities of Hari cannot be fathomed, for they are like the sea; 31 even though all these exist among some *jīvas*, it is only drop by drop. They are manifested fully in *Puruṣottama*.

Slokas 32-38. Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [dakṣiṇa-vibhāga, vibhāva-laharī] 2.1.37-44:

32 These five qualities exist in very small parts among *Giriśa* and the others: he is perpetually in *svarūpa*, omniscient, eternally young, 33 whose body is soaked with *sat*, *cit*, and *ānanda*, and worshiped by all the *siddhis*. 34 And there are five more qualities mentioned which the lord of Lakṣmī and others possess, but which exist most wonderfully in Kṛṣṇa: great power which is unimaginable, *vigrahas* in crores of *Brahmā*-worlds, the seed of the series of *avatāras*, giving the course to those whose foes are killed and attraction of those who are *ātmārāmas*. 35 He who is in all ways like a sea of waves of most wonderful and surprising *līlā*, who decorates with *prema* of unequalled sweetness those who are beloved of him, 36 who attracts the minds of the three worlds by the soft melody of the sweetness of his flute, by the unparalleled height of whose form all creatures, moving and unmoving, are astonished— 37 these four, *līlā-mādhurya*, *prema-mādhurya*, *veṇu-mādhurya*, and *rūpa-mādhurya*—are the uncommon qualities of Kṛṣṇa; and these four qualities are not in any

other *svarūpa*. 38 In this way, in four kinds of divisions, have the sixty-four qualities been mentioned.

47 The qualities of Śrī Rādhikā are infinite, but twenty-five are primary; and *Bhagavān* Kṛṣṇa is controlled by these qualities.

Slokas 39-43. Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Ujjvalānīlamanī* [śrīrādhā-prakarāṇa] 4.11-15:

39 Of the mistress of *Vṛndāvana* these principal qualities are mentioned: she is sweet, young, has a restless sidelong glance, a glistening smile, 40 possessed of lines of beauty and good luck, of a fragrance maddening to *Mādhava*, skilled in a multitude of songs, of charming speech, learned in pleasure, 41 humble, full of compassion, skillful, witty, modest, most respectful, steadfast, grave, 42 excelling in pleasurable sport, thirsty for the supreme excellence of great *bhāvas*, beloved by those who live in *Gokula*, whose fame pervades the world, 43 most beloved by *guru* and elders, subservient to the love of her friends, chief among those beloved of Kṛṣṇa, and to whose words *Keśava* is respectful. In short, her qualities are counted like *Hari*'s.

48 These two, *nāyaka* and *nāyikā*, are the *ālambana* of *rasa*; and these two are the best—*Rādhā* and *Vrajendranandana*. 49 In this way, the servant in the *dāśya*, friends in the *sakhya*, mother and father in the *vātsalya*, are the *āśraya-ālambanas*. 50 As these are *bhaktas*, so do they experience these *rasas*; hear the signs of them.

Slokas 44-47. Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [dakṣiṇa-vibhāga, vibhāva-laharī] 2.1.7-10:

44 Of those whose faults are cleansed by *bhakti*, and whose hearts are pure and bright, and are attracted to the Śrī *Bhāgavata* and are delighted by the society of *rasikās*, 45 and whose wealth is their happiness with *bhakti* at the feet of *Govinda* which are their lives, and who observe the

Sloka 38. *Līlā-mādhurya*, etc.: sweetness of his *līlā*, of his love, of his flute, and of his form.

47. See commentary to v. 26 above.

48. *Ālambana*: that which causes the rising of a condition or experience, in this case, *rasa*; see above v. 30.

49. *Dāśya*, *sakhya*, and the rest are superior in the *Vraja-līlā* to those same conditions in other *līlas*. As *Rādhā* and Kṛṣṇa are the causes, the essence or matter (*viśaya*) of *rasa* being Kṛṣṇa, and the receptacle (*āśraya*) being *Rādhā*, so servants, friends, and mother and father are the receptacles of their particular *rasas*.

duties which are the internal elements of *prema*, 46 in the hearts of all such *bhaktas* is *rati* blazing brightly with the *saṁskāra-yugala* and *rati* in the form of *ānanda* brought to the state of *rasa*; 47 on the way to the experience of this *rati* the taste of the *vibhāvas* of Kṛṣṇa and the rest are gained, and the pinnacle of the wonder of the profound *ānanda* is gained.

51 The taste of this *rasa* is not for people who are non-*bhaktas*; Kṛṣṇa-*bhaktas* taste the *rasa*.

Śloka 48. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasamṛtasindhu* [dākṣiṇa-vibhāga, sthāyibhāva-lahari] 2.5.131:

This *rasa* of the *bhagavat* can never in any way be gained by non-*bhaktas*. Those *bhaktas* whose wealth is his lotus feet taste this *bhakti* [*rasa*].

52 Briefly the *prayojana* has been described. This is the fifth end of man—the wealth of Kṛṣṇa-*prema*.”

53 “Formerly, at Prayāga, I discussed *rasa*, and inspired your brother Rūpa with power [to discuss it]. 54 You too must discourse on *bhakti-rasa*, and save the lost pilgrimage places at Mathurā, 55 do the service of Kṛṣṇa at Vṛndāvana which is proper action for a Vaiṣṇava, and expound on the *bhakti* and *smṛti* śāstras. 56 You have been taught all about the state of proper *vairāgya*, and about the prohibitions of knowledge and barren *vairāgya*.”

Śloka 49. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasamṛtasindhu* [pārva-vibhāga, sādhanabhakti-lahari] 1.2.255:

When non-attached people make [moderate] acceptance of worldly objects and employ them in relationship to Kṛṣṇa, this is properly called *yukta-vairāgya*.

Śloka 46. Rādhāgovinda Nātha interprets *saṁskāra-yugala* as “the joining of the old and new *saṁskāras* (rituals),” but does not elaborate further. *Yugala*, however, “joining,” may refer to Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in union.

52. The other four are the traditional *puruṣārthas*: *artha*, *kāma*, *dharma*, and *mokṣa*.

56. Proper *vairāgya*: the renunciation which has an element of *bhakti* and is dedicated to Kṛṣṇa is proper; that which is followed because it is prescribed by the *jñāna-mārga* is prohibited.

Śloka 49. *Yukta vairāgya*: balanced detachment.

Ślokas 50-57. *Bhagavad Gītā* 12.13-20:

50 Who has malice toward none, and only affection for living things, who is compassionate, devoid of egotism, is not conceited or proud, who is unaffected by either pleasure or pain, and endures all things, 51 always content, who is attached to *bhakti-yoga*, who has conquered his senses, who is firm in his certainty, and who has dedicated his heart and mind to me—such a *bhakta* is beloved of me. 52 From whom people gain no anxiety, and who is not anxious about people, who is free from joy, grief, fear, and anxiety—he is beloved of me. 53 He who depends on no one, is pure, skillful, independent, indifferent, without grief, who has abandoned the beginnings of all, that *bhakta* is dear to me. 54 He who is not delighted, nor pained, who is not grieved, who does not long, and who has abandoned both auspicious and inauspicious deeds—that devoted man is dear to me. 55 He who views as the same both enemies and friends, honor and dishonor, cold and heat, happiness and sorrow, who is unattached 56 and who considers the same both condemnation and praise, who is silent, who is satisfied with anything, who has no permanent abode, and who is of steadfast mind—that man is dear to me. 57 Thus I have spoken, and they who observe the nectar of *dharma* as stated, believing and devoted to me, these *bhaktas* are beloved of me.

Śloka 58. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 2.2.5:

Are there not always indigents wearing rags along the road? Do not trees give alms of fruit to the free-loading cuckoos? Are not the rivers flowing? Does not the Unborn One grant the favor of shelter to those who draw near? Why then would the selfish, blinded in their foolish pursuit of worldly prosperity, honor [Kṛṣṇa]?

57 Then Sanātana questioned [him] about all the doctrines. [Prabhu] spoke of every one of the conclusions derived from the *Bhāgavata*. 58 The place of Goloka has been described in the *Harivaṁśa* when Indra came and offered his

Śloka 58. [Śukadeva speaks to King Parikṣit about men's actions being consonant with their true nature. TKS]

57. [Rādhāgovinda Nātha points to Sanātana's *Bṛhadvaiṣṇavatoṣaṇī* commentary on the tenth book of the *BhP* as the result of this discussion. TKS]

58. Sanātana has paraphrased this in his *Bṛhadbhāgavatāmṛta* 2.7.80-85. Rādhāgovinda Nātha unpacks this passage in some detail.

praise of Śrī Kṛṣṇa; 59 The episode of the clubs and the death of Kṛṣṇa, the Keśava *avatāra* and many other unusual stories, 60 the abduction of the *mahiṣis* and all the others that were the effects of *māyā*—these tales were taught so as to be properly interpreted. 61 Then Sanātana grasped Prabhu's feet and clenching grass between his teeth begged of him, 62 "I am of low birth, a lowly servant, an ignorant wretch, yet you have imparted doctrinal instruction which is beyond even the ken of Brahmā. 63 My intelligence is trifling, while this doctrine is an ocean of immortal nectar; my mind is not able to fathom even a single drop of it. 64 If your mind can make a lame man dance, place your feet on my head and grant me this boon— 65 'May all of that which I have taught be illu-

59. See *BhP* 11.1 and 11.30; *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 5.37; and *Mahabharata* 16. The accounts of these incidents vary, but in general the *BhP* story goes like this: Various *ṛṣis* had been invited to a sacrifice, and as they were returning home from that event, some mischievous boys of the Yadu clan stood in the path before them, dressed as pregnant women. They asked the *ṛṣis* whether they would bear boys or girls, and very irritated by the arrogance and general disrespect displayed by the boys, the *ṛṣis* said that they would give birth to the club which would be the destruction of all the Yadavas. Sure enough, when they put off their disguises, there was an iron club, and the boys, in fear, took it to Ugrasena, who pulverized the weapon and spread the pieces of it on the waters of the sea. A fish came along and ate the metal, and some was scattered on the shore; but that metal in the belly of the fish was recovered by a fisherman, and given to a hunter, who made from it tips for his arrows. Some time later, Kṛṣṇa took his followers and went to Prabhāsa, and there they all drank liquor until they were drunk; and, drunken, they began to fight with one another. Some killed one another with grass from the sea-shore which had absorbed the metal from the pulverised club. When he saw this happen, Balarāma went to the shore of the sea, assumed a posture of meditation, and left this life. Seeing his brother like this, Kṛṣṇa assumed his multi-armed form and also sat in meditative posture. The hunter, named Jarā, mistook him for a deer and pierced him in the heel with the arrow made from the metal of the club. He begged Kṛṣṇa's forgiveness, when he saw what he had done; Kṛṣṇa forgave him, and then ascended into heaven. The *Padma Purāṇa* has Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma, as well as all the other Yadavas, killed in the drunken fight.

Keśava *avatāra*: the story in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 5.1.59-60 is that earth once complained to Brahmā that her burden of evil *asuras* was becoming too much to bear; Brahmā and the other gods went to Viṣṇu, who pulled out two hairs, one dark in color and the other light. These two hairs (*keśa*) were incarnated, the dark one as Kṛṣṇa, the light one as Balarāma.

60. There is a story in *Samba Purāṇa* 3 (cf. *Varāha Purāṇa* 177) to the effect that Narada, angry at Samba, Kṛṣṇa's son, told Kṛṣṇa that all Kṛṣṇa's wives were madly in love with the young man. To prove it, Narada had Samba summoned when all his wives and Kṛṣṇa were present, and all the wives except three, Rukmiṇī, Satyabhāmā, and Jāmbavati, did indeed exhibit passion toward the youth. Kṛṣṇa, angry, cursed all his wives except these three, that they would be carried off by robbers after his death. And *Mahabharata* 14.7 tells us that Rukmiṇī and Jāmbavati entered the funeral pyre with the body of their husband, and that Satyabhāmā became an ascetic and entered the forest. The other women, though under the protection of Arjuna, were indeed captured and carried off by a band of robbers.

minated in your mind!' From this your boon will I draw the power to speak." 66 Then Mahāprabhu did place his feet on his head and proffered the boon, "May all of these things be illuminated in you."

67 In brief has been described the subject of the *prayojana*, *prema*; only Prabhu's grace keeps me from rambling on. 68 He who hears the nectar of the instruction of Prabhu is quickly mingled with the wealth of Kṛṣṇa-*prema*.

69 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

Madhya Līlā
Chapter 24

Sloka 1.

He who, manifesting the sunbeams of meaning of the sun of the *ātmārāma-śloka*, dispelled the darkness of the world, may that Udaya-mountain, that Caitanya, protect us.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and to the hosts of Gaura-bhaktas.

2 Then Sanātana, holding the feet of Prabhu, again said humbly, 3 "I have heard that previously, at the place of Śārvabhauma, you expanded to eighteen meanings one single *śloka*:

Sloka 2. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 1.7.10:

Even though they are not possessed of books, those sages who delight in the self offer selfless *bhakti* to the great-striding [Viṣṇu]; of such qualities is Hari.

4 Hearing this, my mind is anxious with wonder; if, being merciful, you speak, my ears will be refreshed." 5 Prabhu said, "I am mad in my words, and Śārvabhauma is mad, so he considered them true. 6 I was babbling, and remember

Sloka 1. For the "ātmārāma-śloka," see sloka 2.

Sloka 2. This whole chapter consists of a linguistic exposition of this *śloka*; the Sanskrit is: *ātmārāmaśca munayo nirgrantha apyurukrame / kurvantyihaitukīm bhaktimīthambhūtaguṇa hariḥ ||*. The literal translation is: even (*api*) devoid of books (*nirgrantha*) the *ātmārāmas* (or: those directed toward or delighting in the self) and (*ca*) *munis* (*munayo*) selfless or spontaneous, (*ahaitukī*) devotion (*bhakti*) to him who makes great strides (*urukrame*, an epithet of Viṣṇu) remain doing (*kurvanti*) such are the qualities [of attracting the mind] (*īthambhūtaguṇa*) of Hari (*hariḥ*). See 2.6.śl.15 for context; also 2.17.śl.8; 2.24.śl.73; 2.25.śl.47.

nothing of it; if anything comes to my mind it is because of association with you. 7 No meaning comes to me naturally; but something may manifest itself because of association with all of you. 8 There are eleven *padas* in this most pure *śloka*, and in each *pada* various meanings glitter. 9 In the word 'atma' is *brahma*, body, mind, effort, patience, intellect, and nature—these seven meanings are found.

Sloka 3. Viśvapraśaṅga:

Ātma means body, mind, *brahma*, nature, patience, intellect, and effort.

10 He who experiences delight in these seven, he is *ātmārāma*. Later, I shall enumerate the *ātmārāmas*. 11 Listen, O Sanātana, to the meanings of the words 'muni,' etc., first their separate meanings, and later all taken together.

12 By the word 'muni' is meant one who is given to the mind, and one who is silent, and *muni* means also ascetic, *vrati*, *saṁnyāsi*, and *ṛṣi*.

13 By the word 'nirgrantha' is meant he who is without the books of ignorance, one who is bereft of the *jñāna*, etc., of the *Veda-śāstras*, and of their prohibitions and injunctions; 14 fools, low people, *mlecchas* and others devoid of *śāstra*, those who seek wealth, and those who are without wealth are also *nirgrantha*.

Sloka 4. Viśvapraśaṅga:

The meanings of "nir-" are: certainty, going out, manufacture, and prohibition or negative.

8. Pada: word.

Sloka 3. Probably the quote is from the lexicon of Maheśvara. Also for *ślokas* 4, 5, 7, 19, 20.

10. Rame: experiences delight.

11. Kṛṣṇadāsa is about to state the separate meanings of each of the words in the *śloka*, and when he has done that he will expound on the various possible combinations.

12. *Mananaśīla*: given to the mind; *maunī*: silent; *tapasvī*: ascetic; *yati*: *saṁnyāsi*; *vrati*: one who observes the vows of *brahmacarya* and the rest.

13. As has been seen many times, excessive study of the wrong things, such as certain types of philosophy, is anathema to the Vaiṣṇavas; it only clutters and confuses the mind.

14. It is a little unclear what "wealth," *dhana*, means here; Rādhāgovinda Nātha would make it equivalent to "grantha," which would seem to be borne out by *śloka* 5 below. In this case the meaning would be those who seek *śāstras* of the wrong kind, and those who are without *śāstras* of the right kind, are both *nirgrantha*. *Mleccha*: lit., "babblers," but foreigner, barbarian, see the commentary to 2.1.186.

Śloka 5. Viśvaprakāśa:

The meanings of "grantha" are: wealth, weaving, and the alphabet.

15 The word 'urukrama' means 'he whose steps are very large'; and the word 'krama' means 'a progression of steps,' 16 power, trembling, regularity, method, and invasion in power—for at his footsteps the three worlds trembled.

Śloka 6. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 2.7.40:

That clever man who is able to count even the particles of dust of the earth, can even he measure the power of Viṣṇu, who by his own effort, unhindered, held the three worlds, which shook wildly, [because of the power of his striding] from their state of equilibrium of the three guṇas.

17 In the form of Vibhu [the vast one], he pervades [everything], and with his power he upholds and nourishes Goloka by his *mādhurya-śakti*, and Paravyoma by his *aiśvarya-śakti*. 18 By his *māyā-śakti*, he creates the Brahma-eggs, etc., in order. These are the determined meanings of the word 'urukrama.'

Śloka 7. Viśvaprakāśa:

"Krama" means *śakti*, order, shaking, and trembling.

19 The word 'kurvanti' is here *parasmaipada*, and says 'The purpose in worship is the arising of the pleasure of Kṛṣṇa.'

Śloka 8. Pāṇini's *Aṣṭadhyāyī* 1.3.72:

In the *bhavadī-prakaraṇa* of the *Siddhāntakaumudī*: There are active and passive voices; when the fruits of the action are directed towards the doer of the action the voice is passive.

20 The word 'hetu' means that enjoyment and the other desires of the heart are of three primary kinds: enjoyment, *siddhi*, and *mukti*. 21 And *bhakti* means

17. *Mādhurya*: sweetness; *aiśvarya*: sovereign majesty.

19. *Parasmaipada*: the active voice, meaning that the results of the action are other than directed toward the self.

20. *Hetu*: source, cause, appearing in the *śloka* as the negative adjective *ahaitukī*; if the reason for worship is gaining the delights of heaven, gaining those delights is the cause of worship; similarly with the gaining of power through *yoga* and the gaining of release through *jñāna*.

21. Eight kinds of *siddhi* were discussed, ante 2.19.132 commentary. Rādhāgovinda Nātha here lists ten more: lack of hunger and thirst (*kṣutpipasādi-rahitya*), ability to hear at a distance (*dūr-*

enjoyment is of infinite kinds. *Siddhi* is of eighteen kinds, and *mukti* is of five. 22 Who does not strive for these, he has *ahaitukī bhakti*, and by that the sportive Śrī Kṛṣṇa is controlled.

23 The meaning of the word '*bhakti*' has ten different forms. One is *sādhana*, and *prema-bhakti* has nine varieties. 24 The signs of *rati* and of *prema* and the rest have been stated, and the form of *bhava*, and the form of the signs of *mahābhava*. 25 The *rati* of the *śānta-bhakta* grows up to *prema*, and the *rati* of the *dāsa-bhakta* has as its ultimate condition *rāga*. 26 The *rati* of the *sakhya* is up to *anurāga*; the affection of mother and father and the rest is the end of *anurāga*. 27 The *rati* of the lovers reaches the limit of *mahābhava*. These all are the greatneses of the meanings of the term *bhakti*.

28 Hear the explanation of the meaning of the [compound] word '*ittham-bhātaguṇa*.' There are various meanings of the word '*ittham*,' and others of the words '*guṇa*.' 29 The meaning of the word '*itthambhāta*' is filled with full *ananda*, before which the *ananda* of *brahma* is like grass.

Śloka 9. Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [pūrva-vibhaga, bhaktisāmanya-laharī] 1.1.39 [quoting *Haribhaktisudhodaya* 14.36]:

O guru of the world, for me who has been established in the pure sea of the joy of the realization of your true form, even that happiness of dwelling in the place of *brahma* is like a tiny puddle of water in the imprint of a cow's hoof.

30 He is the attracter of all, the delighter of all, possessor of great *rasa*; he makes one oblivious of everything by his own power. 31 By the suggestion of it he causes people to abandon the happiness of *bhukti*, *siddhi*, and *mukti*; the mercy

śravaṇa), and see at a distance (*dūrdarśana*), ability to make the body move as quickly as thought (*manojava*), to assume a desired form (*kāmarūpa*), to enter the body of another (*parakāya praveśa*), to die when desired (*icchāmṛtyu*), to play with the gods (*devakṛtā-prāpti*), to gain anything conceived of (*saṅkalpānūrūpa-siddhi*), and being unhindered in thought and wish at all times (*apratihatajñā*). For the five kinds of *mukti*, ante, e.g., 1.3.16; 2.6.239 and commentary.

22. *Vaśa*: controlled. See 1.4.216; 1.7.138; 1.17.71, śl.5; and 2.23.26 and commentary.

24. I.e., the nine run from *rati* through *prema*, *sneha*, *māna*, *prāṇaya*, *rāga*, *anurāga*, *bhava* up to *mahābhava*; see text and commentary to 2.19.152.

28. *Ittham*: "thus" or "such." The *śloka* reads "such are the wonderful qualities of Hari that . . ." Among those qualities is the power to draw even *ātmārāmas* to bliss (*ananda*), away from their seeking after the bliss of *brahma*.

Śloka 9. See 1.7.śl.5; 3.3.śl.13.

31. *Gandhe*: suggestion, scent, hint. The *bhakta* is bound or captured by this power.

of Kṛṣṇa binds, by the qualities of unworldly power. 32 This determination of the ultimate goal is not dependent on the śāstras, but in it, by its natural qualities, is the essence of sweetness.

33 The meaning of the word 'guṇa' is the infinite qualities of Kṛṣṇa; these are the qualities of his form of *sat* and *cit*, as well as full *ananda*. 34 His *svarūpa* is the fullness of divinity, sweetness and compassion, and generosity even up to [the giving of] himself [in his] affection toward his *bhaktas*. 35 His qualities of *rāpa*, *rasa*, glory, and the rest are unworldly, and the minds of certain ones are attracted by certain of the qualities. 36 By the qualities of glory and the rest, the minds of Sanaka and the others were stolen.

Śloka 10. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 3.15.43:

The wind, bearing the perfume of the *tulasī*, mingled with the perfume of the lotus-feet of that lotus-eyed one, enters the orifices and agitates the minds and bodies of those who are *akṣarajuṣas*.

37 The mind of Śukadeva was stolen by listening to the *līlas*.

Śloka 11. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 2.1.9:

O *rājarṣi*! Even firmly established in qualitylessness, the mind is attracted to the *līlas* of the most praiseworthy one, and I have learned the stories of them.

Śloka 12. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 12.12.69:

I bow down to that son of Vyāsa, the destroyer of all evil, whose mind was full of happiness, because of his having put other *bhāvas* away, and whose essence was attracted by the beauty of the *līla* of Ajita, and who has spoken compassionately of these in the *purāṇa*, like a lamp of truth.

32. *Madhurya*: sweetness.

36. This and the following Bengali introductions to the ślokas are singlets. *Saurabha*: glory. "The rest" are Sanātana, Sanandana, and Sanatkumāra; these four turned away from *brahma* toward Kṛṣṇa.

Śloka 10. *Akṣarajuṣas*: those who are dedicated to the *ananda* of *brahma*. See 2.17.śl.9; 2.24.śl.34; 2.25.śl.46.

37. Śukadeva had been dedicated to meditation on the qualityless *brahman*, but when he heard the sweetness of the stories of the Kṛṣṇa-*līla*, he was drawn to that.

Śloka 11. See 2.25.śl.45.

Śloka 12. See 2.17.śl.7.

38 By the form of the holy body the hearts of the *gopīs* are stolen.

Śloka 13. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.29.39:

Seeing your cheeks adorned with earrings and your lips with nectar, and your face adorned with earlocks and your smiling glance, seeing your staff-like arms as fear-dispelling, and your unequalled shining breast, we become your slaves.

39 By hearing the qualities of his beauty of form, Rukmiṇī and the others were attracted.

Śloka 14. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.52.37:

O you who are most handsome in the worlds, on hearing of the virtues of you who takes away the anguish of the bodies of listeners by way of the holes of the ears, where you have penetrated [and on] hearing of your beauty, which is the acquisition of all ends of the eyes of those who have eyes, my heart is shamelessly driven toward you, Acyuta.

40 By the sound of the flute the minds of Lakṣmī and the others are stolen.

Śloka 15. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.16.36:

O god! Who has the authority, the right, to touch your feet, out of delight for which the playful Śrī performed strict austerities for a long time, abandoning her pleasures?

41 All the young women in the world are [each] in their appropriate *bhāvas*.

Śloka 16. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.29.40:

O Aṅga! Is there any woman in the three worlds who, infatuated by the soft and warbling song of your flute, and, having seen this form of yours which is the lustre of the three worlds, and by which the cows, birds, trees, and beasts of the forests are thrilled, does not depart from proper action?

Śloka 13. See 3.15.śl.9.

Śloka 15. See 2.8.śl.34; 2.9.śl.7.

Śloka 16. See 3.17.śl.2.

42 In *vatsalya* older women are attracted; men and the rest are in the *dāsyā*, *sakhyā* and the other *bhāvas*. 43 Birds, deer, trees, creepers—things both conscious and unconscious are drunk with *prema* and are attracted by the qualities of Kṛṣṇa.

Śloka 17. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.29.40 [padas c-d]:

... having seen this form of yours which is the lustre of the three worlds and by which the cows, birds, trees, and beasts of the forests are thrilled, [is there anyone who] does not depart from proper action?

44 The word 'Hari' has many meanings, and two are chief: that which steals away inauspiciousness, and that which steals the mind by *prema*. 45 He who remembers him in any way whatsoever, he steals away his four kinds of sin.

Śloka 18. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.14.19:

O Uddhava! As fire of plentiful flames reduces wood to ashes, so *bhakti* to me burns all these sins completely.

46 So he does to *avidyā*, and *karma*, which obstruct *bhakti*, and reveals *prema* as the fruit of listening and the rest. 47 So by his own qualities he steals mind, senses, and body; such is Kṛṣṇa full of mercy, such are his qualities. 48 He causes one to abandon the four ends of man, and by his qualities steals the hearts of all. Thus are the signs of the principal meanings of the word 'Hari.'

49 'Ca api'—these two words are indeclinable; they mean whatever is appropriate. 50 Still, the principal meanings of 'ca' are seven.

Śloka 19. *Viśvaprakāśa*:

"Ca" has the sense of successive connection, totality, identification, addition, alternative, verse-filler, and emphasis.

51 The chief meanings of 'api' are also seven.

44. The stem "har-" means "steal."

45. *Carividha pāpa*: four kinds of "sin"; Rādhāgovinda Nātha comments that these can be either of two sets: that which causes one to fall (*pātaka*), a somewhat less serious offence (*upapātaka*), a great offence (*atipātaka*), and the most serious offence (*mahāpātaka*); or the results of demerit from a former birth, concern with those results, longing or desire, and concern with merit gained in this life.

46. *Avidyā*: ignorance of the true nature of Kṛṣṇa because of *māyā*.

Śloka 20. *Viśvaprakāśa*:

Possibility, question, doubt, blame, addition, conjoined meanings, and interjection.

52 The meanings of these eleven words have been ascertained; now let me give the meanings of the *śloka*, in whatever ways are appropriate.

53 The word 'brahma' means the truth which is the greatest of all; nothing is equal to the divinity of its *svarūpa*.

Śloka 21. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 1.12.57:

They know the Supreme as 'brahman' because of its largeness and supporting power.

54 So the word *brahma* says 'svayaṁ bhagavān,' and apart from this there is no other object in the three times.

Śloka 22. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.2.11:

The truth-knowing wise men call the ultimate truth that which is undivided knowledge. It is called by three names—*brahman*, *paramātmā*, and *bhagavān*.

55 That undivided truth is that Kṛṣṇa is *svayaṁ bhagavān*; that is true in the three times, and that is proven in the *śāstras*.

Śloka 23. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 2.9.32:

Knowledge such as of how much I am, what I am like, and of what form, virtue, and acts are mine, such knowledge of truth must be yours by my favor. I was in the beginning, there was nothing else, whether existent, non-existent, or beyond both; afterwards I am that which there is; I am the one who will remain.

56 The word 'ātmā' therefore says—Kṛṣṇa is the *svarūpa* of greatness, all-pervading, omnipresent, the ultimate *svarūpa*.

53. Previously he has defined *ātmā* as *brahman*. *Tattva*: truth.

54. The three times: past, present, and future.

Śloka 22. See 1.2.śl.4; 1.2.śl.12; 2.20.śl.21; 2.24.śl.25; 2.25.śl.27.

Śloka 23. See 1.1.śl.23; 2.25.śl.20.

Sloka 24. Śrīdhara Svāmī's Bhāvarthadīpikā commentary on Bhāgavata Purāṇa 11.2.45:
Because everything is strung upon him [at] and because he is a mother [mā], the supreme Hari is called *atmā*.

57 The source of the gaining of Kṛṣṇa is various kinds of *sādhana*: *jñāna*, *yoga*, *bhakti*—these are the signs of each of the three. 58 By the three *sādhana*s, Bhagavān in his three-fold *svarūpa*—*brahma*, *paramātmā*, and *bhagavat*—is manifested.

Sloka 25. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 1.2.11:

The truth-knowing wise men call the ultimate truth that which is undivided knowledge. It is called by three names—*brahman*, *paramātmā*, and *bhagavān*.

59 Although the words 'brahma' and 'atmā' mean 'Kṛṣṇa,' in their specialized meanings they signify the unqualified one and the indwelling one. 60 The unqualified *brahma* is revealed by the *jñāna-mārga*, and the indwelling *svarūpa* by the *yoga-mārga*. 61 *Rāga-bhakti* and *vidhi-bhakti* are two kinds; and their manifestations are of two kinds—*svayaṃ bhagavattva* and *bhagavattva*. By *rāga-bhakti* the *svayaṃ bhagavān* in Vraja is gained.

Sloka 26. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.9.21:

That *bhagavān*, son of the *gopikā*, is easily obtainable by those who have *bhakti*; but for those who are concerned with the body, or with *jñāna*, and becoming *ātman*, it is not so easy.

62 By *vidhi-bhakti* one goes to *Vaikuṇṭha* in the body of one of the followers.

Sloka 27. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 3.15.25:

They go to that place—by following the bull of the immortals—from whom Yama is distant, whose superior habits are desirable to us, who

Sloka 25. See 1.2.śl.4; 1.2.śl.12; 2.20.śl.21; 2.24.śl.22; 2.25.śl.27.

59. Although as has been shown, the extended meaning of both words is "Kṛṣṇa," technically "brahma" means the unqualified, undifferentiated *brahma* (n) principle, and *atmā* means *paramātmā* the one indwelling in all creatures.

61. Rādhagovinda Nātha has a triplet here, when probably the three lines should consist of a couplet and singlet introducing the following *śloka*. The suffix "-tva" can be translated as "-ness."

Sloka 26. See 2.8.śl.49; 2.9.śl.11; 3.7.śl.4.

gloriously and mutually love to tell stories of the lord with voices choked with tears of humility, and whose bodies are thrilled by that.

63 Those worshipers are of three kinds: those who are without desire, those who desire *mokṣa*, and those who desire everything.

Sloka 28. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 2.3.10:

One who is desireless, or one who desires everything, or one who is desirous of *mokṣa*, if he is wise, worships the *parama-puruṣa* with strong and deep *bhakti*.

64 The meaning of 'buddhimān' is that if one is discriminating, he worships Kṛṣṇa to fulfill his own desires. 65 Apart from *bhakti*, no *sādhana* can produce results; but *bhakti* by itself can give all results. 66 Other *sādhana*s are like a goat's nipple; and thus the wise man worships Hari.

Sloka 29. Bhāgavad Gītā 7.16:

O Arjuna! Bull of the Bhāratas! Those who are in difficulty, and the seekers of knowledge, and those who are after wealth, and the *jñānīs*, those four kinds of fortunate people worship me.

67 Numbered among those who have desires are the pair 'artta' and 'arthārthi'; and those who desire *mokṣa* are the pair 'jijñāsu' and 'jñānī.' 68 These four virtuous people are most fortunate; each of them abandons his own desires and begs for the gift of pure *bhakti*. 69 By the mercy of Kṛṣṇa, he who gets the mercy of the company of *sādhus*, abandons desires and the rest, and evil company, and gains pure *bhakti*.

Sloka 28. See 2.22.śl.13; 2.24.śl.72.

64. This is a comment on the word "udāradhī," "one of a noble and generous nature," in the previous *śloka*, which Kṛṣṇadāsa interprets as "buddhimān," "possessing wisdom or discrimination."

66. *Ajāgalastana*: goat's nipple, the fleshy protuberance from the neck of a goat, which looks like a teat but gives no milk.

67. The reference is to *śloka 29*, in which these terms are used. *Artta* refers to a person who suffers from illness or some other kind of serious difficulty, and who turns to Kṛṣṇa to extricate himself from that. *Arthārthi* is one who desires wealth and power in this life, and the enjoyments of heaven in the life to come. *Jijñāsu* is the seeker after knowledge of the truth, and *jñānī* is the one who follows the path of knowledge.

Sloka 30. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 1.10.11:

The wise man, who because of association with holy men, is free from association with evil ones, whose fame is lauded once they have heard what pleases him, is unable to abandon that association.

70 Association with evil ones means falsity and self-deception: these have desires other than those for Kṛṣṇa and Kṛṣṇa-bhakti.

Sloka 31. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 1.1.2:

In the *Śrīmad Bhāgavatam*, composed by the hermit, there is found the supreme *dharma*, free from any falsity, of good people who are devoid of jealousy; the very object to be known is its substance, auspicious and destroying the three kinds of grief; what use are other books? The Lord is instantly and at once caught in their hearts by students who have done their tasks.

71 In the word 'pra' is the desire for *mokṣa*, the chief type of falsity. Śrīdhara Svāmī has commented on this *śloka*: 72 The *bhakta* who has desires is ignorant; the merciful Bhagavān, knowing this, by means of his own feet, hides these desires.

Sloka 32. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 5.19.26:

It is true that being prayed to, he grants desired objects to men; but he is not the giver of objects, because even after that, [man] is desirous of more. To those who have no selfish desires, and to those who worship, he himself grants the shoots of his own feet by which all desires are obscured.

73 Association with holy men, the mercy of Kṛṣṇa, and the nature of *bhakti*: these three drive away all else, and establish the Kṛṣṇa-bhāva. 74 I shall now

Sloka 31. See 1.1.śl.37; 2.25.śl.40.

71. The reference is to *śloka 31*, where the term "projhita kaitava," "abandoning falsehood" appears. Rādhagovinda Nātha comments: "pra" means "prakṛṣṭarāpa," "preeminently"; thus the expression means "abandoning the preeminent type of falsehood," which is desire for the satisfaction of the self, of which the chief kind is *mokṣa*. See 1.1.śl.38 for Śrīdhara Svāmī's commentary.

72. I.e., the *bhakta* who prays to Kṛṣṇa for the satisfaction of himself; the ignorance is of the fact that Kṛṣṇa will grant all desires if he is worshiped with pure and selfless *bhakti*, or he will eliminate them.

Sloka 32. See 2.22.śl.14; 2.24.śl.74.

explain the various meanings of all of this, and you shall know this source of the taste of the qualities of Kṛṣṇa.

75 A hint regarding the explanation of the *śloka* has been given; now let me make plain the root-meaning of the *śloka*. 76 The worshiper in the *jñāna-mārga* is of two kinds: the worshiper of *brahma* alone, and he who worships *brahma* for the sake of *mukti*. 77 Those who worship *brahma* alone are of three divisions: *sādhaka*, *brahmanmaya*, and *prāptabrahmalaya*. 78 Without *bhakti* there is no *mukti* through *jñāna* alone. He who is *prāptabrahmalaya* performs *bhakti-sādhana*. 79 The nature of *bhakti* is that he is attracted away from *brahma*, and is caused to worship Kṛṣṇa in his divine body. 80 When one gains the body of the *bhakta*, there is remembrance of the *guṇas*, but when the *guṇas* are extracted, there remains pure worship.

Sloka 33. Śrīdhara Svāmī's Bhāvarthadīpikā Commentary on Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.87.21:

Even *muktas*, taking a *vigraha* by *līlā*, worship Bhagavān.

81 From birth Śuka, Sanaka and others were *brahmanmaya*; attracted by the qualities of Kṛṣṇa, they worshiped Kṛṣṇa. 82 By the mercy of Kṛṣṇa, the hearts

76. Those who consider the highest principle to be without form, without qualities, and without *śakti*, and who consider themselves as non-different from *brahma* (n), and who desire freedom to unite with *brahma*, are called *jñāna-mārga upāsaka*. Those worshipers (*upāsaka*) who worship *brahma* with the idea of increasing their own wealth, power, and enjoyment, and whose worship is not based in the idea of gaining freedom from *māyā*, are called *kevala-brahma upāsaka* ("worshipers of the sole *brahma*"); those who worship *brahma* with the idea of gaining freedom from *māyā* are called *mokṣakāṅkṣī* ("who worship for the sake of *mukti* or *mokṣa*").

77. In reverse order: those who are absorbed in *brahma* are called *prāptabrahmalaya*; those who are not absorbed, but remain in the body, still seeing *brahma* everywhere, are called *brahmanmaya*; and those who have gained *mukti* but continue to act like *sādhakas*, as though they were still searching, are called *sādhaka*. As the following couplets point out, these three all enjoy the bliss of *brahma*, and are thus called *ātmārāma*; but even they are attracted by the qualities of Kṛṣṇa, and turn to him.

78. These three are effective only with the help of *bhakti*. The three followers of the *jñāna-mārga* know this, and thus turn to *bhakti* to help them to their ends.

79. *Divya-deha*: divine body, the body made up of *cit*, not the material *guṇas*, which is the condition of the *bhakta* when he is in relationship to the *svarūpa*.

80. I.e., the body is no longer made up of the material *guṇas*, but is not perfected (*siddha-deha*) and pure (*nirmala*), as the vestiges remain as memory.

Sloka 33. Also Saṅkara's Bhāṣya, Nṛsiṃhatāpanti 2.5.16. See 2.24.śl.49; 2.25.śl.44. Vigraha: bodily form or image.

of Sanaka and the others were brightened, and attracted by his qualities, they had pure worship of him.

Sloka 34. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 3.15.43:

The wind, bearing the perfume of the *tulasī*, mingled with the perfume of the lotus-feet of that lotus-eyed one, enters the orifices, and agitates the minds and bodies of those who are *akṣarajūṣas*.

83 By the mercy of Vyāsa there is memory of the *līlās* of Śukadeva, who worshiped, being attracted by the qualities of Kṛṣṇa.

Sloka 35. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.7.11:

The *bhāgavān* Bādarāyaṇi, always loving to the people of Viṣṇu, whose mind was distraught with the [hearing of] the qualities of Hari, composed the Mahadākhyāna.

84 From their births, the nine *yogīśvaras* are *jñānī-sādhakas*, and they heard of the qualities of Kṛṣṇa from the mouths of Nārada, Śiva, and Vidhātā. 85 Attracted by his attributes, they worshiped Kṛṣṇa; in the eleventh *skandha* [of the *Bhāgavata*] there is a description of their *bhakti*.

Sloka 36. Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [paścima-vibhāga, śāntabhaktirasalahart] 3.1.20:

The *śruti*-knowing nine *yogīndras*, entering into the tranquil court of Kamalabhū and listening to the epitome of the *śrutis*, were thrilled, and most anxious to attain the lofty stage of accompanying [Kṛṣṇa] to Yadupura.

86 The *jñānīs* desirous of *mokṣa* are of three kinds: *mumukṣu*, *jīvan-mukta*, and *prāptasvarūpa*. 87 *Mumukṣu* are the many people caught in *saṁsāra* in the world, and who worship Kṛṣṇa in *bhakti* for the sake of freedom from it.

Sloka 34. See 2.17.śl.9; 2.24.śl.10; 2.25.śl.46.

Sloka 35. Bādarāyaṇi: Śukadeva; Mahadākhyāna: the *BhP*.

84. The nine *yogīśvaras* are Kavi, Havī, Antarīkṣa, Prabuddha, Pippalayana, Āvirhotra, Draviḍa, Camasa, and Karabhājana. Vidhātā or Vidhi: Brahman.

Sloka 36. Kamalabhūva: Brahman.

87. Kṛṣṇadāsa now goes on to classify the *mokṣākaṅkṣī-upāsakas* of the *jñāna-mārga*: *mumukṣu* are those who desire *mokṣa*; *jīvan-mukta*: see 2.22.20; and *prāptasvarūpa*: those who are released from both gross and subtle bodies, released from the deeds inspired by ideas of the nature of the self, and experience that aspect of the *svārūpa* which is *brahma*.

Sloka 37. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.2.26:

Mumukṣu people have abandoned those [deities] of fierce aspect, as well as *bhūtapatis*, and the rest, and free from malice and of tranquil nature, worship the images of Nārāyaṇa.

88 In all these [*mumukṣus*], qualities are caused to blossom by association with holy people, and they are caused to worship Kṛṣṇa, and to abandon *mumukṣa*.

Sloka 38. Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [paścima-vibhāga, prṭabhaktirasalahart] 3.2.27 [quoting *Haribhaktisudhodaya* 1.54]:

How wonderful, O great-souled one! Even though tainted with many faults of the world, this love is manifested by one virtue, from which comes happiness, called association with holy men, and because of this now our *mumukṣā* is weakened.

89 Because of association with Nārada, Śaunaka and the other *munis* abandoned *mumukṣa* and worshiped Kṛṣṇa. 90 By the mercy of Kṛṣṇa, some had *darśana* of Kṛṣṇa, and abandoning *mumukṣa*, attracted by his qualities they worshiped his feet.

Sloka 39. Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [paścima-vibhāga, śāntabhaktirasalahart] 3.1.34:

While this supreme *ātman* is sparkling, in the form of a mass of bliss, in the city of the Vṛṣṇis, alas, a long time has gone by in vain for me, while I delighted in my [own] *ātman*.

91 *Jīvan-muktas* are many; they also are of two kinds: *jīvan-muktas* in *bhakti*, and *jīvan-muktas* in *jñāna*. 92 The *jīvan-muktas* in *bhakti* are drawn by his qualities and worship Kṛṣṇa; *jīvan-muktas* in dry *jñāna* are plunged below because of offences.

Sloka 37. *Mumukṣu* people: aspirants to release; "deities of fierce aspect" are presumably such as Bhairava-Śiva; *bhūtas* are spirits and usually malevolent, and *pati*, "lord," is simply a respectful suffix.

Sloka 39. Vṛṣṇipattana: Dvārakā.

91. 2.22.19-20 suggests that those who follow the *jñāna-mārga* without the help of *bhakti*, or as they are called here the *jīvan-muktas* in *jñāna*, are not really *jīvan-muktas* at all.

Sloka 40. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.2.32:

Lotus-eyed one, those who, devoid of *bhakti* towards you and therefore of impure mind, consider themselves as free, with great difficulty gain the high place, and having disrespect for your feet, they fall from there.

Sloka 41. Bhāgavad Gītā 18.54:

Having become *brahman*, serene of spirit, he does not grieve, he does not crave: equable to all creatures, he achieves the ultimate *bhakti* of me.

Sloka 42. Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [pāścima-vibhāga, śāntabhaktirasalahart] 3.1.44 [quoting Līlāṣuka Bilvamaṅgala]:

Worshiped by those who follow the road of *advaita*, consecrated on the lion-throne of joy in the *ātman*, we have become maid-servants, forced by some rogue who has seduced the wives of the *gopas*.

93 By the power of *bhakti* the *svarūpa* is gained, and the divine body; drawn by the qualities of Kṛṣṇa they worship at Kṛṣṇa's feet.

Sloka 43. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 2.10.6:

The abandonment of other forms, and remaining in the *svarūpa* is called *mukti*.

94 In the fault of having one's face averted from Kṛṣṇa, there is fear from *māyā*; but in *bhakti*, with one's face toward Kṛṣṇa, one becomes free from *māyā*.

Sloka 44. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 11.2.37:

He who is separated from Īśvara, because of his *māyā*, forgets; because of that, he is in opposition, and because of that is born fear and clinging to things of the body and of the world. For this reason the wise man worships that Īśvara with undeviating *bhakti*, [considering] his *guru* as *devatā*.

Sloka 40. See 2.22.śl.10; 2.24.śl.47; 2.25.śl.3.

Sloka 41. See 2.8.śl.8; 2.25.śl.43.

Sloka 42. See 2.10.śl.6. [For the attribution of this śloka, see Wilson, ed., *The Love of Krishna*, 8-9. TKS]

Sloka 43. "Other forms" refers to the bodies both gross and subtle; one gains a divine or pure body through *bhakti*.

Sloka 44. See 2.20.śl.11; 2.25.śl.32.

Sloka 45. Bhāgavad Gītā 7.14:

This is my divine *māyā*, consisting of [the three] *guṇas*, is certainly hard to escape. Those who take refuge in me can overcome this *māyā*.

95 Except for *bhakti* there is no *mukti*, but through *bhakti* that *mukti* comes about.

Sloka 46. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.14.4:

O all-pervading one, to those who, abandoning *bhakti* to you as the way of realization, toil in the acquiring of wisdom, nothing else remains but anguish; they are like threshers of solid chaff.

Sloka 47. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.2.32:

Lotus-eyed one, those who, devoid of *bhakti* towards you and therefore of impure mind, consider themselves as free, with great difficulty gain the high place, and having disrespect for your feet, they fall from there.

Sloka 48. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 11.5.2:

By means of the *guṇas*, each of the four *varṇas*, twice-born and the rest, are born respectively from the mouth, arms, thighs, and feet of the *puruṣa*, together with the *āśramas*.

96 And when one gains *mukti* in *bhakti*, he inevitably worships Kṛṣṇa.

Sloka 49. Śrīdhara Svāmī's *Bhāvarthadīpikā* commentary on Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.87.21:

Even *muktas*, taking a *vigraha*, by *līlā* worship Bhagavān.

97 These six *ātmārāmas* worship Kṛṣṇa; this is the meaning of each of the 'ca's and of the 'api's. 98 'Ātmārāmaśca api' means spontaneous *bhakti* to Kṛṣṇa;

Sloka 45. See 2.20.śl.12; 2.22.śl.7.

Sloka 46. See 2.22.śl.6; 2.25.śl.2.

Sloka 47. See 2.22.śl.10; 2.24.śl.40; 2.25.śl.3.

Sloka 48. See 2.22.śl.8; 2.22.śl.52.

Sloka 49. See 2.24.śl.33; 2.25.śl.44. *Vigraha*: bodily form or image.

97. "ca" and "api" as conjunctions, i.e., "and the *sādhaka-ātmārāma* and the *brahmanmaya-ātmārāma* and the *prāptabrahmalaya ātmārāma* . . ."

98. Giving the six meanings of *ātmārāma* gives six different interpretations of the śloka. "Api" can also mean emphasis, thus: "even being *ātmārāmas*, they had spontaneous *bhakti* . . ." One interpretation of *muni* was "given to the mind," thus "being *munis* or wise men," "given to the mind," they are attached mentally to Kṛṣṇa.

'munayaḥ santah' means attachment of the mind to Kṛṣṇa. 99 'Nirgranthaḥ' is lack of ignorance and freedom from injunctions. What is appropriate where—that determines the meaning. 100 If we take the meaning of the word 'ca' to be conjunctive, another meaning emerges, most appropriately. 101 Repeating 'ātmārāmaśca' six times, five 'ātmārāmas' are contained in six 'ca's. 102 Finally one 'ātmārāma' remains, and this one 'ātmārāma' means six people.

Sloka 50. Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī 1.2.64a [quoting Siddhāntakaumudī, ajantapūṃlinga-śabda-prakaraṇa]:

One ending suffixed to the final word in a series is used to designate the whole series. As, 'rāmaśca rāmaśca rāmaśca,' are 'rāmaḥ.'

103 Then when the word 'ca' means combination, the meaning is 'both ātmārāmas and munis worship Kṛṣṇa.' 104 And in that case the 'api' in 'nirgrantha api' means possibility. These seven meanings I have first explained.

105 'Ātmārāma' also means 'the worshiper who dwells within'; and these ātmārāma yogīs are of two kinds. 106 These two divisions are sagarbha and nirgarbha, and each has three divisions, making six subdivisions.

Sloka 51. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 2.2.8:

[They are] those who meditate on, in intense concentration, that puruṣa, only as big as pradeśa, holding the lotus, discus, conch, and club, four-armed, situated in the heart-cavity within their own bodies.

99. Among the various meanings of nirgrantha given previously, two are appropriate to the ātmārāma, who experiences within the self, and is beyond ritual: "without books of ignorance" and "without the injunctions of the śāstras."

100-102. I.e., "ca" is used to indicate a series of "x" units, and by suffixing it to a single unit, one can state the whole series. If "x" is six, ātmārāmaśca can mean six ātmārāmas. "Six people" means the six classes of ātmārāmas.

Sloka 50. See 2.24.1.85.

104. I.e., "whether this or that possibility, depending on condition": whether the munis are devoid of books of ignorance or devoid of injunctions of the śāstras, still by the power of attraction of Kṛṣṇa, they worship him.

106. These are explained in ślokas 51 and 52 below. Sagarbha is one who holds that puruṣa in his heart, that puruṣa as big as the thumb and little finger extended (pradeśa). Nirgarbha is he who does not reflect that puruṣa as within his own heart, but as outside it, resting on the sea of milk. These are both conditions of yoga, the aim of which is gaining the paramātmā, the indwelling principle, and which, like jñāna, must be mixed with bhakti to be effective.

Sloka 52. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 3.28.14:

In this way the attainment of bhāva to Bhagavān Hari with bhakti, with heart dissolved from joy, [the body] thrilled, with tears of longing, again and again anguished, gradually dislodges the fish-hook of the mind.

107 Yogāruruṣu, yogārūḍha, and prāptasiddhi: both classes are divided into these three subgroups, making six kinds.

Slokas 53-54. Bhāgavad Gītā 6.3-4:

53 For the muni who is desirous of rising along the path of yoga, the cause of that rising is called his means. Of the same who is yogārūḍha, the cause is tranquility. 54 When he has renounced all desires, and is not attracted to either things of the senses or to karma, then he is called yogārūḍha.

108 These six yogins reach the source, association with holy men and the like, and worship Kṛṣṇa, drawn by the qualities of Kṛṣṇa. 109 In the word 'ca' is also the meaning of 'api'; and 'muni' and 'nirgrantha' have the meanings as given before. 110 'Urukrama' and 'ahaitukī' in some places have certain meanings; these thirteen meanings are then fulfilled. 111 When all these tranquil people worship bhagavān, then they are called 'śānta-bhaktas.'

112 The word 'ātmā' also means mind; 'mana,' he who sports in the mind; and he worships the feet of Kṛṣṇa in the company of holy men.

Sloka 52. Radhagovinda Natha glosses ardyamānaḥ, "anguished," as "drowning" (nimajjamaṇ) in a sea of joy, thus explaining the unexpected fish-hook image.

107. Yogāruruṣu: he who wants to ascend by yoga, and to stabilize and quiet the mind; yogārūḍha: he whose mind is quiet, and who is absorbed in the paramātmā; and prāptasiddhi: he who has attained the goal, who no longer needs to strive for it, and who is beyond both action and experience.

109. I.e., all the arguments applied to the jñāna-ātmārāmas here apply to the yoga-ātmārāmas.

110. I.e., the seven given previously in terms of jñāna, and the six given here in terms of yoga; ahaitukī and urukrama are constant.

111. These thirteen kinds of people have access only to śānta-bhāva; the other more satisfactory kinds of bhāva are limited to those who worship in pure bhakti.

112. Rame: sports.

Sloka 55. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.87.18:

On the paths of the *r̥ṣis*, those whose perception is gross meditate on the belly; the sons of Aruṇa meditate on the indwelling one in the heart and its circling ways. O Ananta! from that it rises up to the head, your supreme place, and the highest crest of that which is called the *suṣumnā*; and when that is gained, they do not fall again into the mouth of death.

113 These are the great *munis*, drawn by the qualities of Kṛṣṇa, and as they are 'nirgrantha,' they have spontaneous *bhakti*.

114 The word 'atmā' also says 'yatna'—care or effort, and with care even the *munis* worship Kṛṣṇa, drawn by his qualities.

Sloka 56. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 1.5.18:

For which the sage strives, and what is unattainable for those who wander about high and low, wise men try; that happiness is gained otherwise like sorrow in time, with profound perseverance in everything.

Sloka 57. Rūpa Gosvāmī's Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu [pārva-vibhāga, sādhanabhakti-laharī] 1.2.103:

The zealous seeking in the minds of those devoted to true *dharma* will soon gain for them all that they earnestly desire.

115 The word 'ca' means 'api,' and *api* means emphasis or determination; for except for eager effort, *bhakti* does not develop into *prema*.

Sloka 58. Rūpa Gosvāmī's Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu [pārva-vibhāga, sāmānyabhakti-laharī] 1.1.35:

By masses of *sādhana*s, even in a very long time [it] is unattainable by those free from attachments, and it is not given quickly by Hari: these are the two kinds of difficulties in Hari-*bhakti*.

Sloka 55. According to the *tantras*, there is a lotus called *maṇipura* which is located in the navel, and either Brahṁa or Rudra is situated in this lotus. Similarly, in some systems the heart is considered to be the center from which all nerves (*nāḍī*) branch out. The *suṣumnā* is the central nerve, between *īḍā* and *piṅgala*, through which the vital force must rise until it reaches the highest point in the top of the head or the brain, and the ultimate experience is gained. See PHM, 178, 241. See 2.24.śl.79.

114. *Munayo api*: even the *munis*. *Muni* here means an ascetic or *yogin*, or "a silent one."

Sloka 57. See 2.20.śl.7.

115. This is the fifteenth meaning. *Bhakti* here means *sādhana-bhakti*, painstaking attention to *kṛtāna* and the other sixty-three kinds of practices.

Sloka 59. Bhāgavad Gītā 10.10:

O Arjuna! I give to those who are joined with me, who worship me in love, the means of wisdom by which they gain me.

116 The word 'atmā' also means patience or steadfastness—he who loves steadfastly; and being 'dhairya-vanta eva,' he worships Kṛṣṇa. 117 The word 'muni' also means bird or black bee, and 'nirgrantha' means a fool. By the mercy of Kṛṣṇa and by the mercy of holy men, both worship.

Sloka 60. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.21.14:

The birds which are in this forest are like *munis*; they sit on the branches of the trees covered with lovely leaves, to catch sight of Kṛṣṇa; and with closed eyes they listen to the sweet song of the flute played by him, without making any other sound.

Ślokas 61-62. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.15.6-7:

61 O *ādi-puruṣa*! all these bees, singing your glory which is the holy place of all people, worship [you] in every path. O *anagha*! they are like crowds of *munis*, the chief among your devotees; they do not abandon their own *deva*, even hidden deep in the forest. 62 O praiseworthy one! these peacocks dance in delight; and the deer, who seem like *gopīs*, make love to you with their eyes and the cuckoos with their sweet sounds when you come home. The dwellers in the forest are indeed fortunate, for such is their nature.

Sloka 63. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.35.11:

In the lotus-pond the swans and cranes are drawn by the beautiful song of the flute of Kṛṣṇa; they come near him, and attentive and silent, their eyes closed, with their heads they worship Hari.

Sloka 59. See 1.1.śl.20; 2.24.śl.70.

116. *Dhairya-vanta eva*, firmly fixed, steadfast.

117. Fool: perhaps better would be "ignorant man," meaning here one who does not have access to the true *śāstras*; this meaning is borne out in śloka 64 below. In that śloka are mentioned the names of tribal peoples, except Yavanas, which literally means "Ionian" or Greek, and is commonly used in the sixteenth century to refer to Muslims; see the commentary to 2.1.158, 186.

Sloka 64. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 2.4.18:

Kirātas, Hūṇas, Āndhras, Pulindas, Pukkasas, Ābhīras, Śuhmas, Yavanas, Khasas and others, evil people, are purified by taking refuge in him who is the refuge of [bhaktas]: to him who is so powerful, obeisance.

118 Or in the word 'dhṛti' is the knowledge of one's own fulfillment; they find great fulfillment in the lack of sorrow in the gaining of the ultimate.

Sloka 65. Rūpa Gosvāmin's Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu [dakṣiṇa-vibhāga, vyabhicāri-laharī] 2.4.144:

Dhṛti is the fullness which comes from the gaining of the ultimate, which is jñāna and the lack of sorrow; and in it is lack of grieving for the destruction of things, or the lack of them, or unfulfillment.

119 The Kṛṣṇa-bhakta is free from grief and free from inner desires; he serves Kṛṣṇa in prema, strong in the joy of fullness.

Sloka 66. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 9.4.67:

My people, full of service, do not hold to sālōkya, sārṣṭi, sārūpya, samīpya, and ekatva, which they earn by serving me, let alone anything ravaged by time.

Sloka 67.

All those whose senses are fixed on Hṛṣkeṣa, certainly gain firmness in the world that is teeming with jīvas.

120 In the word 'ca,' is emphasis, and in 'api' is a conjunction. Birds and ignorant men worship, becoming possessed of steadiness.

121 The word 'ātma' means intelligence, and special intelligence. Many jīvas finally gain ordinary intelligence. 122 The ātmārāma who seeks by buddhi is of

Sloka 64. See 2.24.śl.78.

118. One of the meanings of ātma has been defined as dhṛti, "satisfaction" or "firmness," "self-restraint."

Sloka 66. See 1.4.śl.37. For the types of mukti, see 1.3.16; 2.6.239 and commentary.

Sloka 67. The śloka is that of Kṛṣṇadāsa.

120. Dhṛtimanta: possessed of steadiness, could also be "finding satisfaction." The sixteenth meaning therefore is: "Ignorant men and birds and beasts also certainly have spontaneous bhakti . . ."

121. Ātma means buddhi, and buddhi is of two kinds: ordinary intelligence or perception, and special intelligence or perception. The latter is meant here.

two kinds—the wise muni, and the nirgrantha fool. 123 By the mercy of Kṛṣṇa, in discussion in the company of holy men, they gain the perception of rati, and abandoning everything they worship at the feet of Kṛṣṇa in pure bhakti.

Sloka 68. Bhāgavad Gītā 10.8:

I am the place or origin of all, from me all proceeds—considering this and being attached in emotion to me, wise men worship me.

Sloka 69. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 2.7.45:

Women, śūdras, hūṇas, savaras, and low people—even birds and animals—if they devote themselves to progress toward the good, know the deva-māya and escape it; let alone those who are intent on the śrutis.

124 When they have discriminated, they worship at the feet of Kṛṣṇa; and he gives perception to those who are at his feet.

Sloka 70. Bhāgavad Gītā 10.10:

O Arjuna! I give to those who are joined with me, who worship me in love, the means of wisdom by which they gain me.

125 Association with true men, service of Kṛṣṇa, the Bhāgavata, the name, and dwelling in Vraja—these are the five chief sādhanas. 126 Among these five, a little bit of any gives rise to prema for Kṛṣṇa for a man of true perception.

Sloka 71. Rūpa Gosvāmin's Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu [pūrva-vibhāga, sādhanabhakti-laharī] 1.2.238:

These five are hard to know and of wondrous power; let there be faith in the five, for even the slightest relationship with them leads to the rise of the bhava in the hearts of the good.

127 Those pure and simple people, whose perception is the best of all, if they worship [even] with many desires, still they gain the perfection of bhakti.

Sloka 70. See 1.1.śl.20; 2.24.śl.59.

Sloka 71. See 2.22.śl.57.

Sloka 72. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 2.3.10:

One who is desireless, or one who desires everything, or one who is desirous of *mokṣa*, if he is wise, worships the *parama-puruṣa* with strong and deep *bhakti*.

128 By the influence of *bhakti* he is caused to abandon those desires, and is caused to have *bhakti* at the feet of Kṛṣṇa, attracted by his qualities.

Sloka 73. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 1.7.10:

Even though they are not possessed of the books, those sages who delight in the self offer selfless *bhakti* to the great-striding [Viṣṇu]; of such qualities is Hari.

Sloka 74. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 5.19.26:

It is true that, being prayed to, he grants desired objects to men; but he is not the giver of objects, because even after that, [man] is desirous of more. To those who have no selfish desires, and to those who worship, he himself grants the shoots of his own feet, by which all desires are obscured.

129 The word '*ātma*' also means 'nature,' and he who sports in that; so '*ātmārāma*' means all *jīvas*, moving and unmoving. 130 The nature of the *jīva* is perception of self as the servant of Kṛṣṇa; that knowledge is hidden by the misconception that the *ātma* is in the body. 131 But from the mercy of Kṛṣṇa, etc., [knowledge of] his nature arises, and attracted by the qualities of Kṛṣṇa, the *jīva* worships Kṛṣṇa. 132 The word '*ca*' has the meaning '*eva*' and '*api*' means conjunction; so being '*ātmārāma-eva*,' he worships Śrī Kṛṣṇa. 133 That [kind of] *jīva* Sanaka and the other *munis* were, and the '*nirgranthas*'—fools, and the low, and unmoving things, and beasts. 134 The worship of Vyāsa, Śuka, Sanaka and the rest is famous; listen to a description of the *nirgranthas*, unmoving *jīvas*,

Sloka 72. See 2.22.śl.13; 2.24.śl.28.

Sloka 73. See 2.6.śl.15; 2.17.śl.8; 2.24.śl.2; 2.25.śl.47.

Sloka 74. See 2.22.śl.14; 2.24.śl.32.

129. *Svabhāva*: nature, or he who has *bhāva* toward the *svārūpa*; the *svārūpa* of the *jīva* is the eternal servant of Kṛṣṇa, and the true nature of the *jīva* is recognition of that relationship. *Rame*: sports.

132. *Eva*: emphasis or certainty. "Certainly both moving and unmoving things worship Kṛṣṇa."

133. That kind: knowing their true natures as servants of Kṛṣṇa; *nirgrantha* is the second kind, ignorant people, unmoving things, and beasts.

and the rest. 135 The rising of [the knowledge of one's] nature has its source in the grace of Kṛṣṇa and the rest; attracted by the qualities of Kṛṣṇa, they worship him.

Sloka 75. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.15.8:

Today this earth is blessed, for the grass and shrubs have touched your feet, the creepers and trees have been caressed by your fingers, and all the rivers and mountains and deer and birds have been looked at compassionately; and the *gopīs* have been clasped in your arms, longed for by Lakṣmī.

Sloka 76. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.21.19:

While they two are herding the cows through the forests with the *gopas*, the two marked by ropes and nooses [on their shoulders], there is, among embodied things, a quivering of those which move and a thrill in the trees on account of the sweet sound of their noble flutes. O wonder!

Sloka 77. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.35.9:

All the creepers and trees of the forest, bodies trembling with *prema*, their branches laden with flowers and fruits, branches bending under their burden as though manifesting in themselves Viṣṇu, rain streams of nectar.

Sloka 78. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 2.4.18:

Kirātas, Hūṇas, Āndhras, Pulindas, Pukkasas, Ābhīras, Śuhmas, Yavanas, Khasas, and others, evil people, are purified by taking refuge in him who is the refuge [of *bhaktas*]: to him who is so powerful, obeisance.

136 Thus thirteen meanings have been given, in addition to the six previous ones. Adding these two together gives nineteen meanings. 137 So there are nineteen meanings; listen to some more to come.

The word '*ātma*' means body, and this has four meanings. 138 The '*dehārāmī*' worships *brahma* in the body as an attribute of it; he too worships Kṛṣṇa in the company of true men.

Sloka 77. See 2.8.śl.53.

Sloka 78. See 2.24.śl.64.

138. *Dehārāmī*: those who experience joy (*ananda*) in their own bodies, those who worship through their bodies, presumably the *tāntric yogins* who are described in *śloka* 79. See ante, comment on *śloka* 55.

Sloka 79. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.87.18:

On the paths of the ṛṣis, those whose perception is gross meditate on the belly; the sons of Aruṇa meditate on the indwelling one in the heart and its circling ways. O Ananta! from that, it rises up to the head, your supreme place, and the highest crest of that which is called the *suṣūmṇā*; and when that is gained, they do not fall again, into the mouth of death.

139 'Dehārāmīs' are also devoted to *karma*, people who offer sacrifices and so forth; they abandon *karma* and worship Kṛṣṇa in the company of true men.

Sloka 80. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 1.18.12:

In untrustworthy *karma* our selves had become smoky from the smoke of sacrifices, and you have given us to drink the sweet liquor of the lotus feet of the sweet Govinda.

140 There are 'dehārāmīs' who are ascetics and the like; they abandon their asceticism and worship Kṛṣṇa in the company of true men.

Sloka 81. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 4.21.31:

The ascetics' love for service to whose feet destroys the filth, accumulated in numerous births, of the mind, as a rising river that wells from his toes.

141 'Dehārāmīs' are also those who have all desires, who are totally delighting in the self; they abandon all desires and worship Kṛṣṇa, by his grace.

Sloka 82. Rāpa Gosvāmī's Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu [uttara-vibhāga, vīrabhaktirasā-laharī] 4.3.44 [quoting Haribhaktisudhodaya 7.28]:

I was desirous of position, and performed austerities. Then I found you, obscure even to Indra and the *devas* and *munis*. It was as if while searching for glass, I found a divine jewel. Lord, I am crowned with success, and I have not even prayed for a boon.

Sloka 79. See 2.24.155.

139. This is a second type of *dehārāmī*, who hopes to gain bodily pleasure, on earth or in heaven, through the performance of sacrifice and the rest.

140. The third type of *dehārāmī* is the ascetic, who worships through the body by mortification of it.

Sloka 82. See 2.22.15.

142 With these four meanings, the total meanings are twenty-four; listen to another three most appropriate meanings.

143 When the word 'ca' means 'and,' another meaning is there: 'The *atmārāmas* and the *munis* worship Kṛṣṇa.' 144 'Nirgranthaḥ' is as before, and 'api' is an emphatic. 'Rāmaśca kṛṣṇaśca' means 'Rāma and Kṛṣṇa were roaming about in the forest': 145 the word 'ca' is conjunctive. But 'ca' can also imply greater and lesser of two meanings, as in: 'You! Go and beg, and bring the cow.' 146 A *muni* reflects on Kṛṣṇa and always worships him. So the secondary meaning is 'also (api) the *atmārāma*' worships. 147 And 'ca' means 'eva'—so 'certainly the *muni* worships Kṛṣṇa'; and the secondary meaning has 'api,' thus '*atmārāma api*.' 148 'Nirgrantha' is then adjectival to both. Hear another meaning, [having to do with] the company of *sādhus*.

149 'Nirgrantha' also means 'hunter', 'who is a poor man'; by association with holy men he worships Śrī Kṛṣṇa. 150 'Kṛṣṇarāmāśca eva' is 'reflecting on Kṛṣṇa'; and even (eva) being a hunter he is to be honored as the greatest of *bhāgavatas*. 151 Listen carefully to the story of a hunter who was a *bhakta*; from this comes the knowledge of the greatness of association with holy men. 152 One day Śrī Nārada saw that Nārāyaṇa was going to Prayāga to bathe at the Trivenī. 153 As he went along the path through the forest, he saw a deer which had fallen on the ground. Wounded with an arrow and with its leg broken, it was writhing on the ground. 154 And at a little distance he saw a boar; it also had been wounded and its leg broken, and it too was writhing in pain. 155 And a little further away he saw a hare in the same condition. Seeing the misery of these creatures, Nārada's heart was pained. 156 A little distance away he saw a hunter, hiding in a tree; he was just aiming an arrow, to kill a deer. 157 He was dark in complexion, with bloodshot eyes, very fearsome to see; he held a bow and arrows in his hand and they seemed the staff of Yama. 158 Leaving the path,

145. I.e., primary and secondary meanings. In "go and beg and bring," "go and beg" is primary, and "bring" is secondary, both in time sequence and in logical sequence, for the cow must be begged before it can be brought.

146. *Kṛṣṇāmanana*: reflects, has his mind on Kṛṣṇa. This is the primary meaning of *muni*, so *atmārāma* must constitute the secondary one.

148. I.e., in this interpretation, both *munis* and *atmārāmas* are *nirgrantha*.

149. *Nirgrantha* has also been interpreted as *nirdhana*, "without wealth"; Kṛṣṇadāsa says that even a man so poor that he has had to turn to hunting, the most despised of occupations, to earn a living, can be saved by the association with holy men.

150. *Ātmā* is Kṛṣṇa, thus the transposition *kṛṣṇarāma*. And *muni* is *manana*, "reflecting on." The reading, the twenty-sixth, is thus, "Even poor hunters are *atmārāmas* and *munis* . . ."

Nārada went over to him; and when they saw Nārada the deer all fled. 159 Angrily the hunter wanted to curse him; but because of the power of Nārada the curses did not come out of his mouth. 160 'Gosvāmī! Why have you come here, leaving the usual path? When it saw you, the deer which was my target fled away.' 161 And Nārada said, 'I have lost my way, and have come to ask you. There is some doubt in my mind, and to dispel that [I have come]. 162 That deer and boar on the path, perhaps they are yours?' And the hunter said, 'What you say is true.' 163 Nārada said, 'When you strike a living creature with an arrow, why do you only half kill it? Why don't you take its life?' 164 The hunter said, 'Listen, Gosvāmī. My name is Mṛgārī. I do such work according to the teachings of my father. 165 When a half-dead creature writhes in pain, great joy grows in my heart!' 166 And Nārada said, 'Let me beg one thing from you.' And the hunter replied, 'Take a deer or whatever it is you want. 167 If you want a deerskin, come to my house. Whatever you want I'll give you—a deer or tiger skin cloth.' 168 Nārada said, 'I want nothing like that; it is another gift I ask from you. 169 From tomorrow, whatever deer or other animal you hit, kill it immediately. Do not half kill it.' 170 The hunter said, 'What is this you ask of me? What does it matter if I half kill an animal; tell me that.' 171 And Nārada said, 'If you half kill it, the animal feels pain; you give misery to jīvas, and that will be unfortunate for you. 172 O hunter, you kill jīvas, and this is a little sin for you. But you kill wrongly, and this sin is very great. 173 As many jīvas as you have killed cruelly will, in turn, kill you, in birth after birth.' 174 In the company of Nārada, the heart of the hunter was delighted; and hearing his words, fear was born in his mind. 175 The hunter said, 'This has been my work from childhood; how shall I be saved? I am low and vile. 176 How can I rid myself of this sin? Save me; I fall at your feet.' 177 Nārada said, 'If you follow my instructions, then I shall be able to free you.' 178 The hunter said, 'I shall do what you tell me.' Nārada said, 'Break your bow; then I shall speak.' 179 The hunter said, 'If I break the bow, how shall I live?' And Nārada said, 'I shall give you food each day.' 180 So breaking the bow, the hunter fell at his feet; and raising him up, Nārada instructed him, 181 'Go home, and give as much wealth as you have to a brahmaṇa; wear a single cloth be-

164. Mṛgārī: the enemy (arī) of deer (mṛga).

172. Rādhagovinda Nātha reads this as meaning not that the sin of killing is small because it was the dharma of the hunter's caste to do that, but that mere killing is a small offence beside the great offence of killing cruelly.

181. Tear the single cloth in half, and you wear half and give half to your wife.

tween the two of you, and leave home. 182 Make a hermitage on the bank of the river. In front of it put a pīṇḍa, and plant a tulasī there. 183 Circumambulate the tulasī and serve it, and constantly take the name of Kṛṣṇa in saṁkīrtana. 184 Each day I shall send you much food; take as much of it as the two of you need.' 185 Then Nārada healed the three animals, and being made well again, the three fled away. 186 When he saw this, the mind of the hunter was astonished; and having made obeisance to his guru, he went home. 187 Nārada went to his appointed place, and the hunter came home, and did all that Nārada had instructed. 188 In the village the cry arose, 'The hunter has become a Vaiṣṇava!' And all the people of the village began to bring and give him food. 189 On one day ten or twenty people would bring food; and he would take only as much as two could eat in one day. 190 One day Nārada said, 'Listen, O Parvata. There is a student of mine; let us go and see him.' 191 Then the two ṛṣīs came to the place of that hunter, and from a distance the hunter caught sight of his guru. 192 He ran this way and that, but could not find the path; for on the path ants were swarming in all directions. 193 And where he was bowing he saw ants, so he swept clear the spot with his clothing, and then fell prostrate. 194 Nārada said, 'O hunter, this is not astonishing, for freedom from doing injury is the way of sādhus, in Hari-bhakti.'

Sloka 83. Rūpa Gosvāmī's Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu [pārva-vibhāga, sādhanabhakti-laharī] 1.2.262 [quoting Skānda Purāṇa]:

O hunter, all your qualities, ahiṁsa and the rest, are not to be wondered at; he who is occupied with Hari-bhakti is not violent toward others.

195 Then the hunter brought both of them into the courtyard, and bringing seats of kuśa grass, he seated them in devotion. 196 He brought water, and in devotion he washed their feet; and man and wife took that water and drank it and put in on their heads. 197 Trembling and thrilling and weeping, he sang the praises of Kṛṣṇa, and danced, his arms upraised, his clothing flying. 198 Seeing the prema of the hunter, the great muni Parvata said to Nārada, 'You are a touchstone.'

182. pīṇḍa: a mound of earth.

185. The text says mṛga (deer) but obviously means "animals": the deer, the boar, and the hare.

190. Parvata was the name of a ṛṣi.

Sloka 83. See 2.22.śl.65.

Śloka 84. Rāpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [pārva-vibhāga, bhavabhakti-laharī]
1.3.23 [quoting *Skānda Purāṇa*]:

O *devaṣṭi*! you are blessed; for by your mercy even a low-born hunter immediately is thrilled, and gains love for Acyuta.

199 Nārada said, 'O Vaiṣṇava, is your food sufficient?' And the hunter said, 'We live on what you send. 200 But do not send so much; there is no need. In all we want only as much as two people need to eat.' 201 Nārada said, 'Let it be as it is. You are fortunate.' And so saying, the two disappeared. 202 So I have told you the story of the hunter; he who listens to it realizes the influence of association with *sādhus*.

203 So we have counted an additional three meanings; and adding the two together gives twenty-six meanings of the verse. 204 Hear another meaning, which is a storehouse of meanings; there are two general meanings, and thirty-two subtle ones.

205 'Ātmā' means all the kinds of *bhagavān*. One is *svayaṃ bhagavān*, and the others we call *bhagavān*. 206 He who delights in those, he is 'ātmārāma.' And these *bhaktas* are of two kinds: *vidhi-bhakta* and *rāga-bhakta*. 207 There are two types of *bhaktas* in each [general class]—four kinds in each: they are *pāriśada* [*sādhaka*] and *sādhana-siddha sādhaka*; 208 and there are two divisions of *sādhakas*: *jāta* and *ajāta-rati*. And in the *rāga-mārga* [also] there are these four divisions, making eight in all. 209 In *vidhi-bhakti* are the eternally perfected *pāriśadas*, and they are of four kinds: servant, friend, *guru*, and lover. 210 *Sādhana-siddhas* are [likewise] servant, friend, *guru*, and lover. *Utpanna-rati sādhaka bhaktas* are of [these] four kinds; 211 *Ājāta-rati sādhaka bhaktas* are also of these four kinds. Thus in the *vidhi-mārga* there are sixteen kinds of *bhaktas*. 212 Also in the *rāga-mārga* there are sixteen kinds of *bhaktas*. So in

203. Those meanings stated in vv. 147, 148, and 150. V. 142 had established the twenty-third meaning.

204. There are thirty-two subtle ones of two general categories.

205. The two general categories are *svayaṃ bhagavān*: Kṛṣṇa himself, and *bhagavān*: Rāma-candra and others within the *svarūpa*.

207. There are four kinds of *vidhi-bhaktas*, and four kinds of *rāga-bhaktas*. Those who are eternally in Kṛṣṇa's retinue are *pāriśada*; those who gain the retinue of Kṛṣṇa by *sādhana* are *sādhana-siddhi*; those who through the performance of *sādhana* reach the stage of *rati* or the birth of the shoot of *prema* are *jāta-rati*; and those who are unable to reach that stage through *sādhana* are called *ajāta-rati*.

209. *Guru* here means simply elder, those who have *vātsalya* toward Kṛṣṇa.

210. *Utpanna-rati*: *jāta-rati*, "that *rati* which gives birth to the fruit of *prema*."

the two *mārgas* there are thirty-two kinds of *ātmārāmas*. 213 'Muni,' 'nirgrantha,' 'ca,' and 'api'—the meanings of these four words should be as is appropriate. 214 Adding the thirty-two and the twenty-six together gives fifty-eight. Listen now to the revelation of another kind of meaning.

215 Compounding with 'ca' meaning conjunction, and taking the name 'ātmārāma' fifty-eight times— 216 'ātmārāmaśca ātmārāmaśca' fifty-eight times, finally we elide them all and keep one at the end.

Śloka 85. Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 1.2.64a [quoting *Siddhāntakaumudī*, *ajantapūṣṭiṅga-śabda-prakaraṇa*]:

One ending suffixed to the final word in a series is used to designate the whole series.

217 So fifty-eight 'ca's are all implied, and in one 'ātmārāma' there are fifty-eight meanings.

Śloka 86. Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 1.2.64b [quoting *Siddhāntakaumudī*, *ajantapūṣṭiṅga-śabda-prakaraṇa*]:

Aśvattha-vṛkṣa, *baṭa-vṛkṣa*, *kapittha-vṛkṣa*, and *āmra-vṛkṣa*, all these words are subsumed under *vṛkṣaḥ*.

218 So just as 'in this forest, trees flower,' so all the *ātmārāmas* have *bhakti* to Kṛṣṇa. 219 The meaning of 'ca' is 'ātmārāmaśca' collectively; 'munayaśca' have *bhakti*—this is also its meaning. 220 'Nirgrantha eva' and 'api' are specifications [of one out of many], and this is the fifty-ninth meaning.

221 Taking all of them collectively is one meaning, i.e., *ātmārāmaśca*, *munayaśca*, and *nirgranthaśca* worship. 222 The word 'api' must be taken four times, and 'eva' is joined together with these four words:

213. These four words are as before, with *ātmārāma* being interpreted in thirty-two new ways. 215-216. I.e., instead of repeating *ātmārāmaśca* fifty-eight times, all fifty-eight meanings are implied by the use of "ca" at the end of a single unit.

Śloka 85. See 2.24.51.50.

Śloka 86. *Aśvattha*, etc., are all different kinds of trees (*vṛkṣa*); all these kinds of trees are implied by the plural suffix, and they do not have to be named individually.

218. "Trees flower" means all kinds of trees; in the same way all *ātmārāmas* have *bhakti* to Kṛṣṇa, meaning all these kinds of *ātmārāmas*.

220. The fifty-ninth meaning is that all the fifty-eight kinds of *ātmārāmas* and *munis* have *bhakti*, and that each one of them has *bhakti*.

222. The four words to which "api" is affixed are *urukrame*, *bhaktim*, *ahaitukīm*, and *kurvantī*; "api" here has the meaning "eva."

Sloka 87. [words spoken by Caitanya]:

Urukrama eva, bhaktimeva, ahaitukimeva, kurvantyeva.

223 Now sixty meanings of the *śloka* have been given; hear another one, appropriate in its proof.

224 The word 'ātma' means the sign of a *jīva* who is conscious. Numbered among his *śaktis* are all [*jīvas*] from Brahmā to the worm.

Sloka 88. Viṣṇu Purāṇa 6.7.61:

The *śakti* of Viṣṇu is of three kinds: *parā*, *kṣetrajñā*, and the third is called *avidyā-karman*.

Sloka 89. Amarakoṣa, svargavarga 7.

Kṣetrajñā, *ātma*, and *puruṣa* are synonymous.

225 While wandering, if one finds the company of *sādhus*, he abandons everything and worships Kṛṣṇa. 226 So the sixty-first meaning says: Anyone who worships Kṛṣṇa. This meaning is the epitome of all meanings. 227 The sixty-one meanings thus blossom forth because of association with you; by the power of your *bhakti* these waves of meanings arise."

Sloka 90.

The meaning of the *Bhāgavata* is grasped only by *bhakti*, not by mind and not by commentary.

228 When he heard these meanings, Sanātana was astonished, and he held the feet of Mahāprabhu and praised him, 229 "You are the incarnate *Īśvara*,

Sloka 87. "For the indeed Great-striding One they indeed have an indeed selfless *bhakti* indeed."

223. The sixtieth meaning is: Whether they be *ātmārāmas*, or *munis*, or *nirgranthas*, such are that qualities of Hari that . . .

224. Another interpretation of *ātma* is *jīva*, for the *jīva* is part of the *jīva-śakti* of Kṛṣṇa. And specifically, the *jīva* who is conscious (*kṣetrajñā*) of this relationship.

Sloka 88. Applied to Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava theology as developed by Jīva Gosvāmin, *parā* = *cit-śakti*; *kṣetra-jñā* = *jīva-śakti*; and *avidyā-karman* = *māyā-śakti*. See 1.7.31.7; 2.6.31.10; 2.8.31.36; 2.20.31.9.

225. While wandering through many births, fortunate *jīvas* fall into the company of holy men.

226. The sixty-first meaning is that any *jīva*, from the lowest worm to the highest Brahmā, can find *bhakti* in the company of holy men, and worship Kṛṣṇa.

Sloka 90. According to Rādhāgovinda Nātha, the *śloka* is "proverbial" (*prācina ślokaḥ*).

Vrajendranandana. With your breath you inspired all the Vedas. 230 You are the speaker of the *Bhāgavata* and you know its meanings; there is no need to know anything other than you." 231 Prabhu said, "Why do you praise me? Why do you not examine the true form of the *Bhāgavata*? 232 The *Bhāgavata* is like Kṛṣṇa—ever the refuge of all; in each *śloka* there are many clear meanings. 233 In the *Bhāgavata* there is determination [of things] in questions and answers; and when they hear these people are astonished.

Sloka 91. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.1.23:

With Kṛṣṇa, the *yogeśvara*, the *brahmaṇya*, the protector of *dharma*, gone to his own goal, you now tell me, who will be the refuge of *dharma*?

Sloka 92. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.3.45:

With Kṛṣṇa, gone to his own place with the *dharma*-knowers, etc., now the sun of this *purāṇa* has risen, for those whose sight was blinded in the Kali age.

234 So one *śloka* has been explained; perhaps the ravings of a madman—who can prove it? 235 He who is as mad as I am knows the meaning of the *Bhāgavata* in this way."

236 And again Sanātana said, joining his two hands, "Prabhu, you have commanded me to prepare the *Vaiṣṇava-smṛti*. 237 But I am low-born, and know nothing of proper conduct. How can the propagation of the *smṛti* come from me? 238 But if you instruct me, surveying [the field] in *sāstras*, if you yourself enter into my heart, 239 Then those hints will blossom in my low heart; you are *Īśvara*, and that which you do will be completed."

240 Prabhu replied, "In doing that which you have in mind, Kṛṣṇa will cause you to express those things. 241 Still, listen to a survey in the form of *sāstras*. First of all should be written of the *guru* as refuge [the basis for all], 242 and an examination of the signs of the *guru* and the signs of the disciple, these two;

234. *Batulera pralāpa*: "ravings of a madman."

236. [This couplet explicitly and the section from v. 236-57 have often been marshalled as evidence for Sanātana's authorship, or at least inspiration, of the *HBhV*, which is generally attributed to Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin. See also 2.1.30 and 2.23.53-66. The subject matter of the *HBhV* is found below in vv. 241-57. TKS]

242. For the signs of the proper *guru*, see S. K. De, *VFM* 451-60; the signs of the proper disciple or student (*śiṣya*) include humility, truth, restraint, proper action, and faith in the *devas* and in the *guru*. "Signs of *bhagavān*" means that although various *sāstras* put forward various deities as those who should be served, one should determine that Kṛṣṇa alone is that.

and of *bhagavān*, who is to be served, and of the determination of all of the *mantras*, 243 and of him who has the authority of the *mantra*, and of the purification of the *siddhas* of the *mantras* and the rest, and of initiation, and of the purification and rituals in the morning, and of purification and of the cleansing of the mouth, 244 upon cleaning of the teeth, and bathing, and of the evening and the other homages, of the serving of the *guru* and the wearing of the *cakra* and the *ārddha-puṇḍras*, 245 the wearing of garlands and of *gopīcandana* sandal and the gathering of *tulast*, and rituals of clothing and seating and housing, and of the awakening of Kṛṣṇa, 246 and of the worship with the five or sixteen or fifty kinds of materials, and the five times of *pājā*, and of *ārati*, and of feeding and putting to rest of Kṛṣṇa. 247 [You will write] on the features of the *śrī-mūrti*, and the features of the *śalagrāma*, and of pilgrimage to the places of Kṛṣṇa, and *darśana* of the image of Kṛṣṇa, 248 and the greatness of the name and putting at a distance the offences against the name, the characteristics of Vaiṣṇavas, and the doing away with offences against their service, 249 the signs of the conch,

243. The *guru* gives the *mantras* after first having taken into consideration all kinds of variables such as sex, age, family, celestial signs, and condition of life (i.e., wealth, poverty, etc.). See Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's *HBhV* 1, and *VEM* 452. Various praises and prayers are to be said, and various rituals performed in the morning. Purification: *śauca*; after defecation and urination, various purificatory rituals have to be performed with water and with earth; one touches the penis once, the anus three times, left hand ten times, both hands seven times, and both feet three times. *Ācamana*: cleansing of the mouth, which really involves far more than the mouth; in fact, there are twenty-four parts to the ritual. One rinses the mouth, making obeisance to Keśava once, Nārāyaṇa once, and Mādhava once; then the right hand, with obeisance to Govinda, the left hand, to Viṣṇu, the upper thigh, Mādhustāna, the lower thigh, to Trivikrama, etc.

244. *Ūrdhwapuṇḍra*: the vertical sectarian mark which Vaiṣṇavas wear on their foreheads. *Cakra*: circular mark, *tilaka*.

245. *Gopīcandana* is a particular kind of sandalwood. On the gathering of *tulast*: one must bow down before the *tulast* plant, recite an appropriate *śloka* with palms together and utter a prayer for the forgiveness of offence; then one must pick the leaves very slowly and gently, not to injure the plant nor bend it too much; one must take care not to break the branches or scratch the plant with the fingernails; there are also times when it is forbidden to pick the leaves.

246. The five materials are perfume, flowers, scented smoke, lamps, and offerings of rice. The sixteen are seating, salutation, washing the feet, oblation, offering water for rinsing the mouth, offering of honey, again water for rinsing the mouth, bathing, dressing, adorning, anointing with perfume, and the five listed above. For the fifty kinds, see *HBhV* 1. The five times for *pājā* are very early dawn, early morning, midday, late afternoon or evening, and night.

247. The features: i.e., what are the distinguishing marks of say, the image of Govinda as opposed to Gopīnātha. *Śalagrāma*: the stone sacred to Viṣṇu.

248. For the marks of a Vaiṣṇava, see *HBhV* 12.132-34.

249. All these can be found in *HBhV* 5-8. "Repetition" is *japa*; see *CC* 2.22.63. For bowing, see 2.22.67-68.

and water, perfume, flowers, incense and the rest, and of repetition and praise, of circumambulation, bowing, and obeisance, 250 of the various kinds of *puraścaraṇa*, and the eating of the *prasāda* of Kṛṣṇa and the avoidance of that which has not been offered [to Kṛṣṇa], and avoidance of vilification and so forth of Vaiṣṇavas, 251 the characteristics of holy men, association with holy men, and serving holy men, the abandonment of association with those who are untrue, and listening to the *Śrī Bhāgavatā*, 252 the daily rituals, and fortnightly ones, and the specification of the *Ekādaśī* and other [holy days], and monthly rituals, and of the explanation of the injunctions having to do with *Janmāṣṭamī* and the rest; 253 and there should be described the *Ekādaśī*, *Janmāṣṭamī*, *Vāmanadvādaśī*, *Śrī Rāmanavamī*, and *Nṛsiṃhacaturdaśī*, 254 the observance of *viddhā* and *aviddhā* in fasting, etc., for lack of observance is a *doṣa*; [observance] nourishes *bhakti*. 255 You will give all proofs from the words of the *purāṇa*;

250. *Puraścaraṇa*: adoration of various kinds.

253. Some of the prescriptions of *Ekādaśī*, as put forth in *HBhV* 12.6-31 are as follows: it must be observed by people of all four *varṇas*; if anyone of any of the *āśramas* takes food on that day, it will be a sin equivalent to eating cow's flesh; if a widow eats on that day, all her good works are destroyed and she slowly dies; the fast must be observed by everyone from age eight to age eighty; on that day, all sin enters into food, and if one takes that food he is destined for hell; one should not only not take food one's self, but should give none to others; the *vrata* has four purposes: to please Hari, to observe the *śāstras*, to fast, and to avert transgression; but those who are ill may take a little fruit, milk, ghi, etc.

Janmāṣṭamī: Kṛṣṇa's birthday, on the eighth day of the dark fortnight of the month Bhādra (August-September), is a major *vrata* for Vaiṣṇavas (unlike *Ekādaśī*, which must be observed by all Hindus); it also calls for a fast, and at midnight, the hour of Kṛṣṇa's birth, *pājā* to Kṛṣṇa takes place; details can be found in *HBhV* 15.17.164, 168, 170-71, 176, 180, 182, and 186-87, most of which have to do with the calculation of proper times for the *pājā*.

Vāmanadvādaśī: the day of the appearance of the *Vāmana-avatāra*, on the twelfth day of the dark fortnight of the month of Śrāvana (July-August). *Vāmana* is worshiped at the end of the night of the preceding day. See *HBhV* 15.264-65.

Rāmanavamī: falls on the ninth day of the light fortnight of Caitra (March-April), and is the birthday of Rāma; a fast is observed on this day. See *HBhV* 14.88.

Nṛsiṃhacaturdaśī: on the fourteenth day of the light fortnight of Vaiśākha (April-May), is the day of the appearance of the *Nṛsiṃha-avatāra*; a fast is observed; see *HBhV* 14.147.

254. There are times of day which are proper (*viddhā*), and times which are prohibited (*aviddhā*) for these various observations, and these must be carefully ascertained; otherwise fault (*doṣa*) ensues. *Tyāga*: lit., "renunciation," and in the Vaiṣṇava context is *vaināgya*, "being devoid of passion," includes the control of senses and all actions, so in this context translated as "fasting, etc." Proper times are also called *sampārṇa*. An example from *HBhV* 12.135: if the *Ekādaśī-tithi* (conjunction of planetary signs) comes five *daṇḍas* before the rising of the sun, or from dawn to the sunrise of the following day, the time is *sampārṇa*. Rādhāgovinda Nātha's commentary on these matters is very complete.

255. Proper ways for building temples and making images are given in *HBhV* 18 and 20.

and the signs of the appropriateness [for building] the temple of Viṣṇu and of the śrī-mūrti, 256 and of ordinary good action, and Vaiṣṇava action, and of the observances of the smārtas regarding what is to be done and what is not to be done. 257 This is the survey, briefly and in *śāstras*; when you write, Kṛṣṇa will cause them to expand."

258 Such was the grace of Prabhu to Sanātana, and in the hearing of it the exhaustion of the *bhakta* disappears. 259 Kṛṣṇapūra has made this known in his own book, and has recorded the mercy of Prabhu to Sanātana.

Śloka 93. Kavikarṇapūra's *Caitanyacandrodaya Nāṭaka* 9.45 [śloka 34]:

He who was the younger brother of Rūpa, and who was the jewel of the jewels of the court of the king of Gauḍa, abandoned his opulent wealth, and clung to the new wealth of asceticism. His heart was filled with the *rāsa* of the *bhakti* within him, and externally he acted like a pure one, distributing love to those who were his own, like a lotus-pond covered with *śaivala* [plants].

Śloka 94. Kavikarṇapūra's *Caitanyacandrodaya Nāṭaka* 9.46 [śloka 35]:

The infinitely merciful Campaka-gaura, when first he saw him with his eyes, came near him, and very tenderly embraced Sanātana with his arms long as clubs.

Śloka 95. Kavikarṇapūra's *Caitanyacandrodaya Nāṭaka* 9.48 [śloka 38]:

In time, the news of the play at Vṛndāvana had been forgotten, therefore in order especially to make it widespread, Deva anointed with the nectar of his grace Rūpa and Sanātana.

260 Thus has been related the grace of Prabhu to Sanātana, and by listening to it all exhaustion disappears. 261 All this is knowledge of the *svārūpas* of Kṛṣṇa,

256. *Smārtas*: this probably refers to those Vaiṣṇava ritual specialists found in groups such as the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas, or to the Vaiṣṇava *smṛti*, i.e., the *BhP*, as well as the usual books of social regulation, e.g. *Manu*.

Śloka 93. *Śaivala*: a kind of duckweed.

Śloka 94. [Campaka-gaura: "the golden (*gaura*) magnolia blossom (*campaka*)," i.e., Caitanya. The image invokes the wondrously large eyes and stubby club-like arms of Jagannātha, with whom Kavikarṇapūra identifies Caitanya. TKS]

Śloka 95. See 2.19.śl.11.

261. *Svārūpas*: *brahma*, *paramātmā*, and *Kṛṣṇa-svārūpa*. The explanation is found above in 2.20. *Sādhana-bhakti* is discussed above in 2.22.

and the precepts of *sādhana-bhakti* in the *vidhi* and the *rāga-mārgas*. 262 The Kṛṣṇa-*prema*, *bhakti-rāsa*, and *siddhanta-bhakti*—in listening to this the *bhakta* knows the end of all things. 263 The feet of Śrī Caitanya, Nityānanda, and Advaita—of whom these are the wealth of his heart, he gains that wealth.

264 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

Madhya Līlā Chapter 25

Sloka 1.

Prabhu, having purified Sanātana, made Vaiṣṇavas of the chief *saṁnyāsins* who were living in Kāśī, and returned to Nīlācala.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*.

2 In this way Mahāprabhu for two months taught him the ends of *bhakti-siddhānta*. 3 And the *kīrtanīya* Paramānanda, a companion of Śekhara, caused Prabhu to hear *kīrtana*; he was greatly devoted to it. 4 When the group of *saṁnyāsins* showed contempt for Prabhu, he was merciful to them, in order to break the sadness of the *bhaktas*. 5 Of his mercy to the *saṁnyāsins* I have written in detail previously; let me here briefly refer to it.

6 The *saṁnyāsins* in various ways vilified Prabhu, and when he heard this the Maharashtrian reflected in sorrow, 7 "The nature of Prabhu is that whoever sees him from nearby experiences his *svārūpa* and honors him as *Īśvara*. 8 If by some means I can gather them together in one place, seeing him the *saṁnyāsins* will become his *bhaktas*. 9 I have lived in Vārāṇasī all my life, and I shall be miserable for all my life if I cannot do it." 10 So reflecting, he offered an invitation to the *saṁnyāsins*, and then that *brāhmaṇa* came to the place of Prabhu. 11 At the same time Tapana and Śekhara, hearing the vilification, were greatly sorrowed, and came humbly to the feet of Prabhu. 12 Seeing the sorrow of his *bhaktas*, Prabhu reflected to himself; and he decided to cause the minds of the *saṁnyāsins* to change. 13 So at the same time the *brāhmaṇa* came and offered him an invitation, and with many expressions of humility he held his feet. 14 Then Mahāprabhu accepted his invitation, and on the following day

5. See 1.7.38-145.

at noon he went to his house. 15 And there he saved the *saṁnyāsins* by explaining to them the five truths; I have detailed all that. 16 The book expands; I shall not repeat what I have said before, but shall write that part which I have not described. 17 From the day when Prabhu was merciful to the *saṁnyāsins*, there was great tumult in the village. 18 Crowds of people came to see Prabhu, and *paṇḍitas* learned in many *śāstras* came to discuss those *śāstras*; 19 and having analysed all those *śāstras*, Prabhu determined their essence as being *bhakti*, and with effective words he changed the minds of all of them. 20 Receiving his instructions, they made Kṛṣṇa-*saṁkīrtana*, and all the people laughed and sang and danced. 21 The *saṁnyāsins* bowed to Prabhu; they left their studies and reflected within themselves.

22 There was a pupil of Prakāśānanda, who was equal to the latter, and he spoke in the assembly, honoring Prabhu, 23 "Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya is the incarnate Nārāyaṇa." And very beautifully he explained the meaning of the *Vyāsa-sūtras*. 24 He also explained the primary meanings of the *upaniṣads*, and when they heard it the hearts and ears of wise men were soothed. 25 [He said] that the Ācārya had left the primary meanings of the *upaniṣads* and of the *sūtras*, and had replaced them with imaginary ones. 26 He said that *paṇḍitas* who hear the imaginary meaning of the Ācārya say 'yes, yes' with their mouths, but they do not understand it in their hearts. 27 He said, "I accept the profound truth of the words of Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, for in the Kali age, *saṁsāra* is not conquered by *saṁnyāsa*. 28 He who expounds the 'Harerṇāma' *śloka*, gives happiness and truth—this is the highest proof. 29 The *Bhāgavata* says: 'Without *bhakti* there is no *mukti*'; in the Kali age by the use of the name, *mukti* comes about in happiness.

Sloka 2. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.14.4:

O all-pervading one, to those who, abandoning *bhakti* to you as the way

15. *Nistāra* kaila: saved.

23. *Vyāsa-sūtras*: the *Vedānta-sūtras*.

25. The Ācārya: Śaṅkarācārya.

28. *Samnyāsa* is not the proper way in the Kali age, but *saṁkīrtana* is the proper way; Caitanya (1.7) has expounded this *harerṇāma-śloka*, and in doing so has spread happiness and truth among people. The *śloka* can be found at 1.7.31.3 [see commentary]; 1.17.31.3; and 2.6.31.19.

29. In the Kali age, seemingly paradoxically, which is an age of degeneration and sin, salvation can be gained merely by the recital of the name; in previous ages it was much harder to gain. See P.V. Kane, *History of Dharma-śāstra*, 5 vols. in 7 (Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1930-62), 4:51.

Sloka 2. See 2.22.31.6; 2.24.31.46.

of realization, toil in the acquiring of wisdom, nothing else remains but anguish; they are like the threshers of solid chaff.

Sloka 3. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.2.32:

Lotus-eyed one, those who, devoid of *bhakti* towards you and therefore of impure mind, consider themselves as free, with great difficulty gain the high place, and having disrespect for your feet, they fall from there.

30 The word 'brahma' means *bhagavān*, full of his divine powers; establishing him as 'unqualified' destroys that 'fullness.' 31 The *śrūti* and *purāṇas* say that there is *cit-śakti-vilāsa* of Kṛṣṇa; but not honoring that, the *pañḍitas* smile. 32 They consider the *vigraha* of the *cid-ānanda* Kṛṣṇa as 'māyika'; this is a grave error. Such is the true word of Caitanya.

Sloka 4. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 3.9.3:

O highest one beyond anything! Your *svarūpa* is open, void of divisions, and pure *ānanda*, and I do not see divisions within it. O *atman*! I take refuge in this form, creator of the universe but separate from the universe, the soul of all elements and senses, the One.

Sloka 5. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.46.43:

Past, present, and future, moving and unmoving, great and small, heard and seen—those things that there are cannot be separate without Acyuta: that Acyuta, who consists of *paramātmā*, is everything.

Sloka 6. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 3.9.4:

O beneficent to the world! Worship of you is the source of our auspiciousness, and in meditation that form is certainly revealed by you; O *Bhagavān*, I make obeisance to you by serving you; by those who associate with false people and by the hell-bound, you are not worshiped.

Sloka 3. See 2.22.śl.10; 2.24.śl.40; 2.24.śl.47.

30. Śaṅkara's opinion was that *brahma* was unqualified (*nirviśeṣa*), without form and without power (*śakti*); if one accepts this, one cannot hold that *brahma* is "full of divine powers."

31. I.e., the Vaiṣṇava position is that *cit* is a *śakti* of Kṛṣṇa, and that therefore it can act and have effect; "pañḍitas" or "the *pañḍita*" (there is frequently no number distinction) refers either to scholars learned in the Vedānta, or to Śaṅkara himself; Rādhāgovinda Nātha feels the latter.

32. The *vigraha* of Kṛṣṇa is not made up of material elements, but of *cit* and *ānanda*; the *māyāvādins*, however, feel that the image is made of *māyā*.

Sloka 4. See 3.5.śl.6.

Sloka 6. See 3.5.śl.7.

Sloka 7. Bhagavad Gītā 9.11:

Not being able to know my highest nature as the great *Īśvara* of all elemental things, foolish people have refuge in my human body, and have no respect for me.

Sloka 8. Bhagavad Gītā 16.19:

I repeatedly cast up in demonic wombs in *saṁsāra* those wretched people who are either cruel or full of inauspiciousness.

33 They do not honor the theory of evolution, which is in the *sūtras*, but they establish a theory of *vivarta*, and say that Vyāsa was mistaken! 34 But this imagined meaning does not give satisfaction to the mind; abandoning the *śāstras*, those who imagine wrong [interpretations] are known as '*paśaṇḍa*.' 35 They discuss the highest meanings, only making controversy; where will they gain *mukti*, and where is the grace of Kṛṣṇa? 36 The Ācārya has hidden the meaning of the *Vyāsa-sūtras*; this is true, and is the word of Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya. 37 What Caitanya Gosvāmī says, that is the essential opinion, and all other opinions are worthless." 38 So saying, he made Kṛṣṇa-*saṁkīrtana*, and when he heard it Prakāśānanda began to speak.

39 "The intention of the Ācārya was the establishment of the *advaitavāda*, and for that purpose he explained the meaning of the *sūtras* in other ways. 40 If one honors [the principle of] godhead, the *advaitavāda* cannot be established; and thus he refuted all the *śāstras*. 41 The writer of a book wants to establish his own position, and because of that he does not derive the natural meaning of the *śāstras*. 42 The Mīmāṃsakas say that *Īśvara* is an aspect of *karma*, and

33. *Parīṇāmavāda*: "evolution," the theory that by the power of *cit-śakti*, *brahma* evolved in the form of the world, in the same relation to it as milk to curd, etc. *Vivartavāda*: attribution of qualities in a false manner, as seeing the rope as a snake, or attributing form, qualities, etc., to *brahma* on the basis of observations of material nature.

34. *Paśaṇḍa*: heretic, impious.

35. I.e., they discuss meaninglessly, for they leave aside the basic questions of the place of *bhakti* in *mukti*, and the place of the grace of Kṛṣṇa.

40. One of the definitions of "godhead" (*bhagavatta*) is possessing effective *śakti*; and if one admits that, one must concede form and qualities, and this undermines the whole argument of the monists.

42. Followers of the *pūrvamīmāṃsā* philosophy; the interpretation of their position here is that they do not believe in a creator, protector, or destroyer of the world, but feel that each *jīva* suffers or enjoys the fruits of his own *karma*, and therefore that the *karma-mārga* is the proper *sādhana*; *Īśvara* does not enter the picture, his place having been taken by the impersonal law of *karma*. The *sāṁkhya* philosophy holds that the cause of the world is the inert matter, energized by *puruṣa*, which is pure, subtle, infinite, etc., and here also *Īśvara* does not enter.

the Sāṃkhyas that connection with matter is the cause of the world. 43 The Nyāyas say that the universe is from atoms, and the Mayavādīs that the unqualified *brahma* is its source. 44 The Patañjalas say that knowledge is the *svatva* of *Īśvara*, and the followers of the Vedas that [the Vedas] are *svayaṃ bhagavān*. 45 Vyāsa turned to the six opinions of the six [systems], and with all those *sūtras* he described the *vedānta*. 46 In the opinion of the Vedāntins, *brahma* is determined as having form, and instead of being qualityless, he is possessed of qualities. 47 [He says that] *Īśvara* is the highest cause—and no one honors this; establishing their own positions, they go against the opinions of the others. 48 So in this the truth cannot be known from the six systems of philosophy, and great people who say that honor truth.

Sloka 9. Mahabharata [vana parvan] 3.13.117.

Philosophical argument is inconclusive, the *śrūti*s are various, nor are there *ṛṣi*s who do not hold various opinions; but the truth of *dharma* is hidden deep. Its path is that on which great people move.

49 The words of Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya are streams of nectar; that which he says is the essence of truth."

50 The Maharashtrian *brāhmaṇa*, having heard all these events, went in delight to tell Prabhu. 51 At that time Prabhu had bathed in the Pañcanadi, and he wanted to see the Bindumādhava Hari. 52 On the way the *brāhmaṇa* told him about all that had happened, and when he heard it Prabhu was delighted and began to smile. 53 When he saw the beauty of Mādhava he was overcome, and going into the courtyard he began to dance in *prema*. 54 Śekhara, Paramānanda, Tapana, and Sanātana—with these four people he made *nāma-saṅkīrtana*.

43. Nyāya says that there are four types of indivisible or subtle particles, earth, water, heat, and wind, and that creation arises from the joining of these. And the *mayavādīs* say that the visible world is an illusion, and that the unqualified *brahman*-principle is all pervading.

44. The followers of Patañjali say that they accept the twenty-five principles of the *sāṃkhya*, and consider the totality as *Īśvara*; *Īśvara* then is a principle which pervades creation, and knowledge of this principle is what leads to *mokṣa*. In the opinion of the followers of the Vedas, of course, those revelations are themselves the deity.

45. In some MSS this couplet, the preceding one and the one following do not appear.

46. I.e., Vyāsa does not really say that *brahma* has no qualities or form, but that his form and qualities are infinite and non-material, being *sat*, *cit*, and *ānanda*.

47. I.e., the opinions of all six are opposed to one another, and none of them are correct; Vyāsa, in establishing his system, took all six into consideration, and concluded that the truth is the infinitely qualified, infinitely formed deity.

Sloka 9. See 2.17.11.

Sloka 10. [the kīrtana of the bhaktas]:

Obeisance to Hari and to Kṛṣṇa Yādava, O Gopāla, Govinda, Rāma and Śrī Madhusūdana.

55 Lakhs of people all around shouted 'Hari, Hari!' The auspicious sound rose up, filling earth and heaven. 56 Being nearby, Prakāśānanda heard the sound, and in curiosity he came to see, bringing all his pupils. 57 When he saw the dance of Prabhu and the beauty of his body, with his pupils he shouted 'Hari Hari!' 58 Trembling, broken-voiced, sweating, growing pale, stupified, he wet the people with the streams of his tears, gooseflesh on his body, 59 he changed from delight to humility to restlessness. When they saw it the inhabitants of Kāśī were struck with astonishment. 60 Seeing the crowds of people, Prabhu regained outward consciousness, and when he saw the group of *saṃnyāsins* he checked his dance. 61 Prabhu bowed to the feet of Prakāśānanda, and Prakāśānanda came and held his feet. 62 Prabhu said, "You are the most worshipful *guru* of the world, and I am not the equal of a pupil of one of your pupils. 63 When you are superior, why do you bow to a wretched man? I am worthless, you are equal to *brahma*. 64 Even though to you all things are full of *brahma*, according to the teachings of men, you should not come and do this." 65 And he said, "All that offence which I committed, speaking ill of you before, all that is wiped away by the touch of your feet."

Sloka 11.

If there is an offence against Bhagavān, possessed of unimaginable great power, even *jīvan-muktas* come back again into *saṃsāra*.

Sloka 12. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.34.9:

All inauspiciousness destroyed by the touch of the feet of the holy Bhagavān, he left his snake's body and gained the form of a Vidyādhara.

Sloka 10. This was the kīrtana which they sang. It is traditional among Vaiṣṇavas, and the source of it is unclear.

58-59. For these physical symptoms and dissociative states see text and commentary to 1.7.86-93; 1.17.5; 2.8.135; 2.18.151-74; 2.23.31.

64. I.e., now you have been released from the bondage of *māyā*, and see *brahma* everywhere, in all things, even in me; still, it is not accepted by men that you should say such things, and do such things.

65. Prakāśānanda speaks.

Sloka 12. The context is that one night Nanda, the foster-father of Kṛṣṇa, was sleeping in a grove on the bank of the Sarasvatī, when a huge snake came and grabbed his feet. Nanda awoke

66 Prabhu said, "Viṣṇu, Viṣṇu, I am low and an insignificant *jīva*; to consider a *jīva* as Viṣṇu, this is a sign of an offence. 67 Put the consideration of a *jīva* as Viṣṇu far from you, for he who considers Rudra or Brahma as equal to Nārāyaṇa, he is counted as a heretic."

Śloka 13. Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin's *Haribhaktivilāsa* 1.73 [quoting *Padmottara Purāṇa* 23.12]:

He who considers Nārāyaṇa-deva the same as Brahmā, Rudra, and the other *devas*, he is certainly a heretic.

68 Prakāśānanda said, "You are the manifest Bhagavān; even if you consider yourself as his servant, 69 you are still worshipful, and greater than I. It is my total destruction that I vilified you."

Śloka 14. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 6.14.5:

O mahāmuni! Even among crores of *muktas* and *siddhas*, a man of peaceful soul, devoted to Nārāyaṇa, is hard to find.

Śloka 15. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.4.46:

A great offence destroys a man's good fortune, the things which he desires, the rewards of *dharma*, his good name, his beauty, and the length of his life.

Śloka 16. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 7.5.32:

This mind does not touch the foot of the great-striding one—the purpose of which is the disappearance of disaster—until it has chosen consecration by the dust of the feet of the great ones who are without possessions.

70 Now my *bhakti* is dependent upon your lotus feet; as its source, I bow to your feet."

with a shout, and all the cowherd boys came running and tried to kill the snake with sticks, but were not successful. Kṛṣṇa also came running, and when he touched it with his foot, this was the result.

66. "Viṣṇu, Viṣṇu": a mild oath taken when threatened or when one is uneasy with a particular word or action. *Aparādha*: offence.

Śloka 13. See 2.18.śl.9.

Śloka 14. See 2.19.śl.19.

Śloka 15. See 2.15.śl.8.

Śloka 16. See 2.22.śl.21.

71 So saying, he sat with Prabhu, and then Prakāśānanda began to ask him, 72 "You have explained many of the errors of *māyāvāda*, and I know all the imaginary explanations of the Ācārya. 73 If you were to describe the primary meanings of the *sūtras*, when they heard that the minds of all would be astonished. 74 You are Īśvara, and you have all powers. Tell me briefly, for I have a mind to hear." 75 Prabhu said, "Know that I am a *jīva*, most insignificant. The meanings of the *Vyāsa-sūtras* are profound, for Vyāsa was Bhagavān. 76 No *jīva* can know the meaning of his *sūtras*, and thus he has explained his own *sūtras* himself. 77 For if the maker of *sūtras* himself explains them, then people know their basic meaning. 78 The meaning which is in the *praṇava*, that is in the *gāyatrī*; and that meaning has been expanded in the four *ślokas*. 79 Those four *ślokas* Īśvara spoke to Brahmā, and Brahmā instructed Nārada in them. 80 Nārada told that meaning to Vyāsa, and when he heard it, Veda-vyāsa concluded, 81 "This meaning is in the form of an explanation on my *sūtras*; let me make the *Śrī Bhāgavata* as the true form of the commentary on the *sūtras*." 82 The four Vedas and the *upaniṣads*—as many as there are, Vyāsa expounded upon their meanings. 83 And in those *sūtras*, the Vedic matters that were discussed prompted the *ślokas* in the *Bhāgavata*. 84 Thus the *Śrī Bhāgavata* is the commentary on the *sūtras*; thus the *ślokas* of the *Bhāgavata* and of the *upaniṣads* have the same meaning.

Śloka 17. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 8.1.1:

Whatever things there are in the world, those are all pervaded with the *atmā*; so enjoy that which has been given by him, and be attracted to the wealth of no one else.

84a Thus he surveyed, and showed in one *śloka*, how the *ślokas* of the *Bhāgavata* and of the Veda are the same. 85 The *sambandha*, *abhidheya*, and *prajojana*

78. The *gāyatrī* expands on the meaning of the syllable *om* [ॐ] and the four *ślokas* (*catuṣśloka*) expand the meaning of the *gāyatrī*; the four *ślokas* were given by Brahmā to his son Nārada, Nārada instructed Vyāsa in them, and Vyāsa based the whole *BhP* on them (*ślokas* 20-23 below); in this way the *BhP* is held to be an expansion of the basic syllable, the root of all things.

81. Thus the *BhP* is also an expansion of the true meaning of the *Vedānta-sūtras*.

83. Those *sūtras*: Rādhāgovinda Nātha interprets as the *Vedānta-sūtras*. *Ṛk-viṣaya*: Vedic mantras.

84a. This couplet does not appear in various MSS but is included in Rādhāgovinda Nātha's edition; thus it is numbered 84a.

85. See 2.20.2; 2.20.109-30. [*Sambandha*, the matter of discourse (i.e., Kṛṣṇa) is explained in two chapters 2.20-21; and below 2.25.88-98, śl. 21. *Abhidheya*, the argument and means for achieving

of the *Bhāgavata* are manifest in the four *śloka*s, and he has given us the signs of them. 86 'I am the true nature of the *sambandha*, as is knowledge and experience of me. The *sādhana-bhakti* used to gain me is called *abhidheya*. 87 And the result of *sādhana*, which is *prema*, is the basic *prayojana*; and in that *prema* the *jīva* gains service of me.

Śloka 18. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 2.9.30:

Accept from me the supremely mysterious knowledge, accompanied by lower knowledge, complete with mystery and auxiliaries, which I have declared.

88 These three truths I explain to you; but you are a *jīva*, and you will not be able to understand the three. 89 Such is my *svārūpa*, and such is my place, and such are my six divine powers, latent in *guṇas* and *karma*. 90 By my grace these will all glow within you.' And so saying he told him the three *tattvas*.

Śloka 19. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 2.9.31:

By my grace, may you have knowledge of the truth of my deeds and qualities and form, and the experience of that and the magnitude of it.

91 'Before the creation, I was, full of six divine powers; phenomena, *prakṛti* and *puruṣa*, were latent in me. 92 Creating, I entered into them; and whatever phenomenon you see, that is I. 93 Remaining at the time of dissolution, I become full [again], and material nature and all phenomena enter into me again.

Śloka 20. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 2.9.32:

Knowledge such as of how much I am, what I am like, and of what form, virtue, and acts are mine, such knowledge of truth must be yours by my favor. I was in the beginning, there was nothing else, whether existent, non-existent, or beyond both; afterwards I am that which there is; I am the one who will remain.

the topic (i.e., *bhakti-sādhana*) is explained in 2.22; and below in 2.25.99-101, *śl.*22 and 106, *śl.*30-32. *Prayojana*, the resolution of discourse (i.e., *prema*) is explained in 2.23; and below in 2.25.102-104, *śl.*24-26 and 107, *śl.*33-34. TKS]

Śloka 18. See 1.1.śl.21.

Śloka 19. See 1.1.śl.22.

91. This begins the commentary on the first of the four *śloka*s, *śloka*s 20-23, below.

Śloka 20. See 1.1.śl.23; 2.24.śl.23.

94 In the *śloka*, 'ahameva' is repeated three times, and this specifies full divinity, the *śrī-vigraha*, and the eternal conditions of these. 95 He who does not honor the *śrī-vigraha*, and considers him as formless—he especially is reproached. 96 In all these words is *jñāna*, *vijñāna*, and *viveka*; 'I' is distinct from *māya* and the products of *māya*. 97 It is as light is seen where there is a reflection of the sun, but [the reflection] is not manifested independently of [the sun]; 98 so if one is beyond *māya*, there is experience of me; this is called the *sambandha-tattva*. Now hear more.

Śloka 21. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 2.9.33:

That which is understood apart from content, but which within itself is not understood—know that as my *māya*, how it is light and how darkness.

99 Now hear the definition of *abhidheya*, which is *sādhana-bhakti*, and which is spread out through all people and countries and times and conditions. 100 As *dharma* has these four definitions, so *sādhana-bhakti* is beyond these four definitions. 101 The duty of people of all countries, times, and conditions is the inquiring about and the hearing of that *bhakti* at the side of the *guru*.

Śloka 22. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 2.9.35:

That much is the object of the knowledge of him who wishes to know the nature of the self, what exists in any place, exists in any time, according to positive and negative considerations.

102 That which is love to me, that *prema* is the *prayojana*; let me tell the signs of its true nature by means of its functions. 103 As the five elements are inside and outside of elements, so I shine both within and outside of *bhaktas*.

94. Śloka 20 begins: *ahamevāsamēvāgre . . . ; ahameva*: "I (emphatic)."

96. *Jñāna*: knowledge of the truth of the *bhagavat*; *vijñāna*: the immediate experience or perception of the *svārūpa*; *viveka*: accurate knowledge, or interpretation of this experience or perception.

Śloka 21. See 1.1.śl.24.

100. I.e., it is defined by person, country, time, and condition. But *sādhana-bhakti* is constant whatever these external variables. Rādhāgovinda Nātha feels that *dharma* here means *jñāna*-, *yoga*-, and *karma-mārgas*.

Śloka 22. See 1.1.śl.26.

103. The five elements make up all material nature, and thus are contained in each unit within that nature; at the same time they pervade all things, and are thus external to each unit.

Śloka 23. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 2.9.34:

Just as the prime elements pervade the higher and lower creatures but are not themselves pervaded, so I am within those humble people who bow down to me.

104 The *bhakta* has bound me within his heart by *prema*; and whatever comes before his eyes, he sees me.

Śloka 24. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 11.2.55:

Even of the benumbed and subdued one, the manifest Hari destroys the sins, and he does not leave the heart of him who ties him by his lotus feet there with the rope of love—he is called the highest *bhāgavata*.

Śloka 25. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 11.2.45:

He who sees his own god in all things of the earth, and sees all things as in his own *bhagavān*, he is the greatest of all *bhāgavatas*.

Śloka 26. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.30.4:

They all, having come together, began as if mad to seek for him from forest to forest, singing in loud voices; they asked of all the trees for him who is like space, within and without all elements.

105 Thus in the *Bhāgavata* these three things are stated—*sambandha*, *abhidheya*, and *prayojana*.

Śloka 27. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 1.2.11:

The truth-knowing wise men call the ultimate truth that which is undivided knowledge. It is called by three names—*brahman*, *paramātmā*, and *bhagavān*.

Śloka 28. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 3.5.24:

Formerly, according to his own desire, this was one with *Bhagavān*; he was the *ātmā*, possessed of many glories, pervading the *ātmās* of *ātmās*.

Śloka 23. See 1.1.śl.25.

Śloka 25. See 2.8.śl.52; 2.22.śl.30.

Śloka 27. See 1.2.śl.4; 1.2.śl.12; 2.20.śl.21; 2.24.śl.22; 2.24.śl.25.

Śloka 29. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 1.3.28:

All these are but parts of fractions of parts of the *puruṣa*. But *Kṛṣṇa* is *svayaṁ bhagavān*. They incarnate themselves in every age to protect people persecuted by *Indra*'s enemies.

106 This then is *sambandha*. Now hear of *abhidheya*, or *bhakti*, which pervades each *śloka* of the *Bhāgavata*.

Śloka 30. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 11.14.21:

I, beloved of the souls of holy men, am obedient only to *bhakti* with faith; *bhakti* established toward me purifies even the natures of *śvapacas*.

Śloka 31. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 11.14.20:

O *Uddhava*, only that very powerful *bhakti* toward me is able to compel me; I am not [compelled by] *yoga*, *sāṁkhya*, *dharma*, Vedic study, *tapas*, or renunciation.

Śloka 32. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 11.2.37:

He who is separated from *Īśvara*, because of his *māyā*, forgets; because of that, he is in opposition, and because of that is born fear and clinging to things of the body and of the world. For this reason the wise man worships that *Īśvara* with undeviating *bhakti*, [considering] his *guru* as *devatā*.

107 Now hear of *prema*, which is the basic *prayojana*; and the signs of it are tears, thrilling, dancing, and song.

Śloka 33. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 11.3.31:

Then, remembering *Hari*, who is the destroyer of all sins, and causing friends to remember him, by producing *bhakti*, and having bodies thrilled by *bhakti*.

Śloka 29. See 1.2.śl.13; 1.5.śl.11; 2.9.śl.12; 2.20.śl.20.

Śloka 30. See 2.20.śl.14.

Śloka 31. See 1.17.śl.5; 2.20.śl.13; 3.4.śl.2.

Śloka 32. See 2.20.śl.11; 2.24.śl.44.

107. See commentary on vv. 58-59 above.

Śloka 34. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 11.2.40:

The man, thus aroused, his affection inspired by his own *nāma-saṁkīrtana*, with spinning thoughts, like a madman, transported beyond the world of men, sometimes laughs out loud, sometimes weeps, sometimes cries out, and sometimes sings and dances.

108 This is the interpretation of the *sūtras* of the *Bhāgavata*, which is the true form of his own commentary on the *sūtras* which he himself composed.

Ślokas 35-36. Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmī's Haribhaktivilāsa 10.283 [quoting Garuḍa Purāṇa]:

35 Which is the meaning of all the *Vedānta-sūtras*, the demonstration of the meaning of the *Bhārata*, having the name of a commentary on the *gāyatrī*, supported by the meaning of the Vedas, 36 like the *Sama Veda* among *purāṇas*, spoken by the *bhagavat* himself; it consists of twelve *skandhas*, one hundred chapters, and eighteen thousand [verses]—this book is called the *Śrīmad Bhāgavata*.

Śloka 37. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 1.3.42:

[It has] arisen as the essence, the essence of all the Vedas and *itihāsas*.

Śloka 38. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 12.13.15:

The *Śrī Bhāgavata* indeed is considered the essence of all the *vedāntas*. In thirst for its nectar and sweetness, there is never any longing for others.

109 The beginning of this book is in the meaning of the *gāyatrī*. 'Satyaparam' is the *sambandha*; 'dhīmahī' is the *proyojana* or *sādhana*.

Śloka 34. See 1.7.śl.4; 2.9.śl.20; 2.23.śl.20; 3.3.śl.9.

108. The reference is to Vyāsa.

Śloka 36. The BhP actually has one hundred and thirty-five chapters in its current form.

Śloka 37. Itihāsa: "so indeed it was"; history, legend, tradition, etc., as opposed to the revealed truth of the Vedas.

109. The meaning of the first *śloka* of the *BhP* is the meaning of the *gāyatrī*. The *gāyatrī* is: *om bhūbhuvahḥ svaḥ tatsaviturvarenyam bhargo devasya dhīmahi dhiyo yo nahḥ pracodayāt*: I meditate on the majesty of him, who pervades (or originates) our consciousness, that great god who is the father of all the phenomenal worlds of earth and sky and heaven. The first *śloka* of the *BhP* appears as *śloka 39* below; *satyaparam dhīmahi* appears in that *śloka*: let me meditate on the absolute (or highest) truth; this is *sādhana*, the way of attainment.

Śloka 39. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 1.1.1:

Let us meditate upon the highest truth, from which the birth, etc., of this world derive, who has come from the other side, who is cognizant and of self-perfected knowledge, who spans the *brahman* with his heart, about whom the original poets and sages are confused, in whom fire, water, and earth are mixed, in whom the three creations serve no purpose, by whom all deception is discarded with its own splendor.

Śloka 40. Bhāgavata Purāṇa, 1.1.2:

In the *Śrīmad Bhāgavatam*, composed by the hermit, there is found the supreme *dharma*, free from any falsity, of good people who are devoid of jealousy; the very object to be known is its substance, auspicious and destroying the three kinds of grief; what use are other books? The Lord is instantly and at once caught in their hearts by students who have done their tasks.

110 The *Śrī Bhāgavata* is the true form of the *rasa* of *Kṛṣṇa-bhakti*; in it there is more greatness than in the *Veda-śāstras*.

Śloka 41. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 1.1.3:

O *rasikas* and *bhāvukas*! From the mouth of Śuka fallen to the earth and filled with nectar, the sweet fruit of the wishing tree of the *nigama* is the *Bhāgavata*; drink it again and again.

Śloka 42. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 1.1.19:

But we do not gain satisfaction [of hearing enough] of [his] greatness in the ultimate *ślokas*; those who hear know *rasa*, taste after taste in each *śloka*.

111 Thus, examine the *Bhāgavata*, and from it you will gain the essential meaning of the *sūtra-śruti*. 112 And constantly sing the praises and the name of *Kṛṣṇa*, and easily you will gain *mukti*, and you will gain the wealth of the *prema* of *Kṛṣṇa*.

Śloka 39. See 2.8.śl.51; 2.20.śl.59.

Śloka 40. See 1.1.śl.37; 2.24.śl.31.

Śloka 41. Nigama here is evidently the Vedas, or perhaps even the *pranava* (*om*) itself. *Bhāvuka*: Rādhagovinda Nātha glosses the term as "people who have a particular sensitivity to the subtleties of *rasa*."

Sloka 43. Bhagavad Gītā 18.54:

Having become *brahman*, serene of spirit, he does not grieve, he does not crave: equable to all creatures, he achieves the ultimate *bhakti* of me.

Sloka 44. Śrīdhara Svāmī's Bhāvārthadīpikā commentary on Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.87.21:

Even *muktas*, taking a *vīgraha* by *līla*, worship Bhagavān.

Sloka 45. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 2.1.9:

O *rājaraṣi*! Even firmly established in qualitylessness, the mind is attracted to the *līlas* of the most praiseworthy one, and I have learned the stories of them.

Sloka 46. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 3.15.43:

The wind, bearing the perfume of the *tulasī*, mingles with the perfume of the lotus-feet of that lotus-eyed one, enters the orifices, and agitates the minds and bodies of those who are *akṣarajūṣas*.

Sloka 47. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 1.7.10:

Even though they are not possessed of the books, those sages who delight in the self offer selfless *bhakti* to the great-striding [Viṣṇu]; of such qualities is Hari.

113 At the same time, that Maharashtra *brahmaṇa* told the assembly of the analysis [which Prabhu had made] of this *śloka*— 114 that Prabhu had given sixty-one meanings of it; and hearing what he had done, the people were astonished. 115 Then all the people were eager to hear it, and Prabhu again specified the sixty-one meanings. 116 When they heard it the people were greatly amazed, and they decided that Caitanya Gosvāmī was Kṛṣṇa.

117 When he had spoken, Gaurahari got up to leave, and the people made obeisance to him and raised the sound of 'Hari.' 118 Then all the people who lived in Kāśī made *nāma-saṅkīrtana*, and in *prema* they laughed and wept and sang and danced. 119 The *saṁnyāsins* and *paṇḍitas* discussed the *Bhāgavata*, and thus Prabhu saved the country of Varāṇasī. 120 Prabhu went home, with

Sloka 43. See 2.8.śl.8; 2.24.śl.41.

Sloka 44. Also Nṛsiṃhatāpanī 2.5.16, Śaṅkara's Bhāṣya. See 2.24.śl.33; 2.24.śl.49.

Sloka 45. See 2.24.śl.11.

Sloka 46. See 2.17.śl.9; 2.24.śl.10; 2.24.śl.34.

Sloka 47. See 2.6.śl.15; 2.17.śl.8; 2.24.śl.2; 2.24.śl.73.

his own people, and Varāṇasī became a second Nadiyā city. 121 With his own people, Prabhu said smiling, "I came to Kāśī to sell my store of love; 122 there was no one in Kāśī who would take it, so the goods could not be sold. But I could not carry it home again. 123 All of you were sad that I should bear the burden; and so, because you wished it, I have given it away free." 124 They all said, "Your *avatāra* is to save people, and you have saved them, east, south, and west. 125 There was one in Varāṇasī who was hostile to you; you have saved him and given us all pleasure." 126 When the uproar took place in the town of Varāṇasī, the people of the villages in the country heard of it and began to come. 127 Lakhs and crores of people came—there was no numbering them; but the place was so narrow that they could not have *darśana* of Prabhu. 128 When Prabhu went to bathe and have *darśana* of Viśveśvara, people crowded in on both sides to have a sight of him. 129 Raising his arms, Prabhu said, "Say Kṛṣṇa Hari!" and falling to the ground in obeisance, the people raised the Hari-sound.

130 In this way he saved people for five days, and on the following day, being anxious, he left. 131 He rose up in the night and went away, and five *bhaktas* followed after him later: 132 Tapana Miśra, Raghunātha, the Maharashtra *brahmaṇa*, Candrasekhara, and the *kīrtanīyā* Paramānanda. 133 All wanted to go to Nīlacala with Prabhu; but Prabhu bade them farewell, lovingly and with care, 134 "Those who so desire, come to see me afterwards; but now I shall go alone along the Jhārikhaṇḍa path." 135 He said to Sanātana, "You go to Vṛndāvana, your two brothers have gone there. 136 If my *bhaktas*, poor, with torn clothing and waterpots, come to Vṛndāvana, take care of them." 137 So saying, Prabhu went to embrace them all and left, and all fell down there fainting. 138 After a time they rose up and went sadly to their houses, and Sanātana Gosvāmī went to Vṛndāvana.

139 By now, Rūpa Gosvāmī had come to Mathurā, and Subuddhi Rāya met him at the Dhruva-ghat. 140 Subuddhi Rāya had been a ruler in Gauda, formerly, and Husain Khān Saiyad was his servant. 141 He gave him a commission to excavate a tank; he made a mistake, and Rāya hit him with a whip.

127. The place was the house of Candrasekhara.

140. Gauda-*adhikartā*: ruler, which presumably means a tributary *rājā* under the Muslim empire. Husain Shah (r. 1493-1518), at the time of Caitanya the ruler of all Bengal, was presumably formerly under Subuddhi Rāy. Abdul Karim (*Social History of the Muslims in Bengal*, 147) considers this a tradition only, and cites this passage and the *Gazetteer* for Murshidabad, p. 20. Husain was of noble Arabian lineage; "it is however certain," says Stewart, "that, on his first arrival in Bengal, he was for some time in a very humble situation." (*History of Bengal*, 110).

142 Afterwards, when Husain Khān himself became king of Gauḍa, he paid much respect to Subuddhi Rāya. 143 His wife, seeing the marks of the whipping on his body, told the king to whip Subuddhi Rāya. 144 But the king said, "Rāya was my protector, and was like a father. It is not proper that I should strike him." 145 His wife said, "If you will not take his life, take his caste." And the king replied, "If I take his caste, he will not live." 146 But his wife wanted to kill him, and the king fell into difficulty; so he caused water from his own water-pot to be put into his mouth. 147 Then Subuddhi Rāya was disgraced, and he left everything and came to Vārāṇasī. 148 He asked for penance from the *paṇḍitas* there, and some said, "Drink hot *ghi* and kill yourself." 149 And others said, "This is nothing; it is a little *doṣa*." And when he heard that, Rāya remained in doubt. 150 Then when Mahāprabhu came to Vārāṇasī, Rāya met him, and himself told him the story. 151 Prabhu said, "Go from here to Vṛndāvana, and constantly have *saṁkīrtana* of the name of Kṛṣṇa. 152 One taking of the name and all your sins and faults will go; and from another name you will gain the feet of Kṛṣṇa." 153 Receiving this command, Rāya went to Vṛndāvana by way of Prayāga, Ayodhyā, and Naimiṣāranya. 154 He remained for several days at Naimiṣāranya; at that time Prabhu had visited Vṛndāvana and had come to Prayāga. 155 Arriving at Mathurā, Rāya got news of Prabhu, and he was most unhappy that he had not met him. 156 Rāya brought dry wood to sell in Mathurā, and for each load he got five or six *paisas*. 157 He sustained himself, eating one *paisa*'s worth of *cānā*, and the other *paisas* he kept at the place of a merchant. 158 When he saw poor Vaiṣṇavas he fed them; and if Gauḍiyās came

142. The following paraphrases *The Cambridge History of India* 3:270-72. Ala-ud-din Husain was a Sayyid, "respectable alike by reason of his lineage, his ability, and his personal character." He was minister to the African ruler, Muzaffar, whom he served "as long as it was possible to do so." The people and the army, wearied of Muzaffar's tyranny, revolted. The troops placed Husain at their head and besieged the king for four months in Gauḍa, at the end of which time he was killed leading a sortie from the city. Husain "proved to be worthy of the confidence reposed in him," for his first act as king was to stop the troops from looting Gauḍa. "The nobles . . . elected Sayyid Husain king in 1493." Husain was, with the exception of Ilyas, the greatest of the Muslim kings of Bengal; he instituted several reforms, including expulsion of the African soldiery, and restored the kingdom of Bengal to its former dimensions: to Orissa in the south and Assam in the east. He died a natural death in 1518.

145. *Jati laha*: take his caste.

146. The water may have been pure enough; that it was a Muslim's pot (*karoya*), and the water presumably poured into his mouth by a Muslim would have been enough to destroy Subuddhi's caste.

152. *Papa*: sin, evil action; *doṣa*: fault.

157. *Cānā*: a type of grain, often mixed with a little water to form a paste.

he would give them milk and rice and oil for rubbing their bodies. 159 When Rūpa Gosvāmin came, he loved him very much, and he took him as his own companion to the twelve forests [of Vraja]. 160 Rūpa Gosvāmin remained in Vṛndāvana only for a month, and quickly went to search for Sanātana. 161 Prabhu went to Prayāga on the path along the Gaṅgā bank; and when they heard this, the two brothers went along that path.

162 By now, Sanātana Gosvāmin had come to Prayāga, and was coming to Mathurā along the Sarāna Rajapatha. 163 At Mathurā, Subuddhi Rāya met him, and told him all the news of Rūpa and Anupama. 164 The two brothers were on the Gaṅgā road, while Sanātana was on the Rajapatha, and thus they did not meet. 165 Subuddhi Rāya was most affectionate toward Sanātana; but Sanātana did not pay much attention to his affectionate care. 166 Greatly distracted, Sanātana wandered from forest to forest, and he remained a day and a night under each tree and in each bower. 167 He collected *Mathurā-mahātmya śāstras*, and wandering in the forest he uncovered pilgrimage places which had been forgotten. 168 Sanātana remained in this way in Vṛndāvana, and Rūpa Gosvāmin and his brother came to Kāśī. 169 The Maharashtrian *brāhmaṇa*, and Śekhara, and Tapanā Mīśra—Rūpa met these three. 170 He lived in the house of Śekhara, and he ate at the house of Mīśra; and he heard from the mouth of Mīśra how Prabhu had taught Sanātana. 171 He heard of the activities of Prabhu at Kāśī from the mouths of the three of them, and was greatly pleased when he heard of his grace to the *saṁnyāsins*. 172 Seeing the love of the people toward Mahāprabhu, and when he heard *kīrtana* in the people's mouths, he was delighted. 173 So Rūpa remained there for ten days and set off for Gauḍa, and these were the activities of Rūpa and Sanātana.

174 Now while Mahāprabhu was going to Nīlādri, he was greatly happy, going alone on the forest path. 175 He was going along in happiness, with Balabhadra as his companion, and as before, he played in many ways with the deer and other creatures. 176 When he came to Āṭharanālā, he sent the *brāhmaṇa*

162. Sarāna Rajapatha: king's highway, main road between Allahabad and Mathurā.

167. *Mathurā-mahātmya*: these seem not to have been specific *śāstras*, but all *śāstras* which celebrated the greatness of Mathurā, a genre which has become quite popular among the Vaiṣṇavas who visit or live in Vraja. Rūpa Gosvāmin, Raghunātha Dāsa Gosvāmin, Kavikarṇapūra, Prabodhananda Sarasvatī, Narahari Cakravartī, Viśvanātha Cakravartī, are credited with writing such texts.

174. "Alone" presumably means without great crowds of people, for the very next couplet tells us that Balabhadra was with him.

176. [Rādhāgovinda Nātha reads the compound "*bhaṭṭācārya-brāhmaṇa*" as a *tatpuruṣa*, suggesting "the *brāhmaṇa* who belonged to (Balabhadra) Bhaṭṭācārya," i.e., his cook, who would have

Bhāṭṭācārya to inform his *bhaktas*. 177 Hearing the news, it was as if his *bhaktas* lived again, it was as if breath came back into their bodies, and their senses became aware. 178 In joy and delight the *bhaktas* came running, and coming to Narendra, they met Prabhu there. 179 Prabhu bowed to the feet of Bhārati and Puri, and both embraced Mahāprabhu in *prema*. 180 Svarūpa Damodara and Gadādhara Paṇḍita, Jagadananda, Kāśīśvara, Govinda, Vakreśvara, 181 Kāśī Miśra, Pradyumna Miśra, and Damodara Paṇḍita, Haridāsa Ṭhakura and Śaṅkara Paṇḍita, 182 and many other *bhaktas* fell at the feet of Prabhu. And he, overcome with *prema*, embraced them all. 183 All the *bhaktas* floated on a sea of *ānanda*, and taking them all, Prabhu went to have *darśana* of Jagannātha. 184 When he saw Jagannātha, Prabhu was overcome with *prema*; and with his *bhaktas* he danced and sang for a long time. 185 The servants of Jagannātha brought him garlands and *prasāda*, and the temple servant Tulasī came and bowed to his feet. 186 'Mahāprabhu has come'—the cry went around the town, and Śārvabhauma and Rāmananda and Vāṇīnātha came to meet him. 187 With all of them Prabhu went to the house of Miśra, and Śārvabhauma and Paṇḍita Gosvāmī offered him invitations. 188 Prabhu said, "Bring *mahāprasāda* to this place; today I shall feast here with you all." 189 Then both brought Jagannātha-*prasāda*, and Mahāprabhu ate with them all.

190 And thus has been told how Prabhu, having visited Vṛndāvana, returned again to Nīlādri. 191 He who hears this with faith, in a short time gains the feet of Caitanya. 192 This has been a survey of the *madhya līlā*; and his going and coming took six years. 193 The last eighteen years he lived at Nīlācala, and with his *bhaktas* he had *kīrtana-vilāsa*.

194 Let me now summarize in order the *madhya līlā*, for in the summary one can taste the story [again]. 195 In the first chapter were the *sūtras* of the final *līlā*, and within that there were extensive descriptions of some parts of it. 196 In the second chapter was a description of the ravings of Prabhu, and within that a survey of the various *bhāvas*. 197 In the third chapter was the story of the *saṁnyāsa* of Prabhu, and how he had *vilāsa* at the house of the *ācārya*.

accompanied Caitanya and Balabhadra on their journeys. Kṛṣṇadāsa, however, has made no mention of this man before, nor has any other biographical text, and it was precisely to serve Caitanya as a cook that Balabhadra was chosen in the first place. The compound can be broken apart easily as two appositional nouns—manuscript orthography connects almost all words—or it can be read as a *karmadhāraya* compound with the same meaning, i.e., the *brāhmaṇa* Bhāṭṭācārya. TKS]

179. Brahmananda Bhārati, student of Keśava Bhārati, and Paramānanda Puri, student of Īśvara Puri.

198 In the fourth was a taste of the activities of Mādhava Puri, and a description of stealing of the *kṣīra* and the establishment of Gopāla. 199 In the fifth was a description of the actions of Sakṣigopāla, which Nityānanda told and which Prabhu enjoyed. 200 In the sixth was the saving of Śārvabhauma, and in the seventh the journey to pilgrimage places and the release of Vāsudeva. 201 In the eighth was a detailed description of the conversation with Rāmananda, and how [Prabhu] himself heard the essence of all the true conclusions. 202 The ninth spoke of the journey to pilgrimage places in the south, and the tenth of the meeting with all the Vaiṣṇavas. 203 The eleventh described the *saṁkīrtana* around the Śrī-mandira, and the twelfth the cleansing of the Guṇḍicā temple. 204 In the thirteenth was the dancing of Prabhu before the car, and in the fourteenth the *darśana* of the Horapañcamī-yātrā. 205 In it also was the story of the *bhāvas* of the Vraja-devīs, which Svarūpa told, and which Prabhu enjoyed. 206 In the fifteenth the qualities of *bhaktas* were described by the holy mouth, and also the eating at the house of Śārvabhauma and the saving of Amogha. 207 In the sixteenth was the journey to Vṛndāvana by way of Gauḍadeśa, and again to Nīlācala from Nāṭaśālā. 208 In the seventeenth was the description of his sports on the way to Vṛndāvana. 209 In the nineteenth was the trip from Mathurā to Prayāga, and there also was the inspiring of Śrī Rūpa with *śakti*. 210 In the twentieth chapter was the meeting with Sanātana, and in it was a description of the *svarūpa* of Bhagavān. 211 In the twenty-first was a description of the sweetness and the divinity of Kṛṣṇa, and in the twenty-second various descriptions of *sādhana-bhakti*. 212 In the twenty-third *prema-bhakti-rasa* was described, and in the twenty-fourth the *atmārāma śloka* was explained. 213 In the twenty-fifth were the activities of the Vaiṣṇavas dwelling at Kāśī, and the return again from Kāśī to Nīlācala. 214 Thus the summary of the twenty-five chapters, and in listening to it one can taste the meaning of the book. 215 Thus has been described in brief the essence of the *madhya līlā*; it could not be completely described in a crore of books.

216 Prabhu wandered from country to country to save *jīvas*. He himself having tasted *bhakti*, he made it manifest: 217 the Kṛṣṇa-tattva, *bhakti-tattva*, *prema-tattva*, the essence of these, and of the *bhāva-tattva*, *rasa-tattva*, and *līla-tattva*; 218 and he propagated *tattva-rasa* of the *Bhāgavata*; he caused the world to know that the *Bhāgavata* is like Kṛṣṇa [himself]. 219 Sometimes he expounded with his own mouth, for the sake of his *bhaktas*, and sometimes he listened to the words from the mouths of his *bhaktas*. 220 More gracious or liberal than Caitanya, or more loving to his *bhaktas*, there is none in the three worlds. 221 Listen, O *bhaktas*, with faith to that *līlā*, and by its grace you will

gain the feet of Caitanya. 222 By its grace you will gain the essence of the *Kṛṣṇa-tattva*, and you will gain the other shore of the ultimate meaning of all the *śāstras*.

- 223 The essence of the nectar of the *Kṛṣṇa-līlā*,
hundreds of streams of it,
flowing in the ten directions,
that is the *līlā* of Caitanya,
the eternal lotus-pond,
and the swan of the mind moves on it.
- 224 O *bhaktas*! hear my humble words.
Let the dust of your feet
be the ornament of my body,
I entreat you. [refrain]
- 225 The ultimate ends of *bhakti* to *Kṛṣṇa*,
on which bloom forests of lotuses:
taste the nectar of it.
In the forest of white lilies of *prema-rasa*,
blooming night and day:
loose the bees of your minds within it.
- 226 *Bhaktas* in many *bhāvas*,
cakravākas and swans,
all play upon it.
The lovely lotus-stalk of *Kṛṣṇa-play*,
which can be gotten all the time,
is eaten by the *bhakta*-swans.
- 227 Moving on that lotus-pond,
becoming swans and *cakravākas*,
[you should] always sport there.
It will dispel all sadness,
and you will gain great joy,
and easily will the delights of *prema* come.

- 228 This nectar constantly,
the clouds—*mahantas* and *sadhus*—
rain on the garden of the world.
And in it bloom the fruits of *prema*,
and *bhaktas* eat of them,
and after them the people of the world, to live.
- 229 Full of the nectar of the Caitanya-*līlā*,
and the lovely camphor of *Kṛṣṇa-līlā*,
both mixed together are very sweet.
By the grace of *guru* and of holy men,
who tastes this
knows the true depth of sweetness.
- 230 Except for the nectar of that *līlā*,
if anything is drunk,
the life of the *bhakta* will be weakened.
If a drop of it is drunk,
body and mind are fruitful,
and he laughs and sings and dances.
- 231 So drink this nectar,
there is nothing else like it,
with profound faith in your mind.
Do not fall into the pit of foolish logic,
that foul and harsh whirlpool;
in falling into it, all is destroyed.
- 232 Śrī Caitanya and Nityānanda,
Advaita and the other *bhaktas*,
and all *bhaktas* who hear—
the holy feet of all of you
let me take as ornaments upon my head,
in which all my desires will be fulfilled.
- 233 Śrī Rūpa and Sanātana
and the feet of Raghunātha and Jīva
I take on my head. My hope is in them.
Filled with the nectar of the *Kṛṣṇa-līlā*,
the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,'
the lowly *Kṛṣṇadāsa* sings a little.

Śloka 48.

May this book, the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*, offered to Caitanya, be a source of satisfaction to Śrī Madanagopāla and to Śrī Govindadeva.

Śloka 49.

That this nectar of the *līla* of Gaura is very obscure, and is not appreciated by low and vile people or obtainable by them, what is the harm for me in that? It spreads joy throughout—and it is tasted by those of pure hearts and minds.

END OF MADHYA-LĪLĀ

Antya Līlā

Śloka 48.

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Śloka 48. See *upasamhāra*, *śloka 2.*

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END OF MADHYA-LĪLĀ

Antya Līlā

Antya Līlā
Chapter 1

Sloka 1.

Whose grace makes lame men able to cross mountains and dumb men recite the *śruti*—to that *Īśvara*, Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, I bow down.

Sloka 2.

May those holy men be my support in my blindness, by giving me the staff of their own grace, for the way is difficult and again and again my feet stumble.

1 Śrī Rūpa, Sanātana, Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa, Śrī Jīva, Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, and Raghunātha Dāsa—2 I bow at the feet of these six *gurus*, by whom all obstacles are destroyed and desires fulfilled.

Sloka 3.

Though I am slow-witted and crippled, let those who are my refuge, whose lotus-feet are possessions to me, let them, Rādhā and Madanamohana, in their love-play, be glorified.

Sloka 4.

I meditate upon Rādhā and Govindadeva, as they sit on a throne in the beautiful jeweled chamber, beneath the wishing-tree in the forest of the heavenly Vṛndāvana, served by most beloved female friends.

Sloka 3. See 1.1.śl.15; 2.1.śl.3. This and the next two *ślokas* comprise the formal *maṅgalācāraṇa* for all three *līlās* of the text.

Sloka 4. See 1.1.śl.16; 2.1.śl.4.

Sloka 5.

May that blessed Gopīnātha, the sound of whose flute attracted the *gopīs* to him, as he sat at the foot of the banyan tree, beginning the *rāsa-rasa*, be the source of blessings unto us.

3 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and to the hosts of Gaura-bhaktas. 4 Thus I have described the *madhya-līlā* in brief; now hear, O bhaktas, a short description of the *antya-līlā*. 5 In the middle of the *madhya-līlā* were the *sūtras* of the *antya-līlā*; I described it briefly in the previous book. 6 I am very old, and I know that death is near, and so I have given a description of certain parts of the *antya-līlā*. 7 [Now I shall write] according to the *sūtras* which were previously written; what I have not written, that I shall write in detail.

8 From Vṛndāvana, Prabhu came to Nīlācala, and Rūpa Gosvāmin sent the news of this to Gauḍa. 9 When she heard it, Śacī was delighted, as were all the bhaktas, and all together travelled to Nīlācala. 10 There were many bhaktas who lived in Kulīnagrāma, and many from Khaṇḍa, and they all met with Ācārya and with Śivānanda and came. 11 Śivānanda took care of all the ghat [tolls], and he protected everybody and provided them with places to stay. 12 And there was a dog which went with Śivānanda, and he gave it food, and took it with him and protected it. 13 One day they came to a river crossing, and the Oḍiā boatman did not allow the dog on his boat. 14 So the dog remained behind, and Śivānanda was very distressed. So he gave ten *paṇas* of cowries and got the dog across. 15 On another day, Śivānanda stopped at a ghat-keeper's, and his servant forgot to give food to the dog. 16 Śivānanda came in the evening, at meal time, and he asked the servant, "Has the dog had food?" 17 And when he heard that the dog had not been fed, he was upset, and he sent ten men to look for the dog. 18 They looked but could not find the dog, so

Sloka 5. See 1.1.31, 17; 2.1.31, 5.

6. Kṛṣṇadāsa was unsure whether or not he would be able to live to write the *antya-līlā*, so he included parts of it in *précis* form in *madhya*.

11. On the way from Bengal to Orissa, it was evidently necessary to pass through the lands of various *rājās*, all of whom collected tolls from travellers. Ghat does not necessarily mean a landing place on a river; it can also mean toll stations on the open road; see *Mahārāṣṭra purāṇa*, p. 68. Some MSS add a couplet to the effect that Śivānanda knew the roads of Orissa, implying that the other bhaktas did not, and this is why he took upon himself to make all these arrangements.

12. The chronology of this incident is unclear, for Kṛṣṇadāsa has mentioned it in 2.1.129-31 as taking place within the first few years of Caitanya's stay in Puri, yet it is reported to have occurred after meeting Rūpa in Prayāga.

the ten returned, and Śivānanda fasted, in his distress. 19 In the morning he got up and looked for the dog, but could not find it anywhere, and all the Vaiṣṇavas were astounded. 20 And so everyone, anxious and distressed, moved on to Nīlācala, and as before they all met Mahāprabhu. 21 With all of them he had *darśana* of Jagannātha, and with all of them Mahāprabhu took food. 22 And as before, Mahāprabhu sent them all to their own houses, and the next morning they came to him. 23 And when they came they all saw that the dog was there, sitting just a little distance from Prabhu. 24 He was throwing it kernels of coconut from the *prasāda*, was laughing and saying "Say Kṛṣṇa Rāma Hari." 25 The dog was eating the kernels and saying "Kṛṣṇa" again and again, and when they saw this the people were amazed. 26 Śivānanda, when he saw the dog, bowed down and humbly begged forgiveness for his offence. 27 The next day no one caught sight of the dog, for it had gained a perfected body and had gone to Vaikuṇṭha. 28 Such was the divine *līlā* of the son of Śacī, for he caused a dog to say the name of Kṛṣṇa, and freed it.

29 Now according to the command of Prabhu, Rūpa came to Vṛndāvana, and he had in mind to write a drama of the Kṛṣṇa-līlā. 30 He began the drama at Vṛndāvana, and there he wrote the *maṅgalācaraṇa* and the *nāndī-śloka*s. 31 While he was on the path he was reflecting on the composition of the drama, and he made some notes and began to write a little. 32 In this way the two brothers came to the Gauḍa country, and when they had reached Gauḍa, Anupama died. 33 Rūpa Gosvāmin made his way to Prabhu, for to see Prabhu his mind was agitated. 34 Because of Anupama he had been delayed a little; he had come after the bhaktas, but he could not catch up with them. 35 There is in Oḍiā country a village by the name of Satyabhāmāpura, and he rested for one night in that village. 36 In the night he saw a dream—a woman of divine beauty. Coming before him she said to him very tenderly, 37 "Compose a separate drama of me; by my grace the drama will be masterful." 38 When he

24. *Sasya*: kernel, usually used with reference to corn or other grain, and perhaps here meaning the edible meat of the coconut.

29. *Nāṭaka*: drama.

30. *Maṅgalācaraṇa*: introductory *śloka*s to the *iṣṭa-devatā* of the writer, for the purpose of the destruction of obstacles and prayers for the fulfillment of the work. *Nāndī-śloka*s are almost the same thing, asking for blessings, making obeisances, etc.

31. *Kāḍācā*: notes.

32. Anupama or Vallabha had died (*gaṅgāprapti haila*) on the banks of the Gaṅgā in Bengal as they were on the way to Puri.

35. Satyabhāmā was one of Kṛṣṇa's three most beloved and faithful wives in the *Dvārakā-līlā*; she was the goddess of this village, and the woman who appears to Rūpa in his dream.

had seen the dream, Rūpa reflected on it, "It is the command of Satyabhāma that a separate drama be composed. 39 I have collected together the *līlās* of Vraja and Pura; now let me compose the work in two parts." 40 And reflecting in this way he quickly came to Nīlācala, and when he had arrived he went to the house of Haridāsa. 41 Haridāsa Ṭhakura was very gracious to him, "Prabhu told me that you would come." 42 When he had seen the *upala-bhoga*, Prabhu would come every day to see Haridāsa, and he came very shortly. 43 Haridāsa said, "Rūpa makes obeisance," and Prabhu embraced Rūpa, together with Haridāsa. 44 So taking Haridāsa, the three sat together, and for some time they asked questions about one another's well being, in friendly conversation. 45 When Gosvāmī asked news of Sanātana, Rūpa replied, "I have not been able to meet him. 46 I was coming along the Gaṅgā road, and he the Rājapatha, and thus we did not meet. 47 I heard at Prayāga that he had gone to Vṛndāvana." And he made known the news of Anupama's death. 48 Gosvāmī, having had a house given to him, left, and the *bhaktas* of Gosvāmī, his companions, came to meet Rūpa.

49 The next day Mahāprabhu with all the *bhaktas*, graciously had Rūpa introduced in the assembly. 50 Rūpa bowed to the feet of them all, and graciously they all embraced him. 51 To Advaita and Nityānanda Prabhu, Prabhu said, "Be gracious in mind and in body to Rūpa. 52 By the grace of you both his power is such that he can describe the *bhakti-rasa* of Kṛṣṇa." 53 All the *bhaktas* of Prabhu, Gauḍiṣya and Oḍiṣya, all were vessels of affection for Rūpa. 54 Every day Prabhu would come and meet him, and the *prasāda* which he had gotten in the temple he gave to the two of them. 55 Sitting with the two of them, he would have friendly conversation for some time, until he left to perform the midday rituals. 56 Such were the daily activities of Prabhu, and by the grace of Prabhu, Rūpa gained unparalleled joy. 57 With his *bhaktas*, Prabhu cleansed the Guṇḍicā, and came to the Āiṭoṭā, where they ate in the forest. 58 They ate *prasāda* and all the *bhaktas* shouted "Hari!" and when they saw it the hearts of Haridāsa and Rūpa were delighted. 59 They got at the door of Govinda the *prasāda* of the leavings of Prabhu, and drunk with *prema*, the two began to dance.

39. Pura: Dvāraka; he was to write two dramas, one of the Vraja-*līlā*, and one of the Dvāraka-*līlā*.

54. The two of them: Rūpa Gosvāmī and Haridāsa Ṭhakura.

60 Another day, Prabhu was sitting together with Rūpa, and Prabhu, that crest-jewel of omniscience, began to say, 61 "Do not bring Kṛṣṇa out from Vraja, for Kṛṣṇa never leaves Vraja to go anywhere."

Śloka 6. Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta*, *parva-khaṇḍa* 5.461 [quoting *Yamala Tantra*]:

The Kṛṣṇa of the Yādava race is other; he who is full [*svarūpa*] is higher than he; for he never leaves Vṛndāvana to go elsewhere.

62 When he had said this, Mahāprabhu went to his midday rituals, and Rūpa Gosvāmī was a little astonished, and thought, 63 "Satyabhāma ordered me to compose a separate drama, and knowing this Prabhu also ordered me to compose separately. 64 Previously the two dramas were together, but now I shall make two." 65 And thus reflecting he wrote separately two *nāṇḍī prastāvanās* and two *saṅghaṭanās*. 66 He had had *darśana* of Jagannātha in the Car Festival, and he watched the dancing and singing of Prabhu before the car. 67 When Śrī Rūpa Gosvāmī heard the *śloka* to which Prabhu danced, he right then composed a *śloka* on the meaning of that *śloka*. 68 I discussed all these matters previously; still, I shall speak of them briefly.

69 During the *kīrtana* Prabhu recited a common *śloka*. Why did he recite this *śloka*? That no one knows. 70 Of all, only Svarūpa Gosvāmī knew the meaning of the *śloka*, and he caused Prabhu to taste a verse appropriate to that *śloka*. 71 Rūpa Gosvāmī knew the intention of Mahāprabhu, so he composed a *śloka* commensurate to its meaning, and Prabhu was pleased with it.

61. This is a curious remark, and can only be understood in the following way. Rūpa had been intending to write a single work covering both the Dvāraka and the Vraja *līlās*, which would certainly not have been antipathetic to the *śāstras*, for the *BhP* itself does the same thing. But influenced by Satyabhāma in the dream, Rūpa had decided to write two dramas instead. Caitanya here seems to be reinforcing the argument for that, saying that in the unmanifest eternal *līlā* it is the Kṛṣṇa at Vraja that counts, that the two-armed cowherd boy is the *svarūpa*, and that the four-armed son of Vasudeva and Kṛṣṇa the mighty king, while partaking of this *svarūpa*, are subsidiary. Therefore, if Rūpa is to write of the true, eternal *līlā*, he had better stick to the Vraja-*līlā*. This seems to be borne out by *śloka* 6.

65. *Prastāvanā*: prologue, in which the matter of the drama is presented. *Saṅghaṭanā*: plot, the joining of certain incidents to certain incidents, and the statement and establishment of the *bhāva* and *rasa* of the drama.

68. See 2.1.

69. *Sāmānya*: common.

70. *Pada*: verse.

Śloka 7. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Padyāvalī* 382 [anonymous]:

He who stole my virginity on the banks of the Revanadi, he is now my husband. The nights of [the month of] Caitra are fragrant with the scent of the blooming jasmine, and the wind like honey is blowing from the kadamba-grove. And I, that same *nāyika*, absorbed in that joy, am here. Even so, my heart is not at ease; it longs constantly for the foot of the Vetasī tree on the banks of the Reva.

Śloka 8. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Padyāvalī* 383 [quoting Rūpa Gosvāmin]:

O friend, that Kṛṣṇa whom I met in Kurukṣetra is now my love, and I am Rādhā. We both enjoy this love-making. Yet my heart longs for the grove on the banks of the Kalindī, which cherished the fifth note of his sweet flute throbbing inside it.

72 He wrote this śloka on a palm-leaf, and put it in the roof of his cottage, and Rūpa Gosvāmin went to bathe in the sea. 73 At that very time, Prabhu was coming to meet him, and [looking] up into the roof, he found the śloka and began to read it. 74 When he had read the śloka Prabhu was overcome with *prema*, in happiness; and at that time Rūpa Gosvāmin was returning from his bath. 75 When he saw Prabhu he fell prostrate in the courtyard; but Prabhu grabbed him by the clothes and began to say, 76 "How did you know the depths of my heart?" And so saying he embraced Rūpa deeply. 77 Prabhu took the śloka and he showed it to Svarūpa, and to test Svarūpa he asked him, 78 "How does Rūpa know what is innermost in my heart?" Svarūpa said, "I know that you yourself have been gracious to him. 79 Otherwise no one would know this meaning. You have been gracious—this is my deduction." 80 Prabhu said, "He met me at Prayāga, and knowing him to be a proper vessel, I was gracious to him. 81 Then, communicating power to him, I instructed him. You tell to him the characteristics of *rasa*." 82 Svarūpa said, "When I saw this śloka, I knew that you had granted him your grace."

Śloka 9. *Nyāya*:

From the fruit can the origin of the fruit be deduced.

Śloka 7. See 2.1.śl.6; 2.13.śl.6. Also found in Mammāṭa's *Kāvya-prakāśa* 1.4 and Viśvanātha's *Sahitya-darpaṇa* 1.10.

Śloka 8. See 2.1.śl.7; 3.1.śl.13.

Śloka 10. *Naiṣadhyā* 3.17:

We, who feed on the front parts of the various lotus-stalks of the golden lotuses of the river of heaven, gain riches in the form of bodies appropriate to that food; for one learns the qualities from their source.

83 So remaining for the four months, the Vaiṣṇavas returned to Gauḍa, and Rūpa Gosvāmin remained at the feet of Mahāprabhu.

84 One day Rūpa was writing his drama, when Mahāprabhu arrived unexpectedly. 85 In respect both arose and bowed, and embracing them both Prabhu sat down on a seat. 86 Taking a leaf, he asked, "What manuscript are you writing?" And when he saw the script, the heart of Prabhu was pleased. 87 Rūpa's letters were like a string of pearls, and being charmed, Prabhu praised his hand. 88 Prabhu saw the śloka on the leaf, and while reading it he was overcome with *prema*.

Śloka 11. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamādhava* 1.33:

With what nectar the two syllables of the name Kṛṣṇa are composed we do not know; for dancing on the lips they create a desire for having many mouths, and as they sprout within the ears they create a desire for having ten million ears; and as companions of the court of the mind they conquer the functioning of all the senses.

89 When he heard the śloka, Haridāsa was delighted, and he began to dance, praising the meaning of the śloka. 90 "We know from the mouths of *sādhus* and from the *śāstras* the greatness of the name of Kṛṣṇa, but no where have we ever heard such of the sweetness of the name." 91 Then Mahāprabhu embraced them both, and went to the sea to perform his midday rituals.

92 Another day Mahāprabhu, having seen Jagannātha, was with Sarvabhau-
ma and Rāmananda and Svarūpa and some others, 93 and all together they were going to meet Śrī Rūpa, and on the way they were discussing his qualities, and he began to say to them all 94 that he had read the two ślokas, and that he was very pleased; and he spoke of the qualities of his own *bhakta* as if with five mouths. 95 It was to test Sarvabhau-
ma and Rāmananda that he spoke to them of the qualities of Śrī Rūpa. 96 It is the nature of *Īśvara* that he does not take

85. Both: Rūpa and Haridāsa.

86. *Akṣara*: "script," Rūpa's handwriting.

Śloka 11. See 3.1.śl.14.

offence at his *bhaktas*, and that he considers a little service as much, and that his grace is up to [the giving of] himself.

Sloka 12. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [dakṣiṇa-vibhāga, vibhāva-laharī] 2.1.138:

The heart of Puruṣottama is pure: he does not see even the most serious offences of his servants, he glorifies even a tiny service done by one of them, and he does not manifest malice even toward malefactors.

97 The two saw Prabhu coming with his *bhaktas*, and they bowed down and made obeisance to his feet. 98 Prabhu joined them both with the *bhaktas*, and with his *bhaktas* Prabhu sat down on the *piṇḍā*. 99 Rūpa and Haridāsa both sat below the *piṇḍā*; in the presence of the company they did not rise up upon the *piṇḍā*. 100 And Prabhu commanded, "Read, O Rūpa, the *śloka* which you read before." But out of modesty Rūpa did not read it, and remained silent. 101 Then Svarūpa Gosvāmin read the *śloka*, and when they heard it the minds of all were astonished.

Sloka 13. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Padyavali* 383 [quoting Rūpa Gosvāmin]:

O friend, that Kṛṣṇa whom I met in Kurukṣetra is now my love and I am Rādhā. We both enjoy this love-making. Yet my heart longs for the grove on the banks of the Kālindī, which cherished the fifth note of his sweet flute throbbing inside it.

102 Rāya and Bhaṭṭācārya said, "Except for your grace, how could he know your heart? 103 Formerly, infusing [śakti] within me, you spoke of the ultimate perfect goals, such that Brahmā does not gain the end of all those ultimate perfect goals. 104 From that I know that previously he has gained your grace, and that apart from you there is no interpretation of your heart."

105 Prabhu said, "Recite, O Rūpa, that *śloka* of the drama which, when they hear it, dispels the grief and sorrow of people." 106 When Prabhu had commanded him again and again finally Rūpa Gosvāmin recited that *śloka*:

97. The two are Rūpa and Haridāsa.

98. *Piṇḍā*: a small, raised seat for honored guests.

Sloka 13. See 2.1.śl.7; 3.1.śl.8.

Sloka 14. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamādhava* 1.33:

With what nectar the two syllables of the name Kṛṣṇa are composed we do not know; for dancing on the lips they create as desire for having many mouths, and as they sprout within the ears, they create a desire for having ten million ears; and as companions of the court of the mind they conquer the functioning of all the senses.

107 Rāmānanda Rāya and as many *bhaktas* as were there present were astonished with joy when he heard the *śloka*. 108 And all agreed, "We have heard the infinite greatness of the name, but never have we heard its sweetness so described." 109 And Rāya said, "Let us know what book that is, within which lies this mine of ultimate perfection." 110 Svarūpa said, "He was composing a drama on the Kṛṣṇa-līlā, describing in one place the Vraja-līlā and the Pura-līlā. 111 He had begun, but, now, receiving the order of Prabhu, he is dividing it up and making two dramas. 112 One is *Vidagdhamādhava*, and the other *Lalitāmādhava*, and in the two dramas is all the wonder of *prema-rasa*."

113 Rāya said, "Read the *nandī-śloka*s and let us hear them." And Śrī Rūpa, respecting the command of Prabhu, read the *śloka*s.

Sloka 15. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamādhava* 1.1:

May the spiced curds of Hari's play, which tames the madness of the sweetness of the nectar of the moon, and is scented with the camphor of the love of Rādhā and the others, entirely dispel your thirst, which is led to wander the pathways of *saṁsāra* which are difficult because of the rising of [fierce] heat.

114 Rāya said, "Give the description of the *iṣṭa-deva*"; but in the presence of Prabhu, Rūpa did not recite it. 115 Prabhu said, "Speak; why are you modest in my presence? Let the assembly of Vaiṣṇavas hear the fruits of the book." 116 Then Rūpa Gosvāmin recited the *śloka*s, and when Prabhu heard them he said, "What was just heard is much too excessive praise."

Sloka 14. See 3.1.śl.11.

112. Rūpa's *Vidagdhamādhava* is on the Vraja-līlā, and *Lalitāmādhava* on the Dvāraka-līlā.

113. [It is not insignificant that Rāmānanda Rāya is the interlocutor, for along with Svarūpa he was the most accomplished of the Nīlacala *bhaktas* in understanding the *bhakti-rasa-śāstra*, and had himself composed a drama of recognized accomplishment, the *Jagannāthavallabha nāṭaka*. TKS]

Śloka 16. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamādhava* 1.2:

In order to bestow the wealth of *bhakti* for himself, which for a long time had gone unbestowed, a *bhakti* of elevated and radiant essentiality, Hari of gold and blazing like a [blooming] *kadamba* [flower]; and Śacīnandana must forever sparkle in the hollow of your heart.

117 Hearing this *śloka*, all the *bhaktas* said, "You have crowned us with success, causing us to hear this *śloka*."

118 Rāya said, "In what part of the prologue does the hero appear?" And Rūpa said, "He arrives at the proper time, called '*pravartaka*'."

Śloka 17. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Nāṭakacandrika* 31:

The entrance of a person suggested in the introduction at the appropriate time is *pravartaka*.

Śloka 18. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamādhava* 1.17:

Now springtime has come, in which the full-moon [night], when planets are obscured, brings together at night the full lord of the planets of the full night, in whom new love has arisen, with the radiant Rādhā, for a play.

119 Rāya said, "Speak and let us hear of the *prarocanā* and the rest." And Rūpa said, "I know that it is the desire of Mahāprabhu to hear."

Śloka 19. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamādhava* 1.15:

The troupe, radiant by nature, of the *bhaktas* whose minds are unfettered, has come forth; the composition, blossoming with beauties, of the friend of the cowherds' wives, is [ready]; the ground within the forests of Vṛndāvana becomes the stage for the dance; I think the maturing of the circle of merit of people like me now becomes manifest.

Śloka 16. See 1.1.śl.4; 1.3.śl.2.

118. The scene is set by the *sātradhāra*, reading the *ślokas* which describe the time, place, and the nature of the characters in the play. The *pravartaka* is in *śloka* 18, seventeen *ślokas* into the drama. See J. A. B. van Buitenen, *Two Plays of Ancient India* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), 19-20, 27-28.

Śloka 18. The *śloka* depends on the figure called *śleṣa*, double meaning. The second reading is: "The springtime has come, in which the goddess of the full moon is filled with anxiety, and having gained new love that full *īśvara* will unite with the radiant Rādhā for their love-play."

119. The *prarocanā* comes before the introduction of the characters, and sets the drama in place, time, and mood.

Śloka 20. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamādhava* 1.13:

O wise men, this composition which has been revealed by me, even though my form is insignificant by nature, is concerned with the qualities of Hari, and will make you fulfilled in your purposes. For does not fire, produced by rubbing wood, [even] by a Pulinda, take away the impurities within gold?

120 Rāya said, "Tell us the causes of the arising of *prema*, and of the ascertainment of *pūrva-rāga*, and of strivings for it, and of the working of it."

121 Gradually Rūpa Gosvāmin described all of this, and when they heard it the *bhaktas* of Prabhu were spell-bound.

Śloka 21. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamādhava* 2.19:

Even hearing the syllables of the name of this one Kṛṣṇa obliterates my mind; the sound of the flute of another one brings on a series of tender madnesses; and even merely seeing him in a picture, he, of a beauty of a moist cloud, sticks in my mind. This is most difficult for me; love is born for these three, and I think death is preferable.

Śloka 22. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamādhava* 2.16:

O friend, this ache in the heart of Rādhā is completely incurable; even medical treatment in such matters turns into blame.

Śloka 23. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamādhava* 2.48:

O handsome one, I have placed your image in my temple and you are dwelling there. In various places you, strong, obstruct me, whenever I am afraid and try to flee.

Śloka 24. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamādhava* 2.26:

When she sees a peacock tail before her, she immediately begins to tremble; at the mere sight of a garden again and again her eyes fill with tears and she sobs loudly. I do not know what new demon has entered the mind of the young girl, and produced this astonishing play of unprecedented acting.

Śloka 20. It is also usual for the poet to express his own humility and inability to write properly; here Rūpa does it by a pun on the word "form" (*rūpa*), meaning that both he, Rūpa, and the form of the play are inadequate.

Śloka 21. "These three": the bearer of the name, the player of the flute, and the youth in the picture.

Śloka 25. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamādhava* 2.70:

If Kṛṣṇa is cruel to me, why should this be counted as your offence?
Do not weep in vain; but do this last act for me; tie me by the arms to
the branches of the *tamāla* tree, that my body may for a long time
occupy the forests of Vṛndāvana, motionless.

122 Rāya said, "Tell us of the nature of *bhāva*." And Rūpa said, "This is the
bhāva of relation to Kṛṣṇa."

Śloka 26. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamādhava* 2.30:

O beautiful, in whose heart love for the son of Nanda awakes, there
clearly arise for him crookedly sweet powers. This love has two kinds
of effects: it drives away by pain of the same kind the fierce bitterness
of a serpent's poison; and again, it shrivels up the pride of nectar and
honey by a rain of bliss.

123 Rāya said, "Tell us the signs of natural *prema*." Rūpa Gosvāmin said, "The
dharma of *prema* is natural."

Śloka 27. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamādhava* 5.4:

In whom praise brings indifference and gives pain to the heart, who
holds condemnation as a wonderful joke which gives joy, who is never
reduced by any faults or expanded by any qualities: thus sports the
character of natural love.

Śloka 28. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamādhava* 2.59:

The moon-faced one, having heard of my cruelty and having torn up
the sprout of *prema*, with pained heart will she be patient and steadfast,
with her face averted from me? Or will she, afraid of the bow of the
cruel Kandarpa, abandon her life? Alas, the tender, budding, creeper
of desire has been uprooted by me in my stupidity.

Śloka 29. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamādhava* 2.60:

In the hope of the happiness of whose embrace my deep sense of shame
toward elders was dulled by me, O friend, and you, dearer to me than

Śloka 25. *Tamāla*: a hearty fruit-bearing tree, *Xanthochymus pictorius*, with dark bark and con-
trasting white blossoms.

Śloka 26. See 2.2.17.

life, were wounded, nor did I respect even that very great *dharma* revered
by chaste women—even neglected by him, foul woman that I am, I am
alive; shame on this patience.

Śloka 30. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamādhava* 2.69:

Controlled by our own natural girlhood, we were playing in our homes,
and knew not the least bit of good or evil; is it right that we are now
taken to a condition without refuge; how is it right that this indiffer-
ence is glorified by you?

Śloka 31. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamādhava* 2.53:

Our hearts tormented and stained, we are going today to Yama's city.
And still he does not abandon that clever smile which stores deceit.
O understanding Rādhā, by what deep tricks has your *prema* become
deeper for this sly village-dwelling cowherd cheat?

Śloka 32. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamādhava* 3.13:

O Kṛṣṇārṇava! the Rādhā-stream of new sweetness, vast, has carried
away the bridge of *dharma*, and abandoning her tree-husband for a
distant path, has smashed with its velocity the mountains of [obedience
to] elders and has reached you; how then, with the waves of your words,
are you turning it back?

124 Rāya asked, "The sound of the flute in Vṛndāvana, and Rādhā and
Kṛṣṇa—how have you described them? 125 Speak; let us hear; your poetry is
most wonderful." So gradually, Rūpa Gosvāmin spoke, having made obeisance.

Śloka 33. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamādhava* 1.41:

The dripping sweet smelling honey of the pollen of the buds of the
mango trees again and again makes prisoners of the bees, and the gentle
breeze from the sandalwood mountains agitates [them]—this Vṛndāvana
fills me with incomparable joy.

Śloka 34. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamādhava* 1.42:

O friend! this Vṛndāvana is surrounded by heavenly creepers, with their
tops covered with blossoming flowers, filling the bees which drink the

Śloka 31. *Ābhṛta*: "cowherd," the pastoral tribe of central India, whose hero Kṛṣṇa perhaps
originally was; see R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, and Minor Religious Systems*, (Varanasi:
Indological Bookhouse, 1965 [reprint 1913 ed.]), 52-54.

pollen with joy and causing them to sing songs which are pleasing to the ear.

Sloka 35. Rūpa Gosvāmin's Vidagdhamādhava 1.48:

In some places the bees sing sweet songs, in some places the cool wind blows, in some the creepers dance, in some the forest is drunk with the perfume of the jasmine flowers, and in some the pomegranates are full of juice; thus this Vṛndavana fills all my senses with delight.

Sloka 36. Rūpa Gosvāmin's Vidagdhamādhava 3.2:

Both parts three fingers long, inlaid with sapphires and covered with rubies in the part next to it, and between these two parts pure gold, glittering with faultless diamonds—this most beautiful flute appears in the hands of Hari.

Sloka 37. Rūpa Gosvāmin's Vidagdhamādhava 5.19:

O flute! your birth is in high family, and you are pure by your birth, your resting place is in the hand of Puruṣottama. O friend, why alas have you taken your wrong initiation with the *mantra* of charming the beautiful-bodied women of the *gopas*, from that [cruel] *guru*?

Sloka 38. Rūpa Gosvāmin's Vidagdhamādhava 4.9:

Friend flute! you are a row of huge holes, you are trifling, knotty, and full of harshness, without sweetness; still, by what merit have you gained the deep bliss of the embrace of Hari, and his eternal kiss?

Sloka 39. Rūpa Gosvāmin's Vidagdhamādhava 1.44:

The sound of the flute stopped the waves of the sea and again and again filled Tumburu with wonder and shook Sanandana and the others from their meditation; it caused the creator to forget creation. It caused the ardor of Bali to tremble and caused Bhogīndra to roll about, with waves of yearning it split the depth of the cauldron of the [Brahmā]-egg, and rolled on.

Sloka 40. Rūpa Gosvāmin's Vidagdhamādhava 1.36:

By the glittering of whose eyes the lustre of the blue lotus is put to shame, by the brilliant yellow of whose clothes the lustre of fresh saffron

Sloka 39. "Waves of the sea" can also be read "passage of the clouds," with equally good sense. Tumburu is the name of a ṛṣi, as is Sanandana. Bhogīndra: Ananta the cosmic serpent.

is paled, by whose forest-clothes the grandeur of divine garments is lost, and the hue of whose body is like emeralds—thus sparkles the body of Hari.

Sloka 41. Rūpa Gosvāmin's Lalitāmādhava 4.27:

O friend! whose right leg meets his left halfway below the knee, his body a little bent in three places, his shoulders bent; whose oblique glance moves to and fro; on whose closed lips rests the flute, held in his restless fingers, and whose bee-like brows are dancing—O beautiful one! appropriate that foremost highest joy.

Sloka 42. Rūpa Gosvāmin's Lalitāmādhava 1.106:

O beautiful faced one! by the cutting brilliance of the corners of his eyes, long and whetted, the rocks of *dharma*, and body, and family honor have been all at once cut—who is this wonderful architect of the universe, who creates cowsheds with countless emeralds?

Sloka 43. Rūpa Gosvāmin's Lalitāmādhava 1.102:

Whose radiance of body dims the brilliance of sapphires, and who is this new youth, the moon of the family of Vrajendra? O friend, the sound of his flute playfully cuts the obstacle of the knots which tie the skirts of women of stable families, and conquers all.

Sloka 44. Rūpa Gosvāmin's Vidagdhamādhava 1.60:

The radiance of her eyes conquers by its power the new blue lotus, and the brightness of her face dims that of a forest of blooming lotuses, and the glistening of her body brings shame to gold—somehow these various beauties of Rādhā are glorious.

Sloka 45. Rūpa Gosvāmin's Vidagdhamādhava 5.31:

The moon in the daytime is without beauty; as alas is the hundred-petalled one in the evening. So with what can I compare the face of my beloved, always radiant with beauty?

Sloka 46. Rūpa Gosvāmin's Vidagdhamādhava 2.78:

A smile on her face—a wave of intoxicating *rasa*; her brows dancing like bows of Kāndarpa confuse the bees drunken with honey, and the sidelong glance of the fire-eyelashed woman has pierced my heart.

126 Rāya said, "Your poetry is a stream of nectar. Now recite the *nāṇḍī*-*śloka*s of the second drama." 127 And Rūpa said, "You are like the sun, and I am insignificant, like a firefly. 128 Opening my mouth before you is audacity." And so saying, he recited the *nāṇḍī*-*śloka*s.

Śloka 47. Rūpa Gosvāmin's Lalitāmādhava 1.1:

Putting to shame the lotus-faces and the cuckoo-like breasts of the lovely women of the *asuras*, may that full moon of fame, Mukunda, which brings delight to the hearts of the always longing *cakora*-like friends, give you joy forever.

129 Rāya asked, "Will you recite the second *nāṇḍī*?" And with diffidence, Rūpa began to recite.

Śloka 48. Rūpa Gosvāmin's Lalitāmādhava 1.4:

He who has risen on the earth is distributing to all the nectar of his own *prema* and is established as the primary king of *brahmaṇas*, and who has driven away the darkness of ignorance and has conquered the hearts of all the world, may that moon, the son of Śaṭi, bestow on me his shelter.

130 Hearing this, Prabhu was delighted in his heart, but outwardly he was somewhat angry, and he said, 131 "Your poetry of the *Kṛṣṇa-rasa* is a sea of nectar; why have you dropped into it this salt of false praise?" 132 Rāya responded, "The poetry of Rūpa is full of nectar. And into it he has put a drop of camphor." 133 Prabhu said, "Rāya! Are you pleased at this? It shames me to hear, and people will laugh." 134 Rāya said, "When they hear this, people will be pleased. In the *maṅgalācaraṇa* is remembered the *iṣṭa-deva*."

135 And then he said [to Rūpa], "In what part does the hero enter?" And Rūpa Gosvāmin recited the particulars of it.

Śloka 49. Rūpa Gosvāmin's Lalitāmādhava 1.20:

While dancing, when that Kalānidhi kills the king of the *Kirātas* here on the stage, it is proper that he take the hand of Tārā at the appropriate time.

127-28. See the commentary to v. 113.

Śloka 49. Kalānidhi: Kṛṣṇa. The Kirāta king is Kāṁsa, and Tārā is Rādhā.

136 This is a part of the *vīthī* prologue and is called '*udghātyaka*,' and reciting it before you is a wave of vanity.

Śloka 50. Viśvanātha's Sahityadarpaṇa 6.289:

When people join words of incomprehensible meaning with other words in order to make them comprehensible, that is called *udghātyaka*.

137 Rāya said, "Describe first the particulars of his body." And Rūpa gave a brief synopsis.

Śloka 51. Rūpa Gosvāmin's Lalitāmādhava 1.50:

Destroying all shame, it draws Rādhā from her home into the forest—that go-between, sent as the soft sound of the flute of her lover, is victorious.

Śloka 52. Rūpa Gosvāmin's Lalitāmādhava 1.49:

All the dust tells of Hari[']s return], and the darkness allows them union. The ways of the women of Vraja are not revealed to the *śruti*, although it sees all.

Śloka 53. Rūpa Gosvāmin's Lalitāmādhava 2.23:

O friend, beautiful as a new cloud, wanton as a drunken young elephant, who is that bold youth? When has he come to Vraja? Alas with his fickle glances, roaming in *Vṛndāvana*, like a thief, the wealth of steadfastness he steals from the storehouse of my heart.

Śloka 54. Rūpa Gosvāmin's Lalitāmādhava 2.22:

She who is the divine play-pond in which the war elephant of my heart plays, who is glory of the full moon of autumn for my *cakora*-eyes, who is the beautiful enchanting star-ornaments to the sky of my breast, that Rādhā, for whom I have longed for so long, is mine.

136. *Vīthī* is a term usually applied to a one-act drama on the theme of love, though here *Kṛṣṇadāsa* seems to mean it as a part of the prologue itself. The term *udghātyaka* is defined in *śloka* 50, and means unexpected juxtapositions which give words new definitions. For example, in *śloka* 49, *kalānidhi* is a word for the moon; the moon does not dance, so by the participle "dancing" one knows that something else is meant; this is defined by the killing of Kāṁsa, one of Kṛṣṇa's deeds, and when the meaning "Kṛṣṇa" is thus derived (meaning "dark-colored"), the word *tārā*, "star," also takes on new meaning.

138 When he had heard this, Rāya said at the feet of Prabhu, praising the poetry of Rūpa as with a thousand mouths, 139 "This is no poetry, this is a stream of nectar; it has the marks of a drama [but] is the essence of the ultimate truths. 140 This is a wonderful description of the varieties of *prema*, and when I listen to it my ears and mind whirl in delight.

Sloka 55. [proverb]:

Why should that poet compose poetry, why should the hunter shoot his arrows, unless, lodging in the heart of another, they cause the head to whirl?

141 Except for your power, these are not the words of a *jīva*; by your *śakti* you have caused him to speak, that is my deduction."

142 Prabhu replied, "I met him at Prayāga, and by his qualities my mind was pleased. 143 His poetry is filled with sweetness, and well ornamented. Apart from such poetry there is no propagation of *rasa*. 144 So all of you be gracious to him, and give him this boon: that he describe endlessly the *prema-rasa* of the *Vraja-līla*. 145 His elder brother is named Sanātana, and he has no equal in knowledge on the earth. 146 As you have renounced the things of the world, so he has done. And humility, renunciation, and learning have been fixed in him. 147 These two brothers I sent to Vṛndāvana, and I gave them power, to propagate the *bhakti-śāstras*."

148 Rāya said, "You are *Īśvara*, and do what you wish to do. You are able to make a wooden doll dance. 149 All that *rasa* which you preached through my mouth, all that I see in his writings. 150 In your mercy to *bhaktas* you want the *rasa* of *Vraja* to be manifest, and that which you cause to do will be done, for the world is in your control."

151 Then Mahāprabhu embraced Rūpa, and had him bow to the feet of the assembly. 152 Advaita and Nityānanda and all the *bhaktas*, bestowing grace on Rūpa, embraced him. 153 All the hearts of the *bhaktas* were astonished, when they saw Prabhu's grace to Rūpa, and the pure qualities of Rūpa. 154 Then Mahāprabhu took all his *bhaktas* and went away, and Haridāsa Ṭhākura embraced Rūpa, 155 and Haridāsa said, "Your fortune is endless; who knows the

149. [The reference is to their meeting on Caitanya's trip south, described in 2.8. TKS]
Sloka 56. See 2.19, SL 14.

greatness of all that you have described?" 156 Śrī Rūpa replied, "I know nothing at all. What Mahāprabhu caused me to say, I said."

Sloka 56. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [pārva-vibhāga, sāmānyabhakti-lahart] 1.1.2:

By whose inspiration in my heart I, most insignificant Rūpa, have been set into motion, I bow to the lotus feet of that Hari, Caitanyadeva.

157 And in this way the two delightedly talked of Kṛṣṇa; and Rūpa passed the time in happiness, with Haridāsa.

158 So all the *bhaktas* of Prabhu remained for four months, and Gosvāmī bade them farewell, and they set off for Gauḍa. 159 Śrī Rūpa remained in Nīlācala at the feet of Prabhu, and in Prabhu's company, watched the Swing Festival in delight. 160 At the end of the Swing [Festival], Prabhu bade Rūpa farewell, and with much grace infused him with power. 161 "Go to Vṛndāvana, and remain there, and I at once shall send Sanātana there. 162 You determine the *rasa-śāstras* of *Vraja*, and recover all those pilgrimage places which have been hidden. 163 Preach the *bhakti* of the *rasa* of the service of Kṛṣṇa, and I shall go there once to see you." 164 So saying, Prabhu embraced him, and Rūpa Gosvāmin took his feet upon his head. 165 He begged leave from Mahāprabhu's *bhaktas*, and again came to Vṛndāvana, passing through Gauḍa on the way. 166 Thus has been told again the meeting with Rūpa; and he who hears this gains the feet of Caitanya.

167 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

159. *Dola-yātra*: Swing Festival. The deities are taken from the temple to the *dola-bedī*, a large stone arch from which the swing is suspended.

Antya Līlā Chapter 2

Sloka 1.

I bow to the revered lotus feet of my *guru*, and to my *gurus*, and to Vaiṣṇavas, and to Śrī Rūpa, with Jīva, with the Raghunāthas, and with his elder brother. And I bow to Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, together with his followers, and to Nityānanda, and Advaita, and to the feet of Śrī Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, and to her two companions Lalitā and Viśakhā.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*.

2 The Gaura-*avatāra* was to save all people, and the source of that salvation is of three kinds: 3 the *darśana* of his own person, and to the *bhakta-jīva* who was worthy sometimes he gave inspiration, and sometimes by appearance. 4 He saved almost everyone by the *darśana* of his personal presence. He possessed the body of Nakula Brahmācārī. 5 He appeared before Pradyumna Nṛsiṃhānanda. For the salvation of people is the nature of Īśvara. 6 He carried all the world across by *darśana* of the presence, and whoever saw him once was fulfilled.

7 The *bhaktas* of the land of Gauḍa came every year, and again returned to Gauḍa after having met with Prabhu. 8 And people from many countries came

Sloka 1. I.e., one *dikṣa guru* and several *śikṣa gurus*. See 3.3.51.1.

2. The three kinds are given in v. 3: by giving *darśana* of his actual person, as to those who came to visit him in Puri (*sakṣad-darśana*), by possession (*aveśa*), entering into another person and inspiring him, and by "appearance" (*āvirbhāva*), manifestation of himself in several places at once; as will be seen, his appearances can usually be seen only by a few selected persons. These three types of revelation are also explained in 1.10.54.

4. *Āviṣṭa*: possessed.

5. Pradyumna was his given name, and Nṛsiṃhānanda was the title given him by Caitanya. These are the "*sātras*," which will be treated in detail in the rest of the chapter.

to Jagannātha, and when they saw the feet of Caitanya they were fulfilled. 9 People of Saptadvīpa and Navakhaṇḍa, and *devas*, *gandharvas*, *kinnaras*—in the guise of men—came. 10 And when they had seen Prabhu they became Vaiṣṇavas, and all sang "Kṛṣṇa" and danced in an ecstasy of *prema*. 11 In this way he saved the three worlds by *darśana*. There were many family people who were not able to come there, 12 and Prabhu, to save all those, and those of all countries, possessed the bodies of *jīvas* as worthy *bhaktas*. 13 Through those *jīvas* he manifested his own *śakti*, and at the *darśana* of them, people in all the countries became Vaiṣṇavas. 14 By this kind of inspiration he saved the three worlds. Such was a possession which happened in Gauḍa; let me survey it.

15 There was, at Āmbuyāmuluka, one Nakula, a *brahmācārī*. He was a most devout Vaiṣṇava, most prominent. 16 It was in his mind to save the people of Gauḍa country, and Prabhu possessed the heart of Nakula. 17 Nakula was as if star-struck, controlled by *prema*, and he became mad, laughing and weeping and dancing and singing. 18 Tears and trembling and stupefaction and sweating—these were the *sattvika* signs, and he constantly danced in *prema*, and shouted loudly. 19 Such was the beauty of the golden color of his body, and such was his constant possession by *prema*, that all the people in Gauḍa came to see it. 20 Whoever saw him, he said to him, "Speak the name of Kṛṣṇa!" and at the sight of him people became violent in *prema*. 21 "The body of Nakula is possessed by Caitanya"—when he heard this, Śivānanda came in doubt. 22 He wanted to test it, so remaining outside, he reflected in this way, 23 "If he by himself were to cause me to say 'I am here,' and if he by himself would repeat my *iṣṭa-mantra*, 24 then I would know that he is possessed by Caitanya." And thus reflecting, Śivānanda remained at a distance. 25 There were countless people there, coming and going; and in the crush of people, no one could see anything. 26 The possessed *brahmācārī* said, "Śivānanda is there at a distance. Some of you go and summon him." 27 So people ran in the four directions,

9. The seven islands and the nine parts of the Jambudvīpa. The seven islands of Saptadvīpa which compose the world are: Jambu, Plakṣa, Sālmala, Kuśa, Krauñca, Śaka, and Puṣkara. The nine divisions or Navakhaṇḍa of Jambudvīpa are Nabhi, Kimpuruṣa, Harivarṣa, Ilāvṛta, Rāmyaka, Kuru, Hiranmaya, Bhadrāśva, and Ketumala. *Gandharvas* and *kinnaras*: celestial musicians.

11. *Saṁsārti*: family people

15. Āmbuyāmuluka: a place near Kalanā in Bardhamān (Burdwan) district.

17. *Grahagrasta*: star-struck, under the influence of the planets to such a degree that self-control is no longer possible.

17-18. For these and other signs, see text and commentary to 1.7.86-93; 1.17.5; 2.8.135; 2.18.151-74; and 2.23.31.

calling "Śivānanda! Who is Śivānanda? The *brahmacārī* summons you!" 28 When he heard this, Śivānanda Sena was astonished, and was overjoyed, and came, and making obeisance he sat near him. 29 The *brahmacārī* said, "You are doubtful; listen carefully, and that doubt will be removed. 30 Your Gaura-gopāla-mantra has four syllables; abandon the disbelief that is in your heart." 31 Then Śivānanda Sena was convinced, and he paid him all kinds of respect and devotion. 32 Thus is the unknowable power of Mahāprabhu; now hear of his appearance.

33 He was in the house of Śacī, and at the dance of Nityānanda, and at the *kīrtana* of Śrīvāsa, and in the house of Raghava. 34 And in these four places Prabhu was always present, for it is the true nature of Prabhu to be controlled by *prema*. 35 When he manifested [himself] before Nṛsiṃhaṇanda, he ate food there; listen carefully to this.

36 There was a nephew of Śivānanda, whose name was Śrīkanta Sena, and because of the mercy of Prabhu, he was very fortunate. 37 Each year he would first come alone there, his heart being most anxious to see Prabhu. 38 And Mahāprabhu, when he saw him, was very gracious to him, and he remained with Prabhu for two months. 39 Then Prabhu gave him a command to go to Gauḍa, "Forbid the *bhaktas* to come here. 40 This year I shall go there myself, and there I shall meet with Advaita and all the rest. 41 And say to Śivānanda that I, in this month of Pauṣa, shall certainly come unexpectedly to his house. 42 Jagadānanda is there, and he will give [me] food. Tell them all that this year they should not come." 43 So Śrīkanta came and spread the news in Gauḍa, and when they heard it, the hearts of the *bhaktas* were delighted. 44 Ācārya Gosvāmī was leaving, but he remained, and Śivānanda and Jagadānanda waited expectantly. 45 When the month of Pauṣa came, both made preparations, and [each day] they waited expectantly until the evening. 46 The month passed in this way, and Gosvāmī did not come, and Jagadānanda and Śivānanda were very sorrowful. 47 Then, unexpectedly, Nṛsiṃhaṇanda came there, and they both greeted him and sat him down in the place. 48 Seeing their sorrow, then, Nṛsiṃhaṇanda said, "Why do you both look so joyless?" 49 So Śivānanda told

30. Rādhāgovinda Nātha gives the mantra as "kṛm kṛṣṇa kṛm," these four syllables.

32. *Āvirbhāva*: appearance.

33. Rādhāgovinda Nātha distinguishes between *nitya āvirbhāva* and *sāmayika āvirbhāva*; he was permanently (*nitya*) in these four places; at appropriate times (*sāmayika*) he appeared at others.

44. Advaita was on the verge of leaving for the annual visit to Puri, but when he heard Śrīkanta's news, he decided to stay in Navadvīpa.

him everything. "Prabhu told us that he would come; why has he not come?" 50 And when he heard this the *brahmacārī* said, "Be at ease; I shall bring him on the third day." 51 The two knew the power of his *prema*, and they were certain that he would bring Prabhu there. 52 Pradyumna Brahmacārī was his own name; Gauradhāma had given him the name Nṛsiṃhaṇanda. 53 So after having meditated for two days, he said to Śivānanda, "I have brought Prabhu to Panthāṭigrama. 54 Tomorrow at noon time he will be in my house. Bring things to cook, and I shall give him food. 55 Then I shall bring him quickly here. Be certain of that; have no doubt at all. 56 Whatever is wanted, arrange it diligently. Hear me: afterwards I shall cook it very quickly. 57 So bring materials for cooking, whatever is wanted." And Śivānanda brought there whatever was asked for. 58 From the morning he cooked unceasingly, and he made many kinds of food—various curries, and *piṭhā*, and *kṣīra*. 59 He spread out separate food for Jagannātha, and made another meal for Caitanya. 60 And he also laid a separate place for his *iṣṭa-deva* Nṛsiṃha, and having presented these to the three, he went outside and meditated. 61 And he saw that Caitanya Gosvāmī had come suddenly and was sitting there. He had eaten all three portions, and there was nothing at all left. 62 Pradyumna was delirious with joy, and streams of tears fell from his eyes; then he shouted, "Alas, what have you done, what have you done? 63 You are one with Jagannātha, and might eat his food; but why do you eat the food of Nṛsiṃha? 64 Today Nṛsiṃha will fast, and when the Ṭhākura remains fasting, how can the servant live?" 65 Even though, when he saw the eating, he was delighted in his heart, for the sake of Nṛsiṃha he showed grief externally. 66 Kṛṣṇa is *svayaṃ bhagavān*, Caitanya Gosvāmī, and there is no division between Nṛsiṃha and Jagannātha. 67 Pradyumna had a deep desire to know this, and to show him Prabhu ate the food. 68 So having eaten, Prabhu went to Panthāṭi, for he was very satisfied, seeing the array of curries. 69 Śivānanda said, "Why did you shout?" And he said, "See the conduct of your Prabhu. 70 Alone he ate what had been prepared for three people, and Jagannātha and Nṛsiṃha are fasting." 71 When he heard this there was doubt in the mind of Śivānanda as to whether he spoke in

52. See commentary to 1.17.85.

53. Panthāṭigrama: a village in Twenty-four Parganas district.

55-56. These couplets do not appear in some MSS.

71. [This seems to distinguish between a "literal" truth that is grounded in phenomenal events witnessed and verified by those in an ordinary state of waking consciousness (*bāhya*) and an interior reality (*antara*) which is experienced by the individual under the control of *prema* and not al-

a fit of *prema*, or whether he spoke truth. 72 When the Brahmacārī said again to the Śivānanda, "Again bring preparations, and let me cook for Nṛsiṃha." 73 And again Śivānanda brought the articles of food, and having cooked them he offered them to Nṛsiṃha.

74 Now at the end of the rainy season, Śivānanda went with the *bhaktas* to Nīlācala and saw the feet of Prabhu. 75 And one day in the assembly, Prabhu was carrying on conversation, and he began to speak of the qualities of Nṛsiṃhānanda, 76 "In the last rainy season, in Pauṣa, he fed me, and never have I eaten such delicious curries." 77 When he heard this, the *bhaktas* were astonished, and conviction was born in the mind of Śivānanda. 78 In just this way he always ate at the house of Śaṅkha; and at the house of Śrīvāsa he watched the *kīrtana*. 79 And he came again and again and watched the dancing of Nityānanda, and always appeared in the house of Raghava. 80 Where there is intense *prema*, Gaura Prabhu is there, controlled by *prema*; and where he is controlled by *prema*, he gives *darśana*. 81 Who can tell the limits of the *prema* of Śivānanda? Controlled by his *prema*, Gaura returns again and again. 82 Thus then have been described the appearances of Gaura, and he who hears it knows the power of Caitanya.

83 In Puruṣottama, Bhagavān Ācārya lived near Prabhu; he was a most devout Vaiṣṇava, most learned and cultivated. 84 His mind was seized by the *sakhyā-bhāva*; he was an *avatāra* of a *gopa*, and he was most friendly with Svarūpa Gosvāmī. 85 Single-mindedly he took refuge at the feet of Caitanya, and from time to time he offered invitations to Prabhu. 86 He cooked rice and various curries at his house, and he would bring Prabhu there alone and feed him. 87 His father was much concerned with the affairs of the world, and his name was Śātānanda Khān. The Ācārya was indifferent to worldly things, and was an outstanding ascetic. 88 His younger brother was called Gopāla Bhaṭṭācārya, and he had studied *vedānta* at Kāśī, and had come to live with him. 89 The Ācārya introduced him to Prabhu, and Prabhu, indwelling in men, was not very happy in his heart. 90 But because he was a relative of the Ācārya, outwardly he behaved fondly. Prabhu had no joy except in Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti*. 91 One day the Ācārya said to Svarūpa Gosvāmī, "Gopāla has finished his study

ways accessible to others present. For the three states of consciousness, see 3.18.74-77 and commentary. The doubt expressed by Śivānanda suggests that the latter (*prema-veśa*) may have on occasion been used improperly to validate certain devotional claims. TKS]

80. For the idea of control by *prema*, see 1.4.216; 1.7.138; 1.17.71, 81.5; 2.23.26.

89. *Antaryāmī*: indwelling.

of *vedānta* and has come here. 92 Let us all go together and discuss the *Bhāṣya* with him." In an anger [born] of love Svarūpa said to him, 93 "Your mind has been destroyed by your association with Gopāla, that a desire has grown in you to listen to the *māyāvāda*. 94 Are you a Vaiṣṇava, that you would listen to this *Bhāṣya* which has to do with the physical? Have you abandoned the *bhāva* of the service of that which is to be served, and consider yourself as *Īśvara*? 95 He who is a great *bhāgavata*, the wealth of whose heart is Kṛṣṇa, if he listens to the *māyāvāda*, even his heart can be turned." 96 And the Ācārya said, "Kṛṣṇa is established in the hearts of all, and the *Bhāṣya* is not able to turn the hearts of all." 97 Svarūpa said, "Even if one listens to the *māyāvāda*, one only hears 'Cit-brahma. *Māyā*. False.' 98 and 'Īśvara is imaginary knowledge on the part of the *jīva*'; and 'everything is unknown'—the hearing of such as this bursts the ears and the hearts of *bhaktas*." 99 Ashamed and afraid, the Ācārya remained silent, and the next day he sent Gopāla back to his own country.

100 One day the Ācārya extended an invitation to Prabhu, and he prepared rice in his house and various curries. 101 There was a *kīrtantya* of Prabhu named Choṭa Haridāsa; the Ācārya called him and said to him, 102 "Go to the place of Śikhi Mahit's sister in my name and beg of her a *māna* of *orāiṣa* rice." 103 The name of Mahit's sister was Mādhavdevī; she was old, and ascetic, and a great Vaiṣṇava. 104 Prabhu wrote that the followers of Rādhā Ṭhakuraṇī in the world were three and one-half people: 105 Svarūpa Gosvāmī, Rāya Rāmananda, Śikhi Mahit, and the half was his sister. 106 So Haridāsa begged the rice and brought it from her place, and when he saw it the Ācārya was

92. *Bhāṣya*: Śaṅkara's commentary on the *Brahma Sūtras*.

94. *Sārtraka bhāṣya*: "which . . . physical." The idea is that as the Vedāntins make no distinction between *jīva* and *Īśvara*, the bodily self can be considered as divine.

97. I.e., these are words, offensive to the ear of a Vaiṣṇava, which keep coming up in the discourses of the *Māyāvādins*.

100. Ācārya refers to Bhagavān Ācārya of the previous story.

102. *Orāṭ*: the name of a particular kind of winter rice (*śali*). *Māna* is a measurement, according to Rādhāgovinda Nātha, somewhat less than a seer (about two pounds).

104. *Lekhā kare*: wrote; Kṛṣṇadāsa probably means something more like "considered."

105. It is not clear whether she was considered a half because she was a woman and therefore by nature less, or for some other reason. It seems unlikely that Caitanya considered these four as the only vessels for the service of Rādhā out of all the *bhaktas*; it would be more reasonable to assume that he meant in these four the *bhāva* of service to Rādhā was strongest; it was said in the *GGUD* that in the *Vraja-līla* Svarūpa was Viśakhā (160), Rāmananda was Lalitā (120-24), Śikhi Mahit was Rāgalekhā (189), and Mādhavī was Kalakēlī (189).

delighted. 107 In affection he prepared those foods that Prabhu loved best—*deula-prasāda*, balls of ginger, lime and citrus fruit with salt. 108 And at mid-day Prabhu came and sat down to eat, and seeing the *śāli* rice he asked the Ācārya, 109 “Where did you get this most excellent rice?” And the Ācārya replied that he had begged it of Mādhavidevī. 110 Prabhu said, “Who went to beg it?” And the Ācārya told him that it had been Choṭa Haridāsa. 111 Prais-ing the rice, Prabhu ate it, and when he went to his own home he gave this instruction to Govinda, 112 “From today you will respect this order: do not allow Choṭa Haridāsa to come here.” 113 And when the door was forbidden him, Haridāsa became very saddened; and no one could tell him why the door had been closed against him.

114 For three days Haridāsa fasted; and Svarūpa and some others went and asked Mahāprabhu, 115 “Prabhu, what offence has Haridāsa committed? Why have you shut the door against him; he is fasting.” 116 Prabhu said, “An ascetic has had conversation with a woman; I cannot look upon his face. 117 The senses irresistibly cleave to worldly things; a woman carved of wood steals the mind even of a *muni*.

Sloka 2. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 9.19.17 [quoting Manu Saṁhitā 2.215]:

With even mother, sister, or daughter one should not sit too close for the senses are strong and pull even wise men.

118 All those who are small *jīvas* make false renunciation; loosing their senses they wander about conversing with women.” 119 So saying, Prabhu went inside; and seeing the intensity of the Gosvāmī all were silent.

120 The next day all were together at the feet of Prabhu, and they petitioned him regarding Haridāsa: 121 “It is a small offence, Prabhu. Be gracious to him. Now he has learned, and will not offend again.” 122 Prabhu said, “My mind is not controlled by me. An ascetic who talks with women does not see me. 123 All of you go to your own duties; leave this idle talk. If you speak of it again, you will see me here no more.” 124 When they heard this they all put their hands over their ears, and they got up and went to their own duties. 125 And

107. *Prasāda* from the temple (*deula*), balls (*caṅki*) of ginger (*ada*), lime and citrus fruit (*lembu*) with salt (*labāṇa*).

116. *Prakṛti*: woman, material nature; *vairāgti*: ascetic, i.e., a Vaiṣṇava ascetic.

122. See commentary on v. 80 above.

Mahāprabhu went to perform the midday rituals. There is no understanding the *līlā* of Mahāprabhu.

126 The next day they all went to Paramānanda Purī, and they entreated him, “Persuade Prabhu to be propitious.” 127 So Purī Gosvāmī came alone to Prabhu; having greeted him, Prabhu seated him respectfully. 128 He asked, “What is your wish? Why have you come?” And he entreated him, “For your grace to Haridāsa.” 129 Hearing this, Mahāprabhu said, “Listen, Gosvāmī. Remain in this place, Gosvāmī, with all the Vaiṣṇavas. 130 By your leave, I go to Ālalanātha. I shall stay there alone, with only Govinda as my companion.” 131 And so saying Prabhu summoned Govinda, and making obeisance to Purī he got up and went away. 132 Purī Gosvāmī ran madly after Prabhu, and pleaded with him to remain at home. 133 “What you wish, you do, for you are the non-dependent *Īśvara*, and who is able to say anything to stop you? 134 All your work has been for the good of people, and I do not know all that is in the depths of your heart.” 135 So saying, Purī Gosvāmī went to his own place, and all the *bhaktas* went to the place of Haridāsa. 136 Svarūpa Gosvāmī said, “Listen, Haridāsa. We all speak for your good. Have faith. 137 Prabhu has fallen into stubbornness; but he is the non-dependent *Īśvara*. Some day he will be merciful, for his heart is full of mercy. 138 You [also] have been obstinate, and that makes his obstinacy grow. So bathe and eat, and the anger will dissipate itself.” 139 So saying, they had him bathe and eat, and having encouraged him, they went to their own homes.

140 When Prabhu was going to have *darśana* of Jagannātha, Haridāsa, saw him, but remained at a distance. 141 Mahāprabhu is an ocean of mercy; who is able to understand? He punishes his loving *bhakta*, to make him understand *dharma*. 142 Seeing this, all the *bhaktas* were terrified, and they gave up conversation with women, even in their dreams. 143 In this way Haridāsa passed a year, and still there was no favor towards him in the heart of Mahāprabhu. 144 At the end of one night, bowing to Prabhu, he left for Prayāga, telling no one anything about it. 145 He was resolved to gain the feet of Prabhu, and he entered the Trivenī and took his life. 146 And at that time, in his divine body, he came to the place of Prabhu. Gaining the mercy of Prabhu, he remained

130. Govinda is Caitanya’s personal servant, who according to some accounts accompanied Caitanya south on his pilgrimage.

133. *Svatantra*: non-dependent.

145. Trivenī: where the Gaṅga, Yamunā, and Sarasvatī rivers flow together, near modern Allahabad.

there, invisible. 147 There, invisible, in the body of a *gandharva*, he sang songs; he sang songs to Prabhu in the night, and no one else heard.

148 One day Mahāprabhu asked his *bhaktas*, "Where is Haridāsa? Bring him to me." 149 They all replied, "On the anniversary day, Haridāsa got up in the night and went away, and no one knew." 150 When he heard this, Mahāprabhu remained smiling a little, and all the *bhaktas* wondered, in their hearts. 151 One day Jagadānanda, Svarūpa, Govinda, Kāśīśvara, Śaṅkara, Damodara, and Mukunda 152 were going to bathe in the sea, and they heard from a great distance a sound like Haridāsa singing. 153 They saw no man, they only heard the sweet song. And Govinda and the others all together decided that 154 Haridāsa had taken poison and killed himself, and that for that sin he had become a *brahmarākṣasa*; 155 for they saw no form; they only heard the song. But Svarūpa said, "This is a false conclusion. 156 For all his life he sang Kṛṣṇa-kīrtana and served Prabhu. He is a vessel of the mercy of Prabhu and has died at Kṣetra. 157 He has not had a bad end, but a good one. We shall certainly know afterwards this trick of Prabhu."

158 A Vaiṣṇava came to Navadvīpa from Prayāga, and he told everyone there the news of Haridāsa— 159 how in his determination he had entered the waters of the Trivenī. When they heard it, the minds of Śrīvāsa and the others were astonished. 160 At the end of the rains Śivānanda took all the *bhaktas* and joyfully went to meet Prabhu. 161 When Śrīvāsa asked, "Where is Haridāsa?" Prabhu answered, "Man enjoys the fruits of his own actions." 162 Then Śrīvāsa told him the story, how resolutely he had entered the Trivenī. 163 And when he heard it, Prabhu smiled and said with delighted heart, "He has made this penance for seeing a woman." 164 Svarūpa and the others then considered this among them, "By the power of the Trivenī, Haridāsa has gained the feet of Prabhu."

165 Such was the *līlā* which the son of Śacī did, and when they hear it, the ears and hearts of *bhaktas* are soothed. 166 Because of his own mercy, people learned renunciation, the cause of the manifestation of profound love to his own

147. *Gandharva*: a celestial musician.

149. "*Varṣa-pūrṇa dina*" probably means the exact day when, a year previously, Caitanya ostracized him, so "anniversary," when a full year has passed.

154. *Brahmarākṣasa*: one kind of ghost or spirit; the penalty for suicide is wandering in the form of a ghost. Svarūpa, however, says in the next couplets that such an end for as pure a *bhakta* as Haridāsa was is impossible, and that whatever has happened has been a result of the power of Caitanya.

162. Śrīvāsa = Śrīvāsa.

bhaktas. 167 The greatness of the places of pilgrimage, the companionship of his soul to his own *bhaktas*—Prabhu accomplished many things in one *līlā*. 168 The *līlā* of Caitanya is sweet, and profound as the sea. People do not understand it; only steadfast *bhaktas* understand. 169 Have faith and listen to the actions of Caitanya; do not engage in philosophical discussion [of them], for in such argument arises confusion.

170 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

167. Haridāsa had killed himself at the Trivenī, a great pilgrimage-place; Kṛṣṇadāsa is saying that it was partly because of that that this true reward came about.

168. [This statement is not simple hyperbole, for the attitude expressed here toward suicide is in direct conflict with Caitanya's own critique of suicide when Sanātana was contemplating it; see 3.4.54-66. TKS]

Antya Līlā Chapter 3

Sloka 1.

I bow to the revered lotus feet of my guru, and to my gurus, and to Vaiṣṇavas, and to Śrī Rūpa, with Jīva, with the Rāghunāthas, and with his elder brother. And I bow to Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, together with his followers, and to Nityānanda and Advaita, and to the feet of Śrī Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, and to her two companions Lalitā and Viśakhā.

1 Glory, glory to Gaurācandra, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitācandra and to the hosts of Gaurā-bhaktas.

2 At Puruṣottama there was a son of an Oriyā *brāhmaṇa*; he had no father, and he was greatly beautiful and of sweet disposition. 3 He would come to Gosvāmī every day and make obeisance, and he would talk with Prabhu, and Prabhu was his life. 4 And Prabhu loved him, and was gracious toward him. Dāmodara was not able to bear this love. 5 So again and again he forbade the *brāhmaṇa* boy to come, but the latter could not stand to live if he did not see Prabhu. 6 So every day he would come, and Prabhu loved him very much. Where they are loved, there they come—such is the way of boys. 7 Seeing this, Dāmodara was greatly pained in his heart, and he could not speak, for the boy would not obey his prohibitions. 8 One day the boy came to Gosvāmī, and Gosvāmī affectionately asked him about various things. 9 And after a time, the boy rose up and went away. And unable to bear it, Dāmodara began to speak, 10 “He is learned in giving instructions to others, and he is called a Gosvāmī. Gosvāmī, Gosvāmī, now we will know what kind of Gosvāmī he is. 11 Now all the people will sing of the beauty and qualities of Gosvāmī, and then Gosvāmī

Sloka 1. See 3.2.śl.1.

4. Dāmodara is Dāmodara Paṇḍita, not Svarūpa Dāmodara.

will be famous in Puruṣottama.” 12 When he heard this, Prabhu said, “What do you mean, Dāmodara?” And Dāmodara replied, “You are the non-dependent Īśvara. 13 You act as you wish, and who can gainsay it? But can you stop the mouths of the foul-mouthed world? 14 You are a *paṇḍita*, but you don’t consider this: Why do you show such affection to the son of a *brāhmaṇa* widow? 15 Even though the *brāhmaṇa* woman is ascetic and chaste, still she has a fault: she is young and beautiful. 16 You also are young and very handsome. You give people an opportunity to gossip.” 17 So saying, Dāmodara was silent. And delighted, Gosvāmī smiled inwardly and decided, 18 “He has said this in a wave of pure *prema*. There is no one who loves me as Dāmodara does.” 19 And having decided that, Prabhu rose up to perform the midday rituals.

The next day he summoned Dāmodara to him privately. 20 Prabhu said, “Dāmodara, go to Nadiyā, and when you get there, remain near my mother. 21 I see no other protector for her apart from you. Because of that you gave me warning. 22 Among my people there is none as impartial as you, and if one is not impartial, *dharma* is not protected. 23 What cannot be had from me, can be had from you. You have punished me, not to speak of others. 24 So go and remain in my mother’s house, at my mother’s feet; before you, no one will behave as they like. 25 But come from time to time to see me, though you should quickly return there again. 26 Convey to my mother a crore of my obeisances; tell her words of my happiness, and thus give her happiness. 27 [Say] ‘To cause you to hear constantly stories of himself, Prabhu has sent me here to you.’ 28 And when you tell her this, much delight will be born in her mind; and too, cause her to reflect upon this secret thing: 29 ‘again and again I come to your house, and eat all those delicious curries. 30 I eat them, and you know that; but outwardly, in your agony of separation, you consider it a dream. 31 On the past Māgha-*saṅkrānti* you cooked; you prepared various *piṭhās* and curries and *kṣīra* and *pāyasa*. 32 When you had made the food-offering to Kṛṣṇa, you went to meditate. My image was before

12. *Svatantra*: non-dependent.

21. I.e., you warned me because of love for me.

23. I.e., Caitanya is unable to go himself to Navadvīpa because of his vow; but Dāmodara is not so restrained.

29ff. Throughout this whole passage, Kṛṣṇadāsa alternates between direct and indirect discourse; for consistency, it has all been put into the second person: these are the words that he is directing Dāmodara to say to his mother.

30. *Viraha*: agony of separation.

31. *Saṅkrānti*: the last day of the month, when the sun passes from zodiacal sign to another. Māgha: January-February.

you, and tears filled your eyes. 33 I went with great commotion and ate everything; and seeing that I had eaten, you were very happy. 34 After a while, wiping away your tears, you saw that the leaf was empty; it was as if you had seen a dream, that Nīmāi had eaten the food. 35 In a condition of external *viraha*, again you were deluded, and you began to think that you had not prepared the food. 36 You saw the cooking vessels—they were all filled with rice; and again, having purified the place, you began to prepare another food offering. 37 In this way again and again I ate; by your pure *prema* I am attracted. 38 It is by your command that I am at Nīlācala; and by the power of your *prema* I am taken near you. 39 In this way, again and again, cause her to remember; in my name, bow at her feet. 40 So saying, he had *prasāda* of Jagannātha brought, and he gave [him] some separately for the Vaiṣṇavas, and some to give to his mother.

41 Then Dāmodara set off and came to Nādīyā, and greeting the mother, he remained at her feet. 42 He gave *mahāprasāda* to the Ācārya and to the other Vaiṣṇavas; the *paṇḍita* did that which Prabhu had commanded. 43 Before Dāmodara no one acted unrestrainedly, for all had fear of him, and behaved diffidently. 44 When he saw in any of Prabhu's people the least transgression of honor, he reprimanded him, and thus honor was maintained. 45 So [Prabhu's] reprimanding by Dāmodara has been told, and in the hearing of it ignorance and impiousness are driven away. 46 The *līlā* of Caitanya is deeper than a crore of seas; for what reason he did anything, no one can understand. 47 Thus, I know nothing at all of the deep meaning; and thus, deficiently, I give the external meaning.

48 One day Prabhu met Haridāsa; and in the course of conversation he asked him, 49 "Haridāsa, in the Kali age, Yavanas are innumerable; they injure cows and *brahmaṇas* and do very evil things. 50 How will all of these be saved? Not seeing the means for that, my sorrow is profound." 51 And Haridāsa answered, "Prabhu, do not be concerned. Look at the world of the Yavanas, and do not reflect sadly. 52 For all the Yavanas will be easily freed. They say 'Hārāma, hārāma,' and thus speak a semblance of the name. 53 In profound *prema*, *bhaktas* say 'hā rāma, hā rāma'; see the good fortune of the Yavanas, that they take the name. 54 Even though the meaning is different, and though the intention of the name is other, still the power of the name is unconquerable.

52. *Hārāma*; Persian for "boar," or in general for unclean things. The name of which this is a "semblance" is of course Rāma. See Introduction, p. 112, n. 238.

Śloka 2. Nṛsimha Purāṇa:

Wounded by a boar's tusk, a *mleccha* will again and again shout 'hārāma'! and thus gains release; what then of him who sings [the name] with faith?

55 Ajāmila called his son Nārāyaṇa, thus bringing the messenger of Viṣṇu, who freed him from his bonds. 56 The two syllables of 'rāma' are not separate; and the word 'hā,' uttered in *prema*, is an ornament to them. 57 This is the nature of all the syllables of the name, that even if they are separated they do not lose their own power.

Śloka 3. Gopala Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin's Haribhaktivilāsa 11.289 [quoting Padma Purāṇa]:

One name, uttered by anyone, or sent along the path of memory, or heard, whether purely or impurely pronounced or whether they are separated or not, that truly brings salvation. If that is cast among impious people who are attached to greed for people and wealth and the body, O *brahmaṇa*, [only then] is it not quickly fruitful.

58 From a hint of the name is the destruction of all sins.

Śloka 4. Rūpa Gosvāmin's Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu [dakṣiṇa-vibhāga, vibhāva-laharī] 2.1.103 [quoting Padma Purāṇa]:

Even a touch of the sun of his name, risen in the cavern of the heart, destroys the darkness of all great sins, O storehouse of qualities. So worship sincerely and constantly him who is the diadem of greatest fame, most delectable to those whose minds glow with faith, purifier even of the pure.

59 From a hint of the name is the destruction of *saṃsāra*.

55. The name of the deity pronounced for any reason, is efficacious; *BhP* 6.2.10, 18: Ajāmila was dying, and pronounced the name of his son, and because of that the messengers of Viṣṇu came, rather than the messengers of Yama, and freed him from the bondage of *saṃsāra*.

56-57. Even if the two syllables "rā" and "ma" had elements between them, as for example in *rājamahīṣī*, their repetition would be efficacious. In "hārāma" there is not even such separation, and the syllable "hā," which is an exclamation, merely enhances their effect.

Śloka 3. This is quite a departure from the Vedic tradition, in which mispronunciation of a *mantra* is a great fault, and may indeed bring disaster rather than the reverse.

58. Singlets precede the next several *ślokas*.

Śloka 5. Dhāma: Vaikuṇṭha. See 3.3.11.11.

Sloka 5. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 6.2.49:

Even Ajāmila, at the time of his death, pretending to call his son, pronounced the name of Hari, and gained the *dhama*; what is to be said of others, who take [the name] in faith?

60 In a hint of the name is *mukti*, and this is seen in all the *śāstras*. The witness of this is Ajāmila in the *Bhāgavata*.”

61 Hearing this, delight pervaded Mahāprabhu's heart, and again as a trick he asked him, 62 “On the earth there are many *jīvas*, moving and unmoving; what kind of release is there for all of these?” 63 And Haridāsa said, “Prabhu, toward whom is your mercy? Formerly, you saved the moving and unmoving [creatures]. 64 You made *saṁkīrtana* loudly, and creatures moving and unmoving heard it. 65 And even while they listened, for creatures that move *saṁsāra* was destroyed. And the sound struck the unmoving, and from that an echo arose. 66 But it was not an echo—for they were singing *kīrtana*. This story of your mercy cannot be told. 67 The whole world was filled with loud *saṁkīrtana*, and hearing it, creatures moving and unmoving danced in an ecstasy of *prema*. 68 Such you did in Jhārikhaṇḍa, while going to Vṛndāvana; Balabhadra Bhaṭṭācārya has told it to me. 69 And how Vasudeva petitioned on behalf of *jīvas*, and then you promised that *jīvas* would be freed. 70 Your *avatāra* is to save the world; and you have promised that before your *bhaktas*. 71 To that end you have propagated loud *saṁkīrtana*, and you have cut the ties of *saṁsāra* for unmoving and moving *jīvas*.” 72 Prabhu said, “When all *jīvas* will be freed, will this Brahmā-world be totally empty?” 73 And Haridāsa said, “While you are in the mortal state, so all the kinds of *jīvas*, moving and unmoving, 74 you will send to Vaikuṇṭha, having released them all. And again you will arouse *karma* in subtle *jīvas*, 75 and those *jīvas* will become here moving and unmoving. And in that way you will fill the Brahmā-world as before. 76 For as Raghunātha took all of Ayodhya and went to Vaikuṇṭha, and Ayodhya was filled with other *jīvas*, 77 now you have appeared and have spread out a market, and no

69. Vasudeva Datta wanted to take the sins of all *jīvas* on himself, that they might be freed; see 2.15.158-64.

74-75. Some of those released will again return to enjoy or suffer the fruits of the *karma* of previous lives; they remain in the sea of causation after death, until again summoned to the earth.

76. Rama (Raghunātha), when he went to Vaikuṇṭha, took with him all the people of the city of Ayodhya; but again it was filled with those *jīvas* who still had to work out their *karma*.

77. *Hāṭa patiyācha*: spread out a market, the meaning of which is unclear. Perhaps Kṛṣṇadāsa is saying that Caitanya has brought into the world the possibility of salvation through the name,

one understands this profound play. 78 So formerly Kṛṣṇa took *avatāra* in Vraja, and broke the *saṁsāra* of all the *jīvas* of the Brahmā-worlds.

Sloka 6. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.29.16:

From whom this [creation] gains release, concerning this Īśvara of *yogeśvaras*, this *bhagavat* Śrī Kṛṣṇa, free from birth, this should not be a matter of wonder to you.

Sloka 7. Viṣṇu Purāṇa 4.15.10:

This Bhagavān seen, praised, remembered, even by him devoted to malice, gives fruit hard to gain even by *suras* and *asuras*; what then of those who are deeply devoted to him?

79 So you have taken *avatāra* in Navadvīpa, and have saved the *jīvas* of all the Brahmā-worlds. 80 He who says, ‘The greatness of Caitanya is perceived by me,’ let him think that way; again, for me, only this is certain: 81 of your shoreless ocean of nectar of infinite greatness, not one drop is in my heart or in my speech.”

82 When he heard this, Prabhu was astonished inwardly, “How does Haridāsa know the profundities of this *līlā* of mine?” 83 And delighted in his heart he embraced him, but he forbade all this to be publicly circulated. 84 The nature of Īśvara is that he wants to hide his divinity; but he was not able to hide it from the *bhaktas*, and they understood.

Sloka 8. Yamunācārya's *Stotraratna* 18:

The possibility of being superior or equal to the three limitations is hidden by your *māyā*; but certain ones, single-mindedly devoted to you, remain gazing on the true form of your divinity.

85 Then Mahāprabhu went to join his own *bhaktas*, and he spoke of the qualities of Haridāsa as if with a hundred mouths. 86 To speak of the qualities of his *bhaktas* gave Prabhu great pleasure; and in that the best of his *bhaktas* was Śrī Haridāsa. 87 The qualities of Haridāsa are innumerable and unparalleled; some of them have been described in part, but their limit has not been

and that access to it is as available to people as the goods at the weekly market (*hāṭa*), or just as a vendor handles goods, Caitanya traffics in *saṁkīrtana* to *jīvas*.

83. Caitanya evidently forbade Haridāsa to speak this way.

Sloka 8. See 1.3.śl.17.

reached. 88 Śrī Vṛndāvana Dāsa, in the *Caitanya-maṅgala*, has revealed some of the qualities of Haridāsa. 89 It is impossible to tell all, for the deeds of Haridāsa are endless; he who tells a little of them purifies himself. 90 Those which Vṛndāvana Dāsa has not described, hear, O *bhaktas*, some of those qualities of Haridāsa.

91 When Haridāsa abandoned his own home, he remained many days in the forests of Beṇāpola. 92 He was alone in the forest, and he made a hut and served the *tulasī*, and recited in *kīrtana* night and day three lakhs of names. 93 He lived by begging at the houses of *brāhmaṇas*, and because of his glory all the people worshiped him. 94 The ruler of that country was called Rāmacandra Khān; he had malice towards Vaiṣṇavas, and was a greatly impious man. 95 He could not bear the worship of the people towards Haridāsa, and he devised many schemes to degrade him. 96 In no way did Haridāsa have any fault. So as a way of degrading him, he had prostitutes brought. 97 He said to the prostitutes, "This Haridāsa is an ascetic; all of you destroy the *dharma* of his asceticism." 98 Among the prostitutes there was one who was young and beautiful, and she said, "In three days' time I shall have stolen his mind." 99 And Khān said, "Let my footmen go with you, and when he unites with you they will seize him and bring him here." 100 The prostitute said, "The first time I will go without companions; the second, I shall take your footmen to seize him."

101 In the nighttime that prostitute put on beautiful clothes, and went joyfully to the dwelling place of Haridāsa. 102 Bowing to the *tulasī*, she went to the door of Haridāsa, and bowing to the Gosvāmī, she remained standing there.

88. One of the most moving of these tales is of how Haridāsa was summoned before the Muslim *qāzi* because of his supposed apostasy, and how he was whipped through twenty-two market places, being sustained by his faith. See Vṛndāvana Dāsa's *CBh* 1.11. [= 1.16 GM ed.], a translation of which can be found in Stewart, "The Exemplary Devotion of the 'Servant of Hari,'" in *The Religions of India in Practice*, ed. Donald S. Lopez, Jr. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 564-77; see also Dimock, "Muslim Vaiṣṇava Poets of Bengal" in *Languages and Areas: Studies Presented to George V. Bobrinskoy* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1967), 28-36.

91. There is some question as to whether Haridāsa was born a Muslim, or whether he was converted. *CBh* 1.11.234 [= 1.16.237 GM ed.] has him describe his family as "low" (*ntakula*), which Rādhāgovinda Natha, for example, feels means non-*brāhmaṇa* Hindu. But the *CBh* passage referred to above, in which he defends himself before the *qāzi*, certainly suggests that he was born a Muslim. In any case, he came from the village of Būdhana in Yaśohara (Jessore) district in the east; Beṇāpola was also an area of that district.

94. This is not the same Rāmacandra Khān mentioned in *CBh* 3.2.80-145, who was the ruler of Chatrabhogā village in Twenty-four Parganas, and who assisted Caitanya when the latter was on his way to Orissa.

103 Uncovering her body and showing him, she sat down in the door, and began to say in a most melodious voice, 104 "O Ṭhākura, you are most handsome and in the blush of youth; seeing you how could any woman contain herself? 105 My mind is greedy for union with you, and if I do not have you there is no reason to live any more." 106 Haridāsa said, "I shall make you that promise. But [my recitation of] the number of the names [of Kṛṣṇa] is still not finished. 107 You sit there and listen to the *nāma-saṅkīrtana* until it is. When I have finished the names, I shall do what you wish." 108 Hearing this, the prostitute remained seated, and Haridāsa made *kīrtana* until the morning. 109 Seeing that it was morning, the prostitute arose, and going to Khān she told him everything. 110 "Today he has given me his promise; tomorrow I will certainly have union with him."

111 The next day in the evening, the prostitute came, and Haridāsa encouraged her much, 112 "Yesterday you were sorrowed; but I will not offend you, that I shall certainly promise you. 113 Now sit here and listen to the *nāma-saṅkīrtana*, and when the names have been fulfilled, then your wish will also be fulfilled." 114 So the prostitute made obeisance to him and to the *tulasī*, and sat in the doorway and listened to the names, and she said 'Hari, Hari.' 115 The end of the night came, and the prostitute was very restless, and seeing her condition, Haridāsa said to her, 116 "I make a sacrifice of taking a crore of names every month. This vow I have made, and I am coming to the end of it. 117 'Today it will be completed,' was my thought, and although I took names the whole night long, I was unable to complete it. 118 Today it will be complete, and my vow will be fulfilled; then I shall have intercourse with you, as you desire." 119 So the prostitute went and told this to the Khān, and the next day in the evening came to the place of Ṭhākura.

120 Bowing to Ṭhākura and to the *tulasī*, she sat in the doorway and listened to the names, saying "Hari, Hari." 121 "The names will certainly be finished today," said Haridāsa, "and today I shall fulfill your desire." 122 And while he was still at *kīrtana*, the end of the night came. And in the company of the Ṭhākura, the prostitute's mind was turned. 123 Bowing deeply she fell at the feet of the Ṭhākura, and humbly told him the story of Rāmacandra Khān. 124 "As a prostitute I have committed infinite sins; be merciful and save me, wretched as I am." 125 Ṭhākura said: "I know all about the Khān. He is ignorant and stupid, so I do not take offence from him. 126 That day [when you came] I was going to go from this place, but I remained for three more days, to save you." 127 The prostitute said, "Be gracious, and instruct me; what should I do, that the agonies of *saṁsāra* pass from me?" 128 Ṭhākura said, "Give the

goods of your house to a *brāhmaṇa*, then come to this house and remain here. 129 Take the name incessantly, and serve the *tulast*, and quickly you will gain the feet of Kṛṣṇa." 130 So saying, instructing her about the name, the Ṭhākura rose up and went away, saying "Hari Hari." 131 So the prostitute took the orders of her *guru*, and she gave whatever there was in her house to a *brāhmaṇa*. 132 She shaved her head and remained with one cloth in that house, and night and day she took the name three lakhs of times. 133 She served the *tulast* and fasted, [only] chewing; and as she controlled her senses, *prema* manifested itself. 134 She became a famous Vaiṣṇava, a very great person, and many great Vaiṣṇavas went to have *darśana* of her. 135 And seeing the actions of the prostitute, the people were astonished, and they spoke of the greatness of Haridāsa, and made obeisance.

136 Rāmacandra Khān sowed the seed of offence, and that seed became a tree and soon bore fruit. 137 The fruit of offence to a great man is a matter wonderful to relate; let me tell of it here. Listen, you *bhaktas*. 138 By nature Rāmacandra Khān was anti-Vaiṣṇava, and in his offence to Haridāsa he was like an *asura*. 139 He condemned the Vaiṣṇava-*dharma* and he showed contempt for Vaiṣṇavas, and because of his offences of many days he reaped the consequences. 140 When Nityānanda Gosvāmī came to Gauḍa, he began to wander about, preaching *prema*. 141 Preaching *prema* and trampling the impious—the Avadhūta wandered about with these two purposes. 142 All-knowing, Nityānanda came to his house, and coming there he sat upon the *durga-maṇḍapa*. 143 He had many people with him, and they filled the courtyard; and from within [the house] Rāmacandra Khān sent servants, 144 and the servants said, "Gosvāmī, the Khān has sent us to arrange for you to stay in the home of a householder. 145 At the house of the milkman there is a cowshed which is very large. This place is very small, and there are many people with you." 146 He was within [the courtyard], and when he heard this he came outside angrily, and roaring with laughter the Gosvāmī began to say, 147 "He speaks truly. This house is not fit for me. It is fit for *mlecchas* to murder cows." 148 So saying the Gosvāmī rose up and went off angrily, and to punish him he did not remain

133. Either she was chewing to allay her hunger, but not eating, or she was chewing the *tulast* to control her senses; the Bengali has both possibilities.

136. His attempted degradation of Haridāsa was his offence (*aparādha*), and that was the seed of his destruction.

140. Caitanya had instructed Nityānanda to return to Bengal from Puri to preach.

142. Rāmacandra Khān was a Hindu, and had in his courtyard a covered platform (*durga-maṇḍapa*).

in the village. 149 Now Rāmacandra Khān gave an order to his servant, that where Gosvāmī had sat the earth should be dug away, 150 and all the courtyard of the temple cleansed with cowdung and water. And still Rāmacandra was not satisfied. 151 Rāmacandra was a thief, and he did not pay his tax. Because of that the *mleccha ujira*, being angry, went to his house. 152 Going there, he lived in the *durga-maṇḍapa*, and he killed things that should not be killed, and he cooked the meat in that place. 153 He kept Rāmacandra, with his wife and his sons, captive, and he remained in the house for three days, looting the village. 154 In that house for three days he cooked forbidden things, and the next day he took everything and went away. 155 So the people and wealth and caste of Khān—all were destroyed, and for a long time the village remained deserted. 156 So it is in the village and in the country where there is disrespect to a great man; by the fault of a single man, the whole country is ruined.

157 So Haridāsa Ṭhākura travelled to Cāndapura, and coming there he remained at the house of Balarāma Ācārya. 158 There were two men—Hiraṇya and Govarddhana, who were *majumdārs* of the kingdom, and the name of their *purohita* was Balarāma. 159 He was a receptacle of the grace of Haridāsa, for he was devoted to *bhakti*. He kept Ṭhākura in that village with great care. 160 He made *kīrtana* by himself in a thatched-roofed cottage, and he took his food at the house of Balarāma Ācārya. 161 Raghunātha Dāsa was a boy, a student, and he would go to see Haridāsa Ṭhākura, 162 and the grace of Haridāsa was upon him. It was because of that grace that he gained Caitanya. 163 The stories of the greatness of Haridāsa in that place, O *bhaktas*, are wonderful. Let me tell one. 164 One day Balarāma entreated him humbly, and took him to the court of the *majumdārs*. 165 When they saw Ṭhākura, the two brothers arose out of respect, and touching his feet, they gave him a seat and paid him respect. 166 There were many *paṇḍitas* there in the court, and *brāhmaṇas*, and holy men; these two brothers, Hiraṇya and Govarddhana, were great *paṇḍitas*. 167 They all spoke of the qualities of Haridāsa as if with five mouths, and when they heard

151. The Muslim ruler evidently sent his advocate (*ujira*: wazir, see *The Mahārāṣṭra Purāṇa*, pp. 6, 8) to collect the taxes, or in lieu of that to destroy Rāmacandra Khān by breaking his caste and taking his goods.

152. He evidently slaughtered cattle and cooked the meat in that sacred place.

157. Cāndapura is a village near Saptagrāma.

158. *Majumdāra*: records keeper; *muluka*: kingdom, here probably meaning the territory of Saptagrāma rather than the whole of Bengal.

159. Haridāsa will frequently be referred to as Ṭhākura.

it the two brothers were greatly delighted. 168 Ṭhakura made *kīrtana* with three lakhs of names; and among the *paṇḍitas* the question of the greatness of the name arose. 169 And some said, "From the name is the destruction of sins," and others said: "From the name is the release of *jīvas*." 170 And Haridāsa said, "These are not the two fruits of the name; in the fruit of the name is the arising of *prema* to the feet of Kṛṣṇa."

Sloka 9. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 11.2.40:

The man, thus aroused, his affection inspired by his own *nāma-saṁkīrtana*, with spinning thoughts, like a madman, transported beyond the world of men, sometimes laughs out loud, sometimes weeps, sometimes cries out, and sometimes sings and dances.

171 The destruction of sins and *mukti* are secondary results of the name; an example of it is in the manifestation of the sun.

Sloka 10. Rūpa Gosvāmin's Padyāvalī 16 [quoting Lakṣmīdhara]:

As the sun does to the sea of the darkness, so one pronunciation of the name of Hari, beneficent to the world, conquers all the sins of men.

172 Explain, O *paṇḍitas*, the meaning of this *śloka*." But all said, "You explain the meaning." 173 And Haridāsa said, "It is as the rising of the sun. While the sun is still not risen, the darkness begins to be dispelled, 174 as do fear and terror of thieves and ghosts and *rakṣasas*; and when the sun rises there are manifested auspicious things and the doing of that which is proper. 175 So at the beginning of the rising of the name, sins and the rest are dispelled; and when it is risen there is the manifestation of *prema* at the feet of Kṛṣṇa. 176 *Mukti* is an insignificant result, from a hint of the name."

Sloka 11. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 6.2.49:

Even Ajāmila, at the time of his death, pretending to call his son, pronounced the name of Hari, and gained the *dhāma*; what is to be said of others, who take the name in faith?

170. I.e., these are not the two primary fruits, not the reasons why the name should be taken. *Prema* is the primary fruit, and these others follow naturally.

Sloka 9. See 1.7.śl.4; 2.9.śl.20; 2.23.śl.20; 2.25.śl.34.

Sloka 11. See 3.3.śl.5.

177 *Bhaktas* do not take that *mukti*, but Kṛṣṇa wishes to give it.

Sloka 12. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 3.29.13:

Even if I myself am prepared to give it, my people do not take to *śalokya*, *sarṣṭi*, *sārūpya*, *sāmīpya* or *ekatva* without serving me.

178 There was a *brāhmaṇa* there, by the name of Gopāla Cakravartī, and he was head collector at the house of the *majumdārs*. 179 He remained in Gauḍa, and he paid the taxes to the Badshāh, and he sent twelve lakhs of coins [every year] to the Badshāh. 180 He was young, and a *paṇḍita*, and very handsome, and when he heard "a hint of the name gives *mukti*" he could not bear it. 181 Angry, he said these fierce words, "You listen, O *paṇḍitas*, to the theories of this emotionalist. 182 That *mukti* which does not appear in the knowledge of *brahma* in a crore of births, he says is in a hint of the name." 183 Then Haridāsa said: "Why do you doubt it? The *śāstras* say that *mukti* is in only a hint of the name. 184 And compared to the happiness of *bhakti*, *mukti* is most insignificant; thus *bhaktas* do not touch *mukti*."

Sloka 13. Rūpa Gosvāmin's Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu [pārvavibhāga, sāmānyabhakti-laharī] 1.1.39 [quoting Haribhaktisudhodaya 14.36]:

O guru of the world, for me who has been established in the pure sea of the joy of the realization of your true form, even that happiness of dwelling in the place of *brahma* is like a tiny puddle of water in the imprint of a cow's hoof.

185 The *brāhmaṇa* said, "If there is no *mukti* in a hint of the name, then you cut off your nose—make this promise." 186 And Haridāsa said, "If there is no

177. [For the kinds of *mukti*, see 1.3.16; 2.6.239. Radhagovinda Natha's commentary on this couplet includes a detailed explanation of the powers of the name, types of offence to the name, etc. TKS]

Sloka 12. See 1.4.śl.36; 2.6.śl.23; 2.9.śl.24; 2.19.śl.24.

178. *Ārindā*: collector, tax-collector.

179. He remained at Gauḍa, which was the capital of Bengal, and there transmitted to the court of the king or Nabāb the taxes which Hirāṇya and Govarddhana paid the government, amounting to twelve lakhs of rupees every year.

181. *Bhāvaka*: emotionalist.

Sloka 13. See 1.7.śl.5; 2.24.śl.9.

185. Presumably this means that Gopāla is wagering that Haridāsa cannot prove that the *śāstras* actually do support this argument, not that they intend to wait to see if *mukti* is gained. If this is true, they never do get to the argument, for Gopāla is laughed out of the assembly. The wager is paid off in v. 196 below.

mukti in a hint of the name, then I shall cut off my nose—that is for certain.” 187 Then all the people in the court laughed, and the *majumdārs* reproached that *brahmaṇa*. 188 Balāi Purohita rebuked him, saying, “You are a foolish hair-splitter; what do you know of *bhakti*? 189 You have insulted Haridāsa Ṭhākura; everything of yours will be destroyed, and you will gain no welfare.” 190 When he heard this, Haridāsa rose up and went away, and the *majumdārs* let that *brahmaṇa* go. 191 With everyone, they fell at the feet of Haridāsa, and Haridāsa smiled and said in a gentle voice, 192 “What is your fault in this? He is an ignorant *brahmaṇa*, and he also has no fault in this, for his mind is attached to philosophical dispute. 193 The greatness of the name is not perceived by logic; from where would he know all these truths? 194 Go home, and may the blessing of Kṛṣṇa be on you all. Let no one be grieved because of me.” 195 Then that Hiranya Dāsa went to his own home, and he closed his door to that *brahmaṇa*. 196 Within three days that *brahmaṇa* became a leper. His long nose melted and fell off. 197 His fingers and toes, which had been like *campaka* and *kalikā* buds, shrivelled up and melted in his leprosy. 198 When they saw it, all the people were struck with wonder, and they praised Haridāsa and made obeisance to him. 199 Even though Haridāsa did not find fault with the *brahmaṇa*, Īśvara made him suffer the fruits of it. 200 The nature of a *bhakta* is to forgive a fault [committed] because of ignorance; and the nature of Kṛṣṇa is not to be able to bear an insult to his *bhaktas*.

201 When he heard of the leprosy of the *brahmaṇa*, Haridāsa was saddened; and having spoken of it to Purohita Balāi, he came to Śāntipura. 202 Meeting the Ācārya, he bowed and paid his respects, and Advaita embraced him and paid him respect. 203 He built a hut on the bank of the Gaṅgā and gave it to him [to dwell in] alone, and caused him to listen to the meaning of *bhakti* according to the *Bhagavad Gītā*. 204 He ate every day at the house of the Ācārya, and the two of them together tasted the stories of Kṛṣṇa. 205 Haridāsa said, “Gosvāmī!

188. Balāi: Balarāma. “Hair-splitter” is *ghaṭa-pāṭiya*, which has the following interesting derivation: in searching for a definition of the undivided *brahman*, the Mayāvādins make the analogy of the sky (*paṭakaśa*) being reflected in an earthen pot (*ghaṭa*), or space contained within that pot: when the pot is broken, the space within the pot joins the infinite space and is undivided from it.

201. Kṛṣṇadāsa has Haridāsa moving from Burhana to Beṇāpola to Cāṇḍapura in Saptagrāma, and from there going to Śāntipura. Vṛndāvana Dāsa, however, mentions neither Beṇāpola nor Cāṇḍapura; see CBh 1.11 [= 1.16 GM ed.].

203. *Gopha*: hut, which more usually means “cave”; it may mean here a hut made of earth. [Vṛndāvana Dāsa tells of another episode in this hut where a poisonous serpent came and was converted by Haridāsa’s chanting; see CBh 1.11.169-95 [= 1.16 GM ed.]. TKS]

I ask you humbly, why do you give me rice every day? 206 Here there are many very great *brahmaṇas*, of highest families, and I am lowly and humble; do you not feel fear and shame? 207 Your actions are not of this world, and I feel fear in speaking of them, that you would show me such mercy, by which I am protected.” 208 The Ācārya said, “You should not fear, for that which I do is according to the *śāstras*. 209 If you eat there is the feeding of a crore of *brahmaṇas*.” And so saying he gave him a *śraddha* plate to eat. 210 And he reflected on the salvation of the world—how would the non-Vaiṣṇava world be saved? 211 The Ācārya resolved to bring an *avatāra* of Kṛṣṇa, so he began to perform *pūjā* with water and the *tulasī*. 212 And Haridāsa in his hut made *nāma-saṁkīrtana*, that Kṛṣṇa would take an *avatāra*—this was his wish. 213 So because of the *bhakti* of these two, Caitanya made his descent, and propagating the name and *prema*, he saved the world.

214 Another unworldly deed of his there is, in the hearing of which people are astonished. 215 Do not indulge in argument about it, for it is beyond the perception of logic. But hear it with faith and with trust. 216 One day Haridāsa was sitting in his hut making *nāma-saṁkīrtana* in a loud voice. 217 The night was bright with light of moon and stars and all the ten directions were pure and clear, and the waves of the Gaṅgā were glittering in the light. 218 The *tulasī* at the door was on the cleansed *piṇḍi*. When they saw the beauty of the cottage, the hearts of people were refreshed. 219 At that time, a woman came into the courtyard, and the place became golden and glowing by radiance of her body. 220 By the perfume of her body everything all around was charmed, and the ears were thrilled by the sound of her ornaments. 221 Approaching, she made obeisance to the *tulasī*, and having circumambulated the *tulasī*, she went to the door of the hut. 222 With palms together she bowed to the feet of Haridāsa, and sitting in the doorway she said to him in a gentle voice, 223 “You, possessed of qualities and beauty, are praiseworthy in the world. I have come for union with you. 224 Be kind, and promise me; for being kind to lowly people is the nature of a holy man.” 225 So saying, she manifested various

206. *Kultna-samāja*: “highest families”; a *samāja* is in such a context an association of families of the same caste, regulating itself under the control of the elder, or *samāja-pati*. See Inden, MRBC.

209. The feeding of one Vaiṣṇava has the same merit as feeding a crore of *brahmaṇas*. *Śraddha-pātra*: see 1.10.42.

214-48. This story appears to be a transformation of the above-mentioned episode, vv. 91-135.

218. *Piṇḍi*: the small platform on which the *tulasī*-plant is placed.

225. *Bhava*: emotion; clearly here suggesting erotic advances.

emotions in such a way that in seeing it the steadfastness of a *muni* would be destroyed. 226 But Haridāsa was unshaken, for his heart was grave, and gently he began to say to her, 227 "The *saṅkīrtana* of a number of names—I have determined on this as a great sacrifice, and I have vowed to do this every day. 228 As long as the *kīrtana* is unfinished, I can have no other desire; but when the *kīrtana* is finished, then the vow will be completed. 229 So sit in the doorway and listen to the *nāma-saṅkīrtana*; when the names are finished I shall make love with you." 230 So saying he made *nāma-saṅkīrtana*, and the woman sat there and listened to the names. 231 And while the *kīrtana* was going on, morning came, and seeing that it was morning, the woman got up and left.

232 In this way the third day came, and she showed many emotions, by which the mind of Brahmā would be stolen. 233 But the mind of Haridāsa was always attached to the name of Kṛṣṇa, and the manifestation of her womanly passion was weeping in the forest. 234 On the third day, when the end of the night came, the woman began to speak to Ṭhākura, 235 "For three days you have cheated me, giving me false hope, and night and day there is no conclusion to these names of yours." 236 Haridāsa Ṭhākura said, "What can I do? I have settled on something, how can I abandon it?" 237 Then the woman made obeisance to him and said, "I am Māyā, and I have come to test you. 238 I have enchanted everything—*jīvas*, Brahmā and the rest; you alone I could not enchant. 239 You are a great *bhāgavata*, and in *darśana* of you, and in hearing your *kīrtana* of the Kṛṣṇa-name, 240 my mind is purified, and wants to take the name of Kṛṣṇa; so be gracious to me, and instruct me in the Kṛṣṇa-name. 241 In the Caitanya-*avatāra* is a flood of the nectar of *prema*; all *jīvas* float in *prema*, and the earth is blessed. 242 That miserable *jīva* who does not float in this flood will never be saved in a crore of *kalpas*. 243 Formerly I got the Rāma-name from Śiva, but I had a desire to take the Kṛṣṇa-name from you. 244 The name of Rāma is the source of *mukti*, and so is the rescuer; but the name of Kṛṣṇa is 'that which takes one across,' and gives the gift of *prema*. 245 So give me the Kṛṣṇa-name, and I shall serve it; give me that blessing; make me float upon that flood of *prema*." 246 So saying, she bowed to the feet of Haridāsa, and Haridāsa said, "Perform Kṛṣṇa-*saṅkīrtana*." 247 Receiving

233. "Weeping in the forest": i.e., fruitless, carried on where no one would respond.

238. Haridāsa is beyond the reach and control of *māya-śakti*; he is directly controlled by the *svarūpa*, being pure.

242. *Kalpa*: a day and a night of Brahmā, or 432 million years.

244. One can gain *mukti* by the name of Rāma, and by that name one is pulled out of the sea of *saṁsāra*; but by the name of Kṛṣṇa one is taken across that sea.

this instruction and delighted, Māyā went away. Not everyone will believe these stories. 248 But let me tell a reason for belief in them, and in the hearing of it faith will appear in everyone.

249 Enticed by the *prema* of Kṛṣṇa in the Caitanya-*avatāra*, Brahmā, Śiva, Sanaka, and the rest, took birth upon the earth. 250 They took the name of Kṛṣṇa, and danced, and floated on the flood of *prema*; and Nārada and Prahlaḍa came and were manifested in human form. 251 Lakṣmī and the others, all enticed by the *prema* of Kṛṣṇa, were born in human form and tasted the *prema* in the name. 252 What of others? Vrajendranandana himself, in *avatāra*, tasted the *prema-rasa*. 253 What then is the wonder in the devotee Māyā begging for *prema*? For apart from the name and the mercy of holy men there is no *prema*. 254 This is the nature of the *līla* of Caitanya Gosvāmī—that the three worlds, transformed by *prema*, dance and sing. 255 Kṛṣṇa and the rest—all things moving and unmoving, drunk with the *prema* of Kṛṣṇa, make *saṅkīrtana* to him. 256 Svarūpa Gosvāmī has written of this *līla* in his *Kaḍacā*, and I have heard it all from the mouth of Raghunātha Dāsa. 257 I have written about all these *līlas* only in brief; for I am an insignificant *jīva* and write only by the grace of Caitanya. 258 So has been told the story of the greatness of Haridāsa Ṭhākura, and in hearing it, the ears of *bhaktas* are soothed.

259 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

249. [According to Kavikarṇapūra's *GGUD*, Haridāsa Ṭhākura is Brahmā (93-95); Advaitācārya is Śiva (76-80); Sanaka and the others are as follows (107-108): Kaśinātha is Sanaka; Lokanātha is Sananda; Śrīnātha is Sanātana; Rāmanātha is Sanātkumāra. TKS]

250. Brahmā and Prahlaḍa together entered into Haridāsa (*GGUD* 93-95); Nārada entered into Śrīvāsa (*GGUD* 90).

251. Janakī and Rukminī together entered into Lakṣmī, Caitanya's first wife (*GGUD* 45-46); Satyabhāmā into Viṣṇupriyā, his second wife (*GGUD* 46-47); Radhā and Lalitā into Gadādhara (*GGUD* 146-55); Viśakhā into Svarūpa (*GGUD* 160); and so on. Rādhāgovinda Nātha gives a lengthy catalogue, based on *GGUD*, in his commentary on the verse.

252. Vrajendranandana, Kṛṣṇa, was of course Caitanya.

Antya Līla Chapter 4

Sloka 1.

From death did Śrī Gaura save Śrī Sanātana, who had returned from Vṛndāvana, controlling him with affection; and [then] he purified him by examination.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and to the hosts of Gaura-bhaktas.

2 When Rūpa had gone from Nīlācala to Gauḍa, Sanātana came to Nīlācala from Mathurā. 3 He came alone along the Jhārikhaṇḍa path, sometimes fasting, and sometimes chewing. 4 From his severe fasting, and from the waters of the Jhārikhaṇḍa, his body broke out, and pus ran from the sores. 5 But he was indifferent, and he reflected as he went along the path, "I am low-born; this body of mine is entirely worthless. 6 If I go to Jagannātha, I will not get *darśana* of him, and I shall never be able to have *darśana* of Mahāprabhu. 7 I have heard that he is dwelling near the temple, and it is not in my power to go near the temple. 8 The servants of Jagannātha will turn me away, according to their duty; and if I touch them I shall commit a great offence. 9 So if I leave this body in a holy place, I would have peace from this pain, and gain the blessed state. 10 Jagannātha will come outside during the Car Festival; I shall abandon this body under the wheels of the car. 11 Before Mahāprabhu, with Jagannātha looking on, I shall leave this body under the car; this is the highest

3. The Jhārikhaṇḍa is, as has been seen, the jungle region where, on the map of present-day India, the states of West Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa converge.

6. Because he considered himself impure and untouchable, he felt that he would not be able to enter the temple of Jagannātha.

9. As we have seen in the case of Chōṭa Haridāsa, suicide in a sacred place such as the Trivenī does not have the same terrible results that suicide of an ordinary sort has.

end of man." 12 So having determined this, he came to Nīlācala, and asking directions of people, he reached the place of Haridāsa. 13 He bowed to the feet of Haridāsa, and Haridāsa, recognizing him, embraced him. 14 His mind was very agitated to see Mahāprabhu; [knowing this], Haridāsa said, "Prabhu will come here." 15 And at that very time Prabhu, who had gone to see the *upala-bhoga*, came with his *bhaktas* to meet Haridāsa.

16 When they saw Prabhu, both fell prostrate at his feet; Prabhu raised Haridāsa up and embraced him. 17 And Haridāsa said, "Sanātana makes obeisance." And when he saw Sanātana, Prabhu was astonished. 18 Prabhu came forward to embrace Sanātana; but Sanātana backed away and said, 19 "Do not touch me, Prabhu! I fall at your feet. I am low and a vile person, and now there are sores on my body." 20 But by force Prabhu embraced him, and the oozings from the sores touched the holy body of Mahāprabhu. 21 Prabhu introduced Sanātana to all the *bhaktas*, and Sanātana bowed to the feet of them all. 22 With all of them, Prabhu sat upon the *piṇḍa*, and Haridāsa and Sanātana sat at the foot of it. 23 Mahāprabhu asked about Sanātana's well-being, and he replied, "It is most wonderful, now that I have seen your feet." 24 And he asked of the welfare of the Gosvāmīs of the Vaiṣṇavas at Mathurā, and Sanātana informed him that all was well with them. 25 Prabhu said, "Rūpa was here for ten months; just ten days ago he left here for Gauḍa. 26 Your brother Anupama has died; it was well, for his *bhakti* to Raghunātha was very profound." 27 Sanātana said, "My birth was in a low family; the *dharma* of my family has been *adharma* and *anyāya*. 28 Leaving aside hatred for such a family, you promised us that by your grace, my family would be blessed. 29 That brother Anupama, from the time of his boyhood, has worshiped Raghunātha with profound devotion. 30 Day and night he meditated on the name of Raghunātha, and he constantly listened to and sang the *Rāmāyaṇa*. 31 Rūpa and I are his elder brothers, and he remained with us both all the time. 32 All together we listened to stories of Kṛṣṇa and to the *Bhāgavata*, and we two tested him. 33 'Listen, O Vallabha. Kṛṣṇa is the highest sweetness; his beauty and sweetness and *prema-vilāsa* are vast. 34 So worship Kṛṣṇa with us, we three brothers together will remain in the delight of the stories of Kṛṣṇa.' 35 In this way we would talk to him again and again; and out of regard for us two, his mind was

15. *Upala-bhoga*: a morning food-offering to Jagannātha.

26. Anupama was a *bhakta* of Raghunātha, i.e., Rāma.

27. Whether the family of Sanātana was really "opposed to *dharma*" and "opposed to justice" (*nyāya*) is a matter of debate; it is possible that his father was a convert to Islam. But this may also be a conventional expression of humility, especially for one who has been in the employ of Muslim rulers. See PHM 73-75.

turned a little bit. 36 'Shall I transgress so much the commands of you both? Give me the *dikṣa-mantra*, and I shall worship Kṛṣṇa.' 37 So he said; but in the night-time, he reflected, 'How can I abandon the feet of Raghunātha?' 38 And all night long he remained awake weeping, and in the morning he entreated us both: 39 'I have sold my head to the feet of Raghunātha; I cannot snatch my head away, and I am greatly pained. 40 Be kind, both of you; give me your permission to serve, in birth after birth, the feet of Raghunātha. 41 The lotus-feet of Raghunātha cannot be left; when I think of leaving them, my breath leaves [my body].' 42 Then we both embraced him, and praised him, saying, 'Your *bhakti* is profound and pure.' 43 Thus you have given a tiny bit of your mercy to our family; all are blessed by it, and all pain has been cut away." 44 Gosvāmī said, "In the same way was Murāri Gupta; previously I tested him, and he felt this same way. 45 That *bhakta* is blessed, who does not abandon the feet of his Prabhu; and that Prabhu is blessed, who does not abandon his own people. 46 And if by ill chance his servant goes to some other place, that blessed *Ṭhākura* seizes and drags him [back] by the hair. 47 It is good that you have come here; remain here in this house with Haridāsa. 48 Both of you are foremost in the *rasa* of Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti*; taste the *rasa* of Kṛṣṇa, take the Kṛṣṇa-name." 49 So saying, Mahāprabhu arose and went away, and he sent *prasāda* for both of them by means of Govinda.

50 In this way Sanātana remained at the place of Prabhu; and seeing the wheels of the car of Jagannātha, he bowed in respect. 51 Prabhu came every day to meet with them both, and they spoke for some time in pleasant conversation about Kṛṣṇa. 52 And every day he got holy *prasāda* from the temple of Jagannātha, and coming there he gave it to them both every day. 53 One day Prabhu came and met them both, and suddenly he began to speak to Sanātana, 54 "Sanātana, Kṛṣṇa is not gained by those who abandon their bodies, otherwise tens of millions would give up their bodies every instant. 55 We do not gain Kṛṣṇa by abandonment of the body, but by worship; there is no other means of gaining Kṛṣṇa except *bhakti*. 56 Abandoning the body, etc., is the *dharma* of *tamas*; but in the *dharma* of *rajas* and *tamas* the feet of Kṛṣṇa are

39. *Muñi beciyācho mātā*: "sold my head," i.e., totally dedicated myself to.

44. I.e., Murāri was also a Rāma-*bhakta*; see 2.15.138-157.

46. I.e., if a servant abandons his own Prabhu and turns elsewhere, as Kṛṣṇadāsa did with the *Bhaṭṭamāris*, that Prabhu feels so deeply for that servant that he puts him back on the right path.

54. *Dehatyāga*: abandon the body, i.e., commit suicide.

56. People who move about in the darkness (*tamas*) cannot discriminate among objects; similarly people who follow kinds of *dharma* which are dark cannot discriminate right from wrong and

not attained. 57 Apart from *bhakti*, *prema* toward Kṛṣṇa never arises, and except for *prema* there is no other means of gaining Kṛṣṇa.

Śloka 2. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 11.14.20:

O Uddhava, only that very powerful *bhakti* toward me is able to compel me; I am not [compelled by] *yoga*, *sāṁkhya*, *dharma*, Vedic study, *tapas*, or renunciation.

58 Abandoning the body is the *dharma* of *tamas*, and is the cause of falling; by it the *sādhaka* does not gain the feet of Kṛṣṇa. 59 The truly loving *bhakta*, in separation, wants to abandon his body; but in love, Kṛṣṇa joins him, and he is not able to die. 60 Separation, for one who is profoundly loving, cannot be borne, and in that condition the one who loves desires his own death.

Śloka 3. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.52.43:

O lotus eyed one, great ones like Umāpati desire to bathe in the dust of your lotus feet, to dispel the darkness of the soul; if I cannot gain that grace of yours, then emaciated with *vratas* [of asceticism] I shall abandon all life [and gain it] after a hundred births.

Śloka 4. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.29.38:

O Aṅga, the burning desire which is born in us by your sweet song and your smiling glance, sprinkle on it the stream of nectar of your lips; otherwise, O friend, we shall burn our bodies in the fire of separation's anguish and by meditation shall go near to your feet.

61 So abandon this ill-conceived notion and listen to *kīrtana*, and quickly you will gain the feet of Kṛṣṇa. 62 It is not because of low caste that one is unfit

proper from improper; further, *rajas* and *tamas* are material *guṇas*, and by following religious paths which employ material nature, Kṛṣṇa, who is full of *cit* and *ananda*, immaterial, cannot be gained.

Śloka 2. See 1.17.śl.5; 2.20.śl.13; 2.25.śl.31.

58. *Pataka*: "falling," into hell, which is the dessert of the suicide.

59. Sometimes this longing for death occurs, as with Rukmiṇī in *BhP* 10.52.43, and the *gopīs* in *BhP* 10.29.35; but, says Caitanya, the cause of this is not the gaining of Kṛṣṇa, for Kṛṣṇa cannot be gained this way; it arises from a desire to end the separation. The motives are different, and so therefore are the ends. Besides, when *prema* is so strong, Kṛṣṇa knows this and comes to the *bhakta*, making the suicide unnecessary.

Śloka 4. Viraha: separation's anguish.

for worship of Kṛṣṇa; a *brahmaṇa* of pure family is not [necessarily] fit for worship. 63 He who worships is great; the non-*bhakta* is low and worthless; there is no consideration of caste, family, and such, in Kṛṣṇa-worship. 64 Bhagavān is more merciful to the lowly than to one who is full of pride in his wealth, learning, and family.

Sloka 5. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 7.9.10:

I consider a *śvapaca* whose mind, speech, efforts, wealth, and life are devoted to him to be better than a *brahmaṇa* who, though he possess the twelve qualities, has his face averted from the lotus-footed, lotus-navelled one; such a one purifies his family, but the prideful one does not.

65 And the best kinds of worship are the nine kinds of *bhakti*; they contain the great power to give Kṛṣṇa and Kṛṣṇa-*prema*. 66 And among them the best of all is *nāma-saṅkīrtana*; from the name, without offences [to the name], comes the wealth of *prema*."

67 When he heard this, Sanātana was astonished; "Prabhu does not like it, that I have decided on my death. 68 Mahāprabhu is omniscient, and has forbidden me." And holding the feet of Prabhu, he said to him, 69 "You are the non-dependent *Īśvara*, omniscient and merciful; as you cause me to dance, so I dance, for I am not self-dependent. 70 But I am low and despicable, of mean nature; what would be the purpose of your keeping me alive?" 71 Prabhu said, "Your body is my own wealth; you have dedicated yourself to me. 72 Why do you wish to destroy the goods of another? Can you not discriminate between *dharma* and *adharma*? 73 Your body is my chief instrument; with this body I shall attain much that is necessary: 74 the determination of the truths of the *bhaktas* and *bhakti* and Kṛṣṇa-*prema*, and the duties of Vaiṣṇavas and the proper conduct of Vaiṣṇavas, 75 and the establishing of service and of Kṛṣṇa-*prema* and Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti*, the saving of lost pilgrimage places and the teaching of asceticism. 76 Mathurā and Vṛndāvana are places beloved of me, and there I want

Sloka 5. See 2.20.5L4; 3.16.5L3.

65. For the nine kinds, see 2.22.55-85.

69. *Svatantra*: non-dependent, self-dependent.

73. Caitanya considers Sanātana as the instrument through which he will teach the truths of *bhakti*; that instruction is what is necessary.

74. For Sanātana's role in establishing proper Vaiṣṇava duty and conduct, see text and commentary to 2.1.30 and 2.24.236-57. See also below vv. 90-92.

to propagate all these *dharma*s. 77 Because of the order of my mother I live in Nīlācala, and it is not within my own power to teach *dharma* there. 78 So all these works I shall do with that body; how can I bear it when you want to abandon it?" 79 Then Sanātana said, "I bow to you; who can know your profound heart? 80 [It is] as if by magic a wooden doll is caused to dance, and the doll itself does not know, it only dances and sings. 81 So he whom you cause to dance, dances; he does not know who causes him to dance." 82 Then Prabhu said to Haridāsa, "Haridāsa, listen. He wants to destroy the property of another. 83 One does not eat or give away the goods entrusted to another; forbid him to do it, lest he do an unjust thing." 84 And Haridāsa said, "We have vain pride. Who can know your profound heart? 85 You do certain deeds through certain people; if you do not cause him to know, who is able to know? 86 In this way you have appropriated him; no one else is as fortunate as he." 87 Then Mahāprabhu embraced them both, and rose and went to perform his midday rituals.

88 Haridāsa embraced Sanātana and said, "The limit of your good fortune cannot be described. 89 Prabhu has said that your body is 'my own wealth'; there is no one who is as fortunate as you are. 90 Those deeds which he cannot do with his own body, he will cause you to do in Mathurā. 91 That which *Īśvara* wants to cause to be done, is completed. Your good fortune cannot be described. 92 The determination of proper action, and the [propagation of the] *śāstras* of the doctrine of *bhakti*—these he will cause you to do; his intention is understood. 93 This body of mine has not come into the activities of Prabhu, and it has been useless, born in this land of Bhārata." 94 Sanātana said, "Who else is equal to you? You are the most fortunate among the people of Mahāprabhu. 95 The work of the *avatāra* of Prabhu is the preaching of the name, and that work of his Prabhu has done through you. 96 Each day you make three lakhs of *nāma-saṅkīrtanas*, and before all you tell of the glory of the name. 97 Some observe [these practices] in themselves, and do not preach; and some preach but do not act properly. 98 You do both these things: observance and preaching of the name. You are the *guru* of all, to be honored by the whole world." 99 Thus the two conversed in various pleasant ways, remaining together and tasting the stories of Kṛṣṇa.

77. "There": in Vṛndāvana.

92. *Siddhanta*: doctrine, conclusions.

100 At the time of the annual celebration all the *bhaktas* of Gauḍa came, as they had before, to have *darśana* of the Car Festival. 101 And Prabhu danced before the car, and when he saw this, Sanātana was astonished. 102 All the *bhaktas* remained there for the four months of the monsoon, and Prabhu had Sanātana join with them all. 103 Advaita and Nityānanda and Prabhu had reṣvara, Vasudeva, Murāri, Raghava and Dāmodara, 104 Purī, Bhārati, Svarūpa, Gadadhara Paṇḍita, Sārvabhauma, Rāmānanda, Jagadānanda, Śaṅkara, 105 Kāśīśvara, Govinda, and the rest—all the people of Prabhu—he caused Sanātana to mingle with them all. 106 Appropriately he had him bow to the feet of them all, and he made him the vessel of the grace of them all. 107 Sanātana became, because of his own qualities and because of his wisdom, the vessel of the friendship, or the grace, or the honor of some, as was appropriate. 108 And when all the Vaiṣṇavas went to Gauḍadeśa, Sanātana remained at the feet of Mahāprabhu. 109 And with Prabhu he watched the Swing Festival and the rest, and day by day his joy grew, in the company of Prabhu.

110 Sanātana had come in the previous Vaiśākha, and it was in the month of Jyāiṣṭha that Prabhu had examined him. 111 In Jyāiṣṭha, Prabhu came to Yameśvara-ṭoṭa, and he took food there, at the request of his *bhaktas*. 112 In the middle of the day, when it was time for eating, he had Sanātana called. His joy grew, that Prabhu had called him. 113 In the middle of the day, the sands of the sea beach were like fire, but that was the path that Sanātana went along. 114 So delighted was he at heart that Prabhu had summoned him that he did not know that his feet were burnt by the hot sand. 115 His feet blistered as he went to Prabhu. Mahāprabhu was resting after eating. 116 Govinda gave him the leaf with the remnants of the meal, and when he had received this *prasāda*, Sanātana came to Prabhu's side. 117 Prabhu inquired, "By what path did you come, Sanātana?" And Sanātana said, "I came along the shore." 118 Prabhu said, "How could you come along the hot sands? The path through the lion-gate is cool; why did you not come that way? 119 You have sores on your feet because of the hot sand, and you cannot walk; how did you bear it?" 120 Sanātana replied, "I did not get much pain, and I did not know that there

100. *Ratha-yātra*: Car Festival of Jagannātha.

109. *Dola-yātra*: Swing Festival.

110. Vaiśākha: the first month of the Bengali calendar, April-May; Jyāiṣṭha: May-June.

111. There is a garden to the southwest of the temple of Jagannātha which is called the Yameśvara-ṭoṭa.

were blisters on my feet. 121 I do not have the right to go through the lion-gate, especially as that place is frequented by the servants of the *ṭhākura*. 122 At that time the servants were all coming and going, and if I had touched anyone it would have been disaster for me." 123 When he heard this, the mind of Mahāprabhu was filled with delight, and being pleased he began to say to him, 124 "Even though you are the purifier of the world, and by your touch even *devas* and *munis* are purified, 125 still, it is the nature of a *bhakta* to protect honor; and the protection of honor is the ornament of a holy man. 126 People scorn the transgression of honor, and [he who transgresses] is ruined in this world and in the next. 127 You have preserved that honor, and you have made my heart pleased. If you had not done so, what other person would have?" 128 So saying, Prabhu embraced him, and the pus from his sores touched the holy body of Prabhu. 129 Again and again he tried to prevent him, but still he embraced him, and when the pus touched his body, Sanātana was distressed. 130 And Prabhu and his *sevaka* both went home.

The next day, Jagadānanda met Sanātana, 131 and the two sat together and talked of Kṛṣṇa. Sanātana, in misery, entreated the *paṇḍita*, 132 "I came here to see Prabhu and to break my misery, but Prabhu does not allow me to do that which I desire. 133 I forbid him, but still Prabhu embraces me, and the pus from my sores touches his body; this is a great offence, and there is no salvation from it. 134 And not seeing Jagannātha, my sorrow is endless. 135 I came here for good, but the opposite has happened. I cannot determine what I can do to bring good about." 136 The *paṇḍita* said, "Vṛndāvana is the proper place for you to live; when you have seen the Car Festival, go there. 137 This was the command of Prabhu to your two brothers; so go to Vṛndāvana, and there you will gain all happiness. 138 You came for the purpose of seeing the feet of Prabhu, and have done so; when you have seen Jagannātha in the car, then leave." 139 Sanātana said, "You have given me good advice. I shall go there, to the country that Prabhu has assigned me." 140 So saying, both arose and went about their own duties, and the next day Mahāprabhu came to meet him.

141 Haridāsa bowed to the feet of Prabhu, and Prabhu embraced Haridāsa in *prema*. 142 But Sanātana bowed extending himself fully prostrate from a distance. Prabhu called him again and again, to embrace him. 143 But in fear

121. The *ṭhākura*: Jagannātha.

130. The *sevaka* (servant), says Rādhāgovinda Natha, was Sanātana.

142. *Daṇḍa-praṇāma*: fully prostrate like a stick on the ground.

of offence, he did not go to him, so Mahāprabhu went over to join him. 144 But Sanātana drew back, and Mahāprabhu forcibly seized him and embraced him. 145 Then taking the two of them, Mahāprabhu sat on the *piṇḍa*; and greatly distressed, Sanātana began to say, 146 "I came for the purpose of good, but the opposite has happened. For I am not worthy, and each day I commit offence. 147 By nature I am low-born, evil and filled with sin; when you touch me it is an offence for me. 148 The pus which oozes from the sores on my body touches your body; and still, by force, you touch me. 149 You have not the slightest revulsion to touch a foul thing; but by this offence I am totally destroyed. 150 Nothing good will come of my remaining in this place. So give me your command, that when I have seen the car I may go to Vṛndavana. 151 I asked the advice of Jagadānanda Paṇḍita, and he suggested that I go to Vṛndavana."

152 When he heard this, Mahāprabhu was furious in his heart, and being angry at Jagadānanda, he rebuked him, 153 "Jaga the child of yesterday, now has become so proud that he begins to advise even you. 154 In piety and in actions you are superior to him, and he advises you; he does not know his own worth. 155 You are advisor to me; you are proven worthy of honor, and that boy does such things as give instructions to you."

156 Hearing this, Sanātana held the feet of Prabhu and began to say, "Today Jagadānanda has come to know great good fortune. 157 And today I have become aware of my own misfortune. In the world there is none as lucky as Jagadānanda. 158 You cause Jagadānanda to drink the stream of the nectar of being one of your intimate people; you cause me to drink praise and honor, essence of the *nimba* and *nisindā* trees. 159 Even now you do not know me as intimate; I am an unfortunate man, and you are the non-dependent Bhagavān."

160 When he heard this, Mahāprabhu was a little ashamed, and to satisfy him he began to say, 161 "Jagadānanda is not more dear to me than you are; I cannot bear the transgression of respect. 162 Where you are proven, learned in the *śāstras*, Jagāi is a young boy, born yesterday. 163 You have the power to teach me; how many times have you caused me to understand *bhakti* and right conduct? 164 Yet he instructs you; this cannot be borne. This is the reason that I reproached him. 165 I do not praise you because of your external knowledge; but your qualities cause you to be praised, and such indeed is your quality.

153. *Baṭuṇa*: "child" or "kid."

158. "By getting angry at Jagadānanda, you have shown that you feel deeply and personally about him; but me you praise, and that is a sign of distance." The sap of the *nimba* and *nisindā* trees is extremely bitter to the taste, their fruits sour.

166 Even though some hold many people dear to their hearts, in the cases of [only] some there is a birth of *bhava*, by the nature of love. 167 You feel a contempt toward your body; but your body seems to me like the nectar of immortality. 168 Your body is not material, it is never material; but still you perceive it as material. 169 Even if your body were material, I could not neglect it, for in material nature there is no perception of things as pure or impure.

Śloka 6. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.28.4:

Is there pure or impure within the duality which is insubstantial?
Such purity and impurity, as it is called in speech, that is false; such [distinctions] are only in the mind.

170 Perception of the duality of pure and impure—this is all in the nature of the mind; 'this is good, and that is bad'—all this is error.

Śloka 7. *Bhagavad Gītā* 5.18:

They are wise who see no difference between the *brāhmaṇa* endowed with learning and humility, the cow, the elephant, the dog, and the *śvapaca*.

Śloka 8. *Bhagavad Gītā* 6.8:

Whose soul is satisfied with *jñāna* and *vijñāna*, who is indifferent, who has conquered the senses, to whom a lump of earth, a rock, and gold are the same, that *yogī* is called truly yoked.

166. Although one person may regard many people as dear to him, by the nature of love the feelings toward them differ from person to person. Caitanya says that he has love for both Sanātana and Jagadānanda, but that it is of different kinds; his love for Sanātana is such that he cannot help praising him.

168. Sanātana has as a true *bhakta* gained a perfected body, beyond the material.

169. This is rather a strange statement, for the very notions of *vidhi* and *aparādha* have basically to do with distinctions between proper and improper actions, and good and evil. One possible explanation is that Caitanya is speaking as a *saṁnyāsī*, who has cut himself off from social regulation, and to whom notions of pure and impure are meaningless. Such lack of distinction is also characteristic of the followers of the *jñāna-mārga*; when identity or freedom is gained, the distinctions become meaningless. [This is reminiscent of an argument Caitanya used as a child when he sat in the garbage heap. See text and commentary to 1.14.40-44, 67-71. TKS]

170. "In the nature of the mind": it is a false and imaginary distinction, imposed not by reality but by the fallible mind's perception of reality.

Śloka 8. *Jñāna* and *vijñāna*: "theoretical" and "practical knowledge," as Edgerton translates them, but "insight" and "knowledge" according to van Buitenen's final translation. *Yukta*: "yoked" with the eternal in the ultimate condition; this is the end for which the *yogin* strives.

171 I am a *saṁnyāsīn*, and my *dharma* is to consider all things as the same; sandalwood paste and mud seem to me the same. 172 For this reason I cannot let you go; for if I felt contempt, my own *dharma* would disappear."

173 Haridāsa said, "Prabhu, that which you have said is external and misleading; I do not honor it. 174 You have been gracious to all of us wretched people, in propagating your quality of mercy on the lowly." 175 And Prabhu smiling said, "Hear me, Haridāsa and Sanātana; I speak the inner truth—so my heart is disposed toward you. 176 I consider that you should be reared with care, and I consider myself as the rearer; and there is no attribution of fault by the rearer to those who are reared. 177 I consider myself unworthy of honor, and I consider all of you as my children, 178 [just as] a mother, when the filth of her son touches her body, is not overcome with revulsion, but gains even more happiness. 179 The filth of the beloved child seems like sandalwood to the mother; so the discharge from Sanātana's body does not arouse revulsion in me."

180 And Haridāsa said, "You are *Īśvara*, full of mercy; the depths of your heart cannot be known. 181 Vāsudeva had melting leprosy on his body, full of worms, and you, merciful, embraced him. 182 And when you had embraced him his body became like that of Kandarpa; who can understand the waves of your grace?" 183 Prabhu replied, "The body of a *Vaiṣṇava* is never material; the body of a *bhakta* is immaterial, full of *cit* and *ananda*. 184 At the time of initiation the *bhakta* dedicates himself, and at that time Kṛṣṇa makes him like

173. Haridāsa rebukes Caitanya for speaking like a *jñānīn*, and says that all such lack of distinction such as he has been putting forward is superficial; the real reason why Caitanya seeks to embrace Sanātana is because he does see such distinctions; he does see that Sanātana's body is vile, but he embraces it anyway, because he has come to save lowly people.

176. Caitanya considers them like his children, and to a mother or father nothing about a beloved child is detestable. Further, in v. 177, he says that such love is natural, and there is nothing praiseworthy in it.

181. See 2.7.133-46.

182. Kandarpa: *Kāma-deva*, the beautiful god of love.

184. *Ātma-samarpaṇa*: "dedicates himself"; Viśvanātha comments on the dedication formula, which includes the word *niveditātma*: "Myself and whatever I call mine, in this world and the one to follow, all that I have, O lord Kṛṣṇa, I lay completely at your feet." There seems to be a bit of a paradox here; if Kṛṣṇa at the time of initiation makes the *bhakta* like himself (like, because Kṛṣṇa by his nature is without a second), why all the arduous procedure of *sādhana-bhakti* and the rest? Rādhāgovinda Nātha answers: this means that initiation is the beginning of the process of the attainment of the perfected body; Kṛṣṇa accepts the *bhakta* at this point, and because of that grace the *bhakta* is able to proceed along the path of *bhakti*. It does not mean that the *bhakta*'s responsibility is over, but that if everything else goes well, attainment is assured.

himself. 185 He makes that body full of *cit* and *ananda*, and he worships his feet in this non-material body.

Śloka 9. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.29.34:

When a mortal leaves all *karma* and dedicates himself to me, I wish to change him; he gains immortality and is fit to become [like] myself.

186 Kṛṣṇa has made these pustules break out on the body of Sanātana, and he has sent him here to test me. 187 If I had contempt for him and did not embrace him, I would gain from Kṛṣṇa punishment for that offence. 188 This is the body of a follower, it does not stink; from the first day I gained from his body the perfume of sandal." 189 And in truth, when Prabhu embraced him, at his touch the odor was like sandalwood. 190 Prabhu said, "Sanātana, do not consider sorrow; at your embrace I gain great happiness. 191 Remain here with me for this year, and at the end of the year I shall send you to Vṛndāvana." 192 And so saying he embraced him again; the pustules disappeared, and his body became like gold. 193 When he saw this, Haridāsa was astonished, and he said to Prabhu, "This is a trick of yours. 194 You made him drink that water at Jhārikhaṇḍa, with the aim, through that water, of causing him to break out in sores. 195 Through those sores you were testing Sanātana. No one knows the tricks of this *līlā* of yours." 196 Embracing them both, Prabhu went to his own house; and both were filled with *prema* by the qualities of Prabhu.

197 Thus Sanātana stayed at the place of Prabhu, and talked with Haridāsa of the qualities of Kṛṣṇa Caitanya. 198 When he had seen the Swing Festival, Prabhu bade him farewell, that he could go to Vṛndāvana and teach all those things. 199 When it was time to take leave from the feet of Prabhu, the condition of those two at that separation cannot be described. 200 Along that path which Prabhu had taken to Vṛndāvana, Sanātana decided to go. 201 Along that path, in whatever villages or rivers or mountains he had had *līlā*, he wrote [a description of] all these as he heard them from Balabhadra Bhaṭṭācārya. 202 He met all the *bhaktas* of Mahāprabhu; Sanātana went along that path and saw those places. 203 Whatever *līlās* Prabhu had along that path, in whatever places, when he saw those places Sanātana was overcome with *prema*. 204 In this way Sanātana came to Vṛndāvana, and afterwards Rūpa Gosvāmin joined him there. 205 For one year Rūpa Gosvāmin was delayed in Gauḍa; he divided and dis-

Śloka 9. See 2.22.41.49.

188. *Parīṣada-deha*: "follower," one who is in Kṛṣṇa's retinue.

tributed his wealth and property among his kinsmen. 206 That wealth which he had at Gauḍa, he brought there and distributed to his kinsmen and to *brāhmaṇas* and to temples. 207 The Gosvāmin, having made known all that was in his heart, settled [matters] and quickly came to Vṛndāvana.

208 The two brothers together lived at Vṛndāvana, and together carried out the order of Prabhu. 209 They brought many *śāstras* and recovered lost pilgrimage places, and propagated the service of Kṛṣṇa in Vṛndāvana. 210 Sanātana wrote the book [*Bṛhad*] *bhāgavatāmṛta*, from which is known the truths of *bhakti* and the *bhakta* and of Kṛṣṇa. 211 He wrote the books *Siddhantasāra* and *Daśama-ṭippaṇī*, from which are known *prema* and the *rasa* of the Kṛṣṇa-*līla*. 212 And he wrote the *Haribhaktivilāsa*, with rules for the conduct of Vaiṣṇavas, in which the shore of the duties of Vaiṣṇavas is gained. 213 And he wrote many other books, who can count them all? And he established the service of Madanagopāla and of Govinda. 214 Rūpa Gosvāmin wrote the essence of all books, the [*Bhakti*] *rasāmṛta* [*sindhu*], in which is expounded the *rasa* of Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti*. 215 And he wrote another book, *Ujjvalānīlamanī* by name, in which one gains the shore of the *rasa* of the *līla* of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. 216 [He wrote] *Vidagha-* and *Lalitāmādhava*, the twinned dramas wherein the *rasa* of the play of Kṛṣṇa can be fully experienced. 217 He composed a lakh of other books, starting with *Dānakelikaumudī*, and in all those books the *rasa* of Vraja is propounded. 218 And the son of the younger brother, Śrī Vallabha Anupama came to Vṛndāvana later; he composed many *bhakti-śāstras*. 220 He wrote the best of books, by name the *Bhāgavata-sandarbhā*, and in that the shore of the ultimate knowledge of the *bhagavat* is reached. 221 He wrote the essence of books, the *Gopālacampū*, in which he shows the essence of the *līla* and *rasa* and *prema* of Vraja. 222 He published the inner truth of the Kṛṣṇa-*prema* in his

208-22. For a similar list of books composed by the Gosvāmins, see 2.1.28-40.

210. [*Bhāgavatāmṛta* is commonly called the *Bṛhadbhāgavatāmṛta* to distinguish it from Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta*. TKS]

212. See text and commentary to 2.1.30; and above vv. 74, 90-92. Interestingly the *maṇḍalācarāṇa* of the *HBhV* itself [1.1.2] states that the text was written by "Gopāla Bhāṭṭa, the pupil of Prabodhānanda," at the pleasure of Rūpa, Sanātana, and Raghunātha Dāsa, and there is no reason to doubt that statement. As previously noted, Sanātana did write a commentary on it, called *Dig-darśanī*. The mention of Raghunātha Dāsa is interesting, for it means that the text was written after Caitanya's death; Raghunātha did not leave Puri to go to Vṛndāvana until Caitanya had died.

222. [This couplet is not found in all MSS and may be a later addition, for it not only repeats the title of the *Bhāgavata-sandarbhā* of v. 220, but calls it by its later appellation, the *Śaṭ-*

Ṣaṭ-sandarbhā. He distributed four lakhs of books. 223 Jīva Gosvāmin went from Gauḍa to Mathurā, having begged leave from Nityānanda Prabhu. 224 Prabhu in love held his feet on his head, and embraced him because of his relationship with Rūpa and Sanātana. 225 He gave his command, "Go quickly to Vṛndāvana; Prabhu has given that place to your family." 226 So receiving this order he came, and reaped the fruits of the command. Writing many *śāstras*, he preached *bhakti* for a long time. 227 These three *gurus* and Raghunātha Dāsa—I, their servant, bow to the feet of all of them. 228 Thus has been narrated the reunion of Sanātana [with Prabhu], and he who hears it knows the purpose of Prabhu. 229 The actions of Caitanya are like a stick of sugarcane; one tastes the juice as soon as one bites into it.

230 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

sandarbhā. The *Bhāgavata-* or *Ṣaṭ-sandarbhā* is composed of the six *sandarbhās*: *tattva*, *bhagavat*, *paramātmā*, *kṛṣṇa*, *bhakti*, and *prīti*. TKS]

223. Some details about Jīva are known from Narahari Cakravartī's *BhR* 1. It seems that from a very early age Jīva was intellectually precocious, and that very early he was skilled in grammar and other disciplines, and studied constantly. When Caitanya went to Rāmakeli, Jīva was living there with his father Vallabha; like his brothers Rūpa and Sanātana, Vallabha was a servant of Husain Shāh, and it was after meeting Caitanya at Rāmakeli that Rūpa and Sanātana abandoned the world, Rūpa going to his father's village to dispose of the goods. Hearing that Caitanya had left for Vṛndāvana, Rūpa and Vallabha went to Prayāga and met him there. Jīva in the meantime went to Candradvīpa and continued his study, while at the same time manifesting great devotional capacities: "Even as a boy he did not play with boys except in things relating to Kṛṣṇa; he made a *mūrti* of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma, and did *pāja* to it with flowers and sandalwood . . ." While Jīva was at Candradvīpa, Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma appeared to him in a dream, and in the dream merged with the forms of Caitanya and Nityānanda, and "Gaura and Nityānanda Rāya, that sea of mercy, put the lotus of his feet on the head of Śrī Jīva, and in great affection embraced him." Under the pretence of further study, Jīva travelled to Navadvīpa, where he met Nityānanda with great emotion, and Nityānanda put his foot on Jīva's head, and embraced him, and told him that Caitanya had given Vṛndāvana to his family. Jīva then left for Kāśī, where he stayed for a time studying the Vedānta with Madhusudana Vacaspati, and then went on to Vṛndāvana.

229. *Rasa*: juice.

Antya Līlā

Chapter 5

Sloka 1.

Infested by the worms of imperfections, tortured by the boils of wickedness, immersed in a sea of misery, I seek refuge with the healer Caitanya.

1 Glory, glory to the son of Śacī, Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, glory glory to the blessed Nityānanda, full of mercy. 2 Glory to Advaita, a sea of mercy, and glory to all the *bhaktas*, glory to Svarūpa, Gadādhara, Rūpa and Sanātana.

3 One day Pradyumna Miśra, bowing to the feet of Prabhu, entreated him, 4 "Mahāprabhu, I am lowly and a miserable householder, and by some good fortune I have gained your feet, hard to gain. 5 It is my desire to listen to the stories of Kṛṣṇa; so be merciful to me and speak to me of him." 6 And Prabhu said, "I know nothing of Kṛṣṇa. Rāmananda knows everything; I hear it from his mouth. 7 You are fortunate, that you have a mind to hear of Kṛṣṇa; go and hear it from Rāmananda. 8 The appetite for stories of Kṛṣṇa is yours, and you are most fortunate. Whoever has an appetite to hear of Kṛṣṇa is blessed."

Sloka 2. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 1.2.8:

If that *dharma*, even though beautifully carried out by men, does not stimulate desire to hear about Viṣvaksena, it is merely labor.

9 Then Pradyumna Miśra went to the place of Rāmananda, and Rāmananda's servant seated him upon a seat. 10 Miśra did not see [Rāmananda] there, and so he asked the servant, and the servant began to tell him the story of Rāya.

Sloka 2. Viṣvaksena: "he whose hosts are everywhere," an epithet of Viṣṇu.

11 "There are two *devakanyās*, of greatest beauty; they are skilled in song and dance, and young. 12 Rāya takes them both into a lonely garden, and instructs them in the repetition of the songs of his own *nāṭaka*. 13 You remain seated here, and in a little while he will come, and then whatever you command, he will do." 14 So Pradyumna Miśra remained seated there, and Rāmananda took the two to that secluded place. 15 With his own hands he anointed them and with his own hands he bathed them and cleaned their bodies. 16 With his own hands he put clothes on their bodies and decorated them with ornaments, and still the heart of Rāmananda was unaffected. 17 His passion was like at the touch of stone or wood—such was the nature of Rāma Rāya at the touch of young women. 18 He served them, attributing to them the perception of 'that which is to be served'; and he attributed [to himself] the natural *bhāva* of a

11. *Devakanyā*: in some MSS the reading is *devadast* (cf. v. 36), both meaning female temple-servants, who sing and dance before the image of the deity. It is a Sahajiyā technique, and a technique of the Tantric tradition as a whole, to do away with sexual desire by constantly exposing it to temptation, the old homeopathic principle of "killing poison by poison" (see PHM, 52-54). The story is curious also for its contrast to that of Choṭa Haridāsa, whom Caitanya ostracized for the sin of merely conversing with an old woman. As will be seen, Caitanya not only accepts Rāmananda's handling of these two young and beautiful girls, but praises him for it. This lends weight to the arguments of those who would claim that Sahajiyās, especially in the person of Rāmananda, far from being abhorred by Caitanya, were accepted by him as genuine *sādhakas*, and again in the person of Rāmananda, influenced him deeply. See commentary on v. 18 below. It is a point of considerable contention, however, and another position would claim that there is no sexual overtone to the incident at all, and that Rāmananda was training the girls to perform in the dramas that he had composed.

12. "His own *nāṭaka*" was the *Jagannāthavallabha Nāṭaka*. Rādhāgovinda Natha points out that there are many female characters in the drama; but it is likely that Rāmananda was teaching them the songs to sing before the deity, not for the purpose of acting out the whole drama.

18. *Svabhāvika*: natural; *āropiṇī*, *āropaṇa*: attribution, a technical Sahajiyā word, the "imposition" of the character of something on something else, though not in an illusory way (see PHM, 164); to the Sahajiyās, rather, it is a recognition of reality. One perceives a woman as Rādhā, for example, attributing the characteristics of Rādhā to that woman; here Rāmananda perceives the girls as "that which is to be served," *sevyā*, i.e., Rādhā, and he perceives himself in his true nature as a woman. Having done this there is no possibility of sexual attraction. It has been pointed out before that in the *Vraja-līlā*, Rāmananda is Lalitā, one of the most intimate companions of Rādhā.

[Another possibility is that Rāmananda's practice is a forerunner to the *mañjarī-sādhana* which became so popular, especially among the Vaiṣṇava adepts of Vṛndāvana, including Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja. Although more generally described as a *manasika* (mental) practice, *mañjarī-sādhana* conceives of the practitioner as a female servant of Rādhā or one of her friends. This passage may point to an early practice wherein these activities were acted out, not just performed in yogic-style *sādhana*, i.e., in one's perfected body, *siddha-deha*. It could well be that such differences ultimately led to the distinction of mainstream Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavism from its "heterodox" counterpart, the Vaiṣṇava Sahajiyā. TKS]

female servant. 19 The greatness of the *bhaktas* of Mahāprabhu is incomprehensible, and among them the *bhāva* of Rāmananda reached the limits of *prema-bhakti*. 20 Then he taught the dances to those two, and acting out the deeper meaning of the songs. 21 [He taught them] the signs of the *sañcāri* and *sattvika* and *sthāyi-bhāvas*, and how to manifest these in acting with expressions of eyes and mouth. 22 And that which Rāya taught them—the revealing of *bhāva* in the dance—both demonstrated that before Jagannātha. 23 Then he fed *prasāda* to them both, and sent them alone to their own place. 24 Each day Rāya would perform such *sādhana*. Does any mere *jīva* know [Rāya's] mind?

25 The servant told Rāya that Mīśra had come, and then Rāmananda quickly came to the court. 26 He greeted Mīśra respectfully, and humbly said to him, 27 "You came a long time ago, but no one told me. It is my offence at your feet. 28 By your coming my house is purified. Command me; tell your servant what he should do." 29 Mīśra said, "I have come to see you; and I have purified myself by the sight of you." 30 And Mīśra looked for a long time, and said nothing at all; then bidding him farewell, Mīśra went to his own house.

31 The next day Mīśra came into the presence of Prabhu, and Prabhu said, "Did you hear stories of Kṛṣṇa from Rāya?" 32 Then Mīśra told him the story of Rāmananda, and when he heard it Mahāprabhu began to say, 33 "I am a *saṁnyāsī*, and I consider myself indifferent to the world. Not to speak of seeing one, if I so much as hear the name of a woman. 34 my mind and body are altered; what man is steady, at the sight of a woman? 35 Hear, everyone, the story of Rāmananda Rāya. It is not a story to be repeated; it is a matter of wonder. 36 They are *devadāsīs*, single, and young and beautiful, and he himself serves all their bodies. 37 He bathes them and the rest, and dresses them in clothes and jewels, and he sees and touches their hidden parts. 38 And still the heart of Rāmananda Rāya is unaffected. He teaches them how to display the various passions, 39 and his body and his mind are unaffected, as if by stone

20. Many of the songs of the *nāṭaka* are capable of double interpretation; they can be read either as love songs or as religious songs. Rāya is teaching the girls to show by the stylized facial and manual gestures that the songs should be interpreted as religious.

21. See text and commentary to 2.2.62; 2.8.135; 2.19.154-55; and 2.23.31-32.

24. The use of the term *sādhana* implies that this was a part of the religious discipline of Rāmananda. For *sādhana*, see commentary on vv. 18-20 above.

34. *Vikāra*: "altered," mind and body become unsteady.

35. "It is a matter which cannot be described completely."

38. *Bhāva*: "passions," here not the condition of religious transformation, but those *bhāvas*, *sthāyi* and the rest, which promote the experience of *rāsa* in the esthetic sense.

or wood; how wonderful that his heart is unaffected by the touch of a young woman. 40 This is within the power of Rāmananda alone, and this I know—that his is a non-material body. 41 He alone knows the condition of his heart; there is no second vessel [able] to know it. 42 Let me make a guess, according to the example of the *śāstras*; of it there is proof in the *Śrī Bhāgavata śāstra*. 43 He who tells, or listens to, with faith, the *rāsa* and the other *vilāsa*s of Kṛṣṇa with the women of Vraja, 44 at that time his sexual desire, the illness of his heart, is destroyed. He is not agitated by the three *guṇa*s, and he is very calm. 45 He gains *prema-bhakti*, which is sweet and bright, and he always sports with the sweetness of Kṛṣṇa, in joy.

Śloka 3. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.33.39:

He who, with faith, listens constantly to the playing of Viṣṇu with the women of Vraja, and constantly describes it, quickly becomes steady, gains the highest *bhakti* to the *bhagavat*, and quickly rids himself of sexual passion, that disease of the heart.

46 Such are the fruits, for him who listens to or reads this; he who serves day and night is overcome with *bhāva*. 47 What can I say of the fruits of this; they cannot be described. His body is perfected, like one who is eternally perfected. 48 I know that Rāya's worship is in the *rāgānuga*-way; in it, as his body is perfected, there is no thought of women. 49 I listen to talk of Kṛṣṇa at the place of Rāya; if you have a desire to hear, go there again. 50 Take my name—that 'he has sent me here to listen to stories of Kṛṣṇa from you.' 51 Go quickly, while he is still in the court." And when he heard this, Pradyumna Mīśra went immediately.

52 He went to meet Rāya, and Rāya greeted him, "Give me your command; why have you come?" 53 And Mīśra said, "Mahāprabhu has sent me, that I

40. Like Haridāsa, Rāmananda's body is perfected, made of *cit* and not the material *guṇa*s; this being the case, he cannot be touched by the material *guṇa*s (*prakṛti*, woman). It is not that Rāmananda alone among Caitanya's *bhaktas* has a perfected body, that this type of *sādhana* is his alone. That of Haridāsa was the chanting of the name, etc. See also 3.4.168-72, 183-88.

42. I.e., "though only Rāmananda really knows his own *bhāva*, let me try to deduce what it is like, basing my conclusions on the *śāstras*."

47. *Nitya-siddha*: eternally perfected; there are two types of perfected ones, those who are eternally perfected and eternally in the retinue of Kṛṣṇa, and those who become perfected, reaching that condition by *sādhana*; Rāmananda is of the second type, and has reached a perfected condition.

might listen to talk of Kṛṣṇa from you.” 54 And when he heard this, Rāmananda Rāya was overcome with *prema*, and, delighted in his heart, he began to speak. 55 “By the order of Prabhu you have come to hear of Kṛṣṇa; where shall I get greater good fortune than this?” 56 And so saying he took him to a private place and sat him down. “What do you wish to hear?” he asked Mīśra. 57 And he replied, “What you spoke at Vidyānagara, tell me that step by step. 58 Not to speak of others, you are the instructor of Prabhu. I am a mendicant *brahmana*, and you are my protector. 59 I do not know enough to ask about right and wrong; seeing me as a humble man, be merciful, and speak what you think best.” 60 Then Rāmananda began to speak gradually, and as he spoke the ocean of the nectar of the *rasa* of the words of Kṛṣṇa began to rise. 61 He asked questions of himself, and then gave the answers; it was the third watch, and there was no end to his talk. 62 The two were sunk in *prema*, speaker and listener, speaking and hearing; there was no thought of self; how should they know that it was the end of the day? 63 The servant said, “The day has ended,” and then Rāya stopped his talk of Kṛṣṇa and rested. 64 He bade farewell to Mīśra, with great respect, and saying “I have been fulfilled,” Mīśra began to dance.

65 Returning to his house, Mīśra bathed and ate, and in the evening came to see the feet of Prabhu. 66 With delighted heart he bowed to the feet of Prabhu, and Prabhu said, “Did you hear of Kṛṣṇa?” 67 And Mīśra said, “Prabhu, he made me fulfilled; he drowned me in a sea of nectar of words of Kṛṣṇa. 68 Enough cannot be said of Rāmananda Rāya; he is not human, he is full of the *rasa* of Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti*. 69 Rāya said another thing to me, ‘Do not consider that I am speaking of Kṛṣṇa. 70 Śrī Gauracandra speaks these words through my mouth. Whatever he makes me speak, I speak, like a *vīṇā*. 71 He preaches the words, and causes my mouth to speak them; who can know his *līlā* on the earth?’ 72 All that sea of Kṛṣṇa-*rasa* that I heard, all that *rasa* cannot be perceived by Brahman. 73 And you have made me drink such *rasa* that in birth after birth I will be sold at your feet.” 74 Prabhu said, “Rāmananda is a mine of humility; he puts that which is his own on the head of another. 75 That is the

57. The reference is to the conversation between Rāmananda and Caitanya on the banks of the Godavari, at Vidyānagara, during Caitanya's pilgrimage to the south; see 2.8.

67. There is sometimes no distinction between second and third persons in the past tense, and Mīśra may be saying that Caitanya fulfilled him through the words of Rāmananda.

70. *Vīṇā*: the stringed instrument; it plays what the musician makes it play. [There is, however, a popular double-reed wind-instrument of similar name, which may extend the metaphor more aptly. TKS]

true nature of those who experience deeply—they deny their own qualities and speak of others.”

76 Thus has been narrated a bit of the qualities of Rāmananda Rāya, as he instructed Pradyumna Mīśra. 77 Although he was a householder, Rāya was not controlled by the six *vargas*; although he was a man in the world, he gave instruction to a *saṁnyāsin*. 78 To manifest all these qualities of his, [Gaura] sent Mīśra to listen to him. 79 Gaura knew well how to make manifest the qualities of a *bhakta*; by various tricks he made these qualities manifest, and so gained his own ends.

80 Hear, O *bhaktas*, of another aspect of the nature of Gaura, how he made evident the depths of his divine nature, 81 how in destroying the pride of *saṁnyāsins* and *paṇḍitas*, he manifested *dharma* through a low-born *śūdra*. 82 Rāya spoke of *prema* and the inner truths of *bhakti*, and he himself and Pradyumna Mīśra were the listeners. 83 And through Sanātana [he manifested] the *vilāsa* of the perfection of *bhakti*, and through Haridāsa he manifested the greatness of the name. 84 Through Śrī Rūpa [he manifested] the *līlā* of the *prema-rasa* of Vraja; who can understand the profundities of the play of Caitanya? 85 The *līlā* of Caitanya is a sea of such nectar, of which a single drop can flood the three worlds. 86 So always drink the nectar of the actions of Caitanya, from which comes knowledge of the truths of *bhakti*, and the joy of *prema*.

87 In this way Mahāprabhu with his *bhaktas* sported at Nīlācala, propagating *bhakti*. 88 There was a *brāhmaṇa* of Vaṅga who had written a *nāṭaka* on the actions of Prabhu, and he brought it so that Prabhu could hear it. 89 He was acquainted with Bhagavān Ācārya, and meeting him there, he took up residence in his house. 90 First he read the *nāṭaka* to him, and many Vaiṣṇavas were there with him to listen. 91 And all praised it, [saying that] the *nāṭaka*

77. The six *vargas* are desire, anger, greed, enchantment, drunkenness, and malice. The implication is not that all householders are prey to these conditions, but that freedom from them is more usual in people of other *āśramas*, such as *saṁnyāsa*.

81. The “low-born *śūdra*” is Rāmananda, a non-*brāhmaṇa*, whose devotion and depth of learning puts *saṁnyāsins* and *paṇḍitas* to shame. [The epithet is probably distributive indicating a recurring action on Caitanya's part, repeatedly effecting his end through Sanātana, Rūpa, Haridāsa, et al., none of whom were *brāhmaṇas*. TKS]

82. “He himself”: Caitanya, as in the conversation at Vidyānagara.

83-84. Kṛṣṇadāsa probably means through the books that Sanātana and Rūpa wrote. For a list of these books, see 2.1.28-40; 3.4.208-22.

88. Vaṅga is the ancient name of the south-eastern region of the delta; it may by the time of this text have come to mean all of eastern Bengal. *Nāṭaka*: drama.

was the greatest and best, and all thought that he should have Mahāprabhu hear it. 92 Whoever had written a song or a *śloka* or a book first brought it to Svarūpa for him to hear. 93 And if it got Svarūpa's approval, then it was read to Prabhu. 94 If there was an artificial *rasa*, or any opposition to the ultimate truths, Prabhu could not bear it, and became angry. 95 Thus Prabhu did not listen to anything first, and he stipulated this matter of correctness. 96 So the Ācārya petitioned Svarūpa, "A *brāhmaṇa* has written an excellent *nāṭaka* on Prabhu; 97 first you listen to it, and see if you like it. If you do, afterwards we shall have Mahāprabhu hear it." 98 Svarūpa said, "You are a most noble *gowāla*, and you have a desire to listen to all kinds of *śāstras*. 99 But in the words of indifferent poets there is seeming *rasa*, and it gives me no joy to listen to opposition to the truths. 100 Those who cannot discriminate between *rasa* and that which seems like *rasa* can never gain the shore of the sea of *bhakti-siddhanta*. 101 Those who do not know grammar, who do not know [poetic] ornamentation, and who know nothing of the ornamentation of drama, 102 such worthless people do not know how to describe the Kṛṣṇa-līla, and especially this Caitanya-vihāra, which is hard to grasp. 103 Only that man, the wealth of whose heart is the lotus of the feet of Gaura, can describe the Kṛṣṇa-līla and the Gaura-līla. 104 It is misery to listen to the poetry of crude poets, as it is delight to listen to sincere poetry, full of true skill. 105 So Rūpa has

94. *Rasabhāsa*: artificial *rasa*, that which seems at first to be able to give the experience of *rasa*, but which on further examination is not able to do so because of inappropriate use of the *vibhāvas* and the rest.

96. The Ācārya: Bhagavan Ācārya.

98. Whether or not Bhagavan Ācārya was a cowherd by actual caste or not is open to question. His title, Ācārya, would suggest that he was really a *brāhmaṇa*, in which case Rādhāgovinda Natha's contention that Svarūpa here means that Bhagavan Ācārya was a *gopa* in the *Vraja-līla* would seem correct. [Bhagavan Ācārya is not listed by Kavikarṇapūra in *GGUD*. TKS]

100-102. Why those who are unskilled as poets are unable to describe the Kṛṣṇa-līla is a complicated matter, touched on in the *Introduction*. Essentially the reason seems to be Rūpa's notion, as put forward in his *UNM*, that if poetry is to transmit *rasa*, the poet must be skilled in building it up through the careful use of the *vibhāvas* and the rest, including ornamentation (*alaṃkāra*), and must allow no discordant note. So it is with *bhakti*; the *guru*, who is the artist, must conduct the *bhakta* through the various phases of *sādhana*, with use of *vibhāvas* and the rest, to allow the condition of *sthāyibhava* to be transformed into religious *rasa*. In order to describe the Kṛṣṇa-līla, one must one's self have tasted the *rasa* of it; otherwise discord will creep in unbeknownst to the poet, and the experience of *rasa* will not be gained. See Dimock, "On Religious and Esthetic Experience" in *The Sound of Silent Guns*, 11-20.

104. *Vidagdha ātmīya-kāvya*: "sincere . . . skill"; Rādhāgovinda Natha describes *ātmīya* as Kṛṣṇa, indwelling (*ātma*) in all things.

105. The two dramas are *Vidagdhamādhava* and *Lalitāmādhava* described in 3.1.

started two *nāṭakas*, and in listening to their introductions of them, delight grows."

106 Bhagavan Ācārya said, "Hear it once; when you hear it you will decide it is good or bad." 107 Thus the Ācārya persisted for several days, and giving in to his insistence, Svarūpa consented to listen. 108 With all of them, Svarūpa Gosvāmī sat to listen, and the poet read the *nāṇḍī-śloka*:

Śloka 4. [the *brāhmaṇa*'s verse]:

Making conscious the endless world, which is naturally inert, he has attained to selfhood in the clear-lotus-eyed, golden-hued body called Jagannātha. The *ātma* of Jagannātha has appeared in this world; may that Kṛṣṇa Caitanya be auspicious to you.

109 When they heard the *śloka*, all the people praised it, but Svarūpa said, "Explain this *śloka*." 110 And the poet said, "Jagannātha is the body, which is beautiful, and Caitanya is the most serene body-essence in it. 111 By his nature he brings consciousness to the inert world, and Mahāprabhu has appeared at Nīlācala." 112 When they heard this, the minds of all were pleased; but Svarūpa was not happy, and he said in an angry voice, 113 "You are a fool! You have ruined yourself completely. You have no faith that these both are Īśvara. 114 Jagannātha Rāya is full *ananda*, and his true form is *cit*; you have made him inert, transitory, and material in body. 115 Caitanya is *svayaṃ bhagavān*, full of the six divine qualities, and you have made him a mere *jīva*, like a spark to fire. 116 For this offence against them both you will gain misery; this is the reward of those who describe the truths without knowing them. 117 You have made another serious error, for in separating the body from the essence of the body in the case of Īśvara, you have offended. 118 In Īśvara there is never separation of body and essence; the body of the *svarūpa* is *cit* and *ananda*, and there is no separation.

110. *Śartrī*: "body-essence," that which animates and gives consciousness to the body which, made up of matter, is by its nature inert and unconscious.

113. Both Caitanya and Jagannātha are one single Kṛṣṇa-svarūpa.

115. This couplet has two meanings. First, the *jīva* is a mere part of Bhagavan, as a spark is a mere part of the fire; and Caitanya is the full fire, full Bhagavan. And secondly, only in the *jīva* are the body and soul, *śartra* and *śartrī*, separated; in Īśvara the two are the same, made up of *sat*, *cit*, and *ananda*. To imply that Caitanya is one and Jagannātha the other is to make Caitanya a *jīva*. See also v. 117 and v. 188 below.

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Śloka 4. [the *brahmaṇa*'s verse]:

Making conscious the endless world, which is naturally inert, he has attained to selfhood in the clear-lotus-eyed, golden-hued body called Jagannātha. The *ātma* of Jagannātha has appeared in this world; may that Kṛṣṇa Caitanya be auspicious to you.

109 When they heard the *śloka*, all the people praised it, but Svarūpa said, "Explain this *śloka*." 110 And the poet said, "Jagannātha is the body, which is beautiful, and Caitanya is the most serene body-essence in it. 111 By his nature he brings consciousness to the inert world, and Mahāprabhu has appeared at Nīlacala." 112 When they heard this, the minds of all were pleased; but Svarūpa was not happy, and he said in an angry voice, 113 "You are a fool! You have ruined yourself completely. You have no faith that these both are Īśvara. 114 Jagannātha Rāya is full *ānanda*, and his true form is *cit*; you have made him inert, transitory, and material in body. 115 Caitanya is *svayaṃ bhagavan*, full of the six divine qualities, and you have made him a mere *jīva*, like a spark to fire. 116 For this offence against them both you will gain misery; this is the reward of those who describe the truths without knowing them. 117 You have made another serious error, for in separating the body from the essence of the body in the case of Īśvara, you have offended. 118 In Īśvara there is never separation of body and essence; the body of the *svarūpa* is *cit* and *ānanda*, and there is no separation.

110. *Śarīr*: "body-essence," that which animates and gives consciousness to the body which, made up of matter, is by its nature inert and unconscious.

113. Both Caitanya and Jagannātha are one single Kṛṣṇa-*svarūpa*.

115. This couplet has two meanings. First, the *jīva* is a mere part of Bhagavan, as a spark is a mere part of the fire; and Caitanya is the full fire, full Bhagavan. And secondly, only in the *jīva* are the body and soul, *śarīra* and *śarīrī*, separated; in Īśvara the two are the same, made up of *sat*, *cit*, and *ānanda*. To imply that Caitanya is one and Jagannātha the other is to make Caitanya a *jīva*. See also v. 117 and v. 188 below.

Śloka 5. Karma Purāṇa 5.342:

In Īśvara there is never a division between body and essence.

Ślokas 6-7. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 3.9.3-4:

6 O highest one beyond everything, your *svarūpa* is open, void of divisions, and pure *ananda*, and I do not see divisions within it. O *ātman*, I take refuge in this form, creator of the universe but separate from the universe, the soul of all elements and senses, the One. 7 O beneficent to the world, worship of you is the source of auspiciousness, and in meditation that form is certainly revealed by you; O Bhagavān, I make obeisance to you by serving you; by those who associate with false people and by the hell-bound, you are not worshiped.

119 Where is Kṛṣṇa, full of *ananda* and of divine glory, the lord of *māya*; and where is the miserable, insignificant *jīva*, the slave of *māya*?

Śloka 8. Śrīdhara Svāmī's Bhāvarthadīpikā commentary on Bhāgavata Purāṇa 1.7.6: Īśvara, embraced by *hlādinī* and *saṁvit* [śaktis], is *sat*, *cit* and *ananda*; but the *jīva*, covered by ignorance of himself, is subject to many kinds of pain.

120 When they heard this, the minds of the assembly were astonished, "Gosvāmī speaks the truth; he has insulted them both." 121 When he heard this the poet was surprised and ashamed and afraid; he was like a heron in the midst of swans; and he said nothing more.

122 Seeing his misery, *Svarūpa*'s heart became compassionate, and he gave him instruction that would be of benefit to him, 123 "Go, read the *Bhāgavata* in the place of Vaiṣṇavas, and single-mindedly take refuge at the feet of Caitanya. 124 Associate always with *bhaktas* of Caitanya, and then you will know the wave of the sea of perfection. 125 Then will your learning be fruitful, and you will describe flawlessly the *svarūpa-līla* of Kṛṣṇa. 126 You wrote this *śloka*, and got satisfaction from it; but the interpretation which is in your heart attaches flaws to both. 127 You speak this and that, not knowing the proper usages; Sarasvatī

Śloka 6. See 2.25.śl.4.

Śloka 7. See 2.25.śl.6.

Śloka 8. See 2.18.śl.8.

126-127. The question is one of motivation; the *śloka* itself was good, but the interpretation faulty. Sarasvatī the goddess of learning would interpret the same *śloka* differently, finding in it truth.

with those very words has praised [him]. 128 As Indra and the *daityas* rebuked Kṛṣṇa, so with those very words Sarasvatī praised him.

Śloka 9. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.25.5:

Taking refuge in this mortal Kṛṣṇa—this talkative, childish, rude, ignorant Kṛṣṇa who thinks he is learned—the *gopas* have done an insulting thing to me.

129 Indra was a like a rut elephant, mad drunken with his divine power; his judgment was destroyed, and he was not restrained. 130 Indra said, 'I have insulted Kṛṣṇa,' but through his mouth Sarasvatī was praising him. 131 He said 'vacala,' 'talkative' [but she meant] 'blessed propagator of the Vedas'; 'baliṣa,' 'childish' [meant] 'like a child, devoid of pride'; 132 'stabdha,' 'rude' [meant] 'commendably meek,' and 'ajña,' 'ignorant,' 133 'paṇḍitamāninam,' 'who thinks he is learned,' meant 'than whom there is none more learned,' and 'mortal' is that he is considered as human, in the affection of his *bhaktas*. 134 Jārasandha said that Kṛṣṇa is a 'vile man, I will not fight with you, you are a slayer of friends.' 135 'All men are lower than whom'—this was the interpretation of friends. 136 And 'bandhu,' 'friend,' is the ignorance by which all people are bound; so the term 'bandhuhān,' 'slayer of friends,' means 'he who destroys ignorance.' 137 In this same way, when Śiṣupāla insulted him, Sarasvatī with those very words praised him. 138 So in this *śloka* your meaning comes out as insult; but listen to Sarasvatī's meaning, by which praise comes: 139 Jagannātha is the *svarūpa* of the *ātmā* of Kṛṣṇa, though here he is a wooden *brahma*, whose *svarūpa* is immobile. 140 But there is identity with him, being of one form: Kṛṣṇa is a single truth, but his *rūpa*

128. The setting of the *śloka* is that Kṛṣṇa has just disturbed a sacrifice to Indra, and Indra vilifies him in this way. The *daitya* (*asura*) referred to is Jārasandha, who appears in v. 134 below.

133. The Sanskrit is "paṇḍitamāninam," either "one who considers himself as wise or learned," or "honored (*māninam*) by wise and learned men (*paṇḍita*)."

134. *BhP* 10.50.17: "O Kṛṣṇa, lowest of men, you are a boy, and I am ashamed to fight with boys . . . you are a slayer of friends."

137. *BhP* 10.74.34-37.

139. The phrase is "śrījagannāthasamjñe ātmani," which is read here as "with Jagannātha, whose true form is *ātmā*," the *ātmā* of Kṛṣṇa; thus there is no separation between Kṛṣṇa and Jagannātha. *Ātmā* is also *brahma*, appearing here as a wooden, immobile (*sthāvara*) image. Jagannātha is the only major deity in northeast India made of wood, i.e., the *Dāru Brahma*.

140. The two forms are Jagannātha and Caitanya.

has two forms. 141 The source of the salvation of the world is in that power of desire, and combined with it, that identity which is gained, 142 saves all the people of the world. Thus he made *avatāra* in the form of the moving creature Gaura. 143 By *darśana* of Jagannātha, *saṁsāra* is cut away; but all people of all countries are not able to come here. 144 So Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya Gosvāmī goes from country to country, and as a moving *brahma* he saves all people. 145 This is Sarasvatī's meaning. And you are fortunate, that you have made such a description. 146 For while insulting Kṛṣṇa, you uttered his name, and that name is the cause of freedom." 147 Then that poet fell at the feet of the assembly, and holding grass in his teeth he took refuge with them all. 148 Then all the *bhaktas* embraced him, and speaking of his qualities they brought him to Mahāprabhu. 149 That poet abandoned everything and remained at Nīlācala. Who can describe the mercy of the *bhaktas* of Gaura?

150 Thus has been told the story of Pradyumna Miśra, who at the command of Prabhu went to hear talk of Kṛṣṇa. 151 And within that the greatness of Rāmananda has been described with the holy mouth itself. 152 And getting the opportunity, I spoke of the *naṭaka* of the poet, who, being ignorant, in his faith gained the feet of Prabhu. 153 The *līla* of Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya is pure nectar, and hundreds and hundreds of streams flow in the current of a single *līla*. 154 Those who, being faithful, hear about this *līla*, they know the true essence of the *rasa* of the *bhaktas* and *bhakti* of the Gaura-*līla*.

155 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

141. *Icchāśakti*: power of desire, by which power Kṛṣṇa is aware of a desire to save the world. Being thus aware, he manifests himself in Puri as Jagannātha.

142. But Jagannātha is immobile, so Kṛṣṇa also manifests himself as Caitanya, who moves from place to place with that same purpose.

Antya Līla Chapter 6

Sloka 1.

Who saved Raghunātha Dāsa indirectly from the darkness of the well of a lustrous house, by his qualities of mercy, and presented him to Svarūpa, making him most dear—I take refuge in that Kṛṣṇa Caitanya.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and to the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*.

2 In this way Gauracandra lived with his *bhaktas*, and with various kinds of sport made various *līlas* in Nīlācala. 3 Even though in his heart he was pained because of separation from Kṛṣṇa, he did not show it outwardly, for fear of giving sorrow to his *bhaktas*. 4 But when the sorrow of separation became unbearable, it showed itself, and then the derangement of Prabhu cannot be described. 5 Rāmananda's stories of Kṛṣṇa, and the songs of Svarūpa—these saved the life of Prabhu, in the anguish of his *viraha*. 6 In the day, Prabhu was distracted by the company of many people, but in the nighttime the anguish of his separation grew. 7 For the sake of his contentedness, two remained with him, and gave him solace with songs and *śloka*s of Kṛṣṇa-*rasa*. 8 As formerly Subala had been the companion who made Kṛṣṇa happy, so Rāma Rāya served

3. It is from this point on that the divine madness of Caitanya becomes increasingly evident, his Rādhā-nature gradually asserting greater dominance.

4. *Vaikalya*: derangement.

8. In the *Vraja-līla*, Subala dispelled Kṛṣṇa's misery in his separation from Rādhā by arranging for their union. Rādhāgovinda Nātha hastens to point out that in Kavikarṇapūra's *GGUD* 128, it is Gauridāsa who is said to be Subala in the *Vraja līla*, and Rāmananda Rāya is Lalita (vv. 120-24). Kṛṣṇadāsa's is probably not a theological statement, but merely an analogy, that Rāya's function here was like that of Subala, as in the next couplet.

to give happiness to Gaura. 9 And as formerly Lalitā had been the chief companion of Rādhā, so Svarūpa Gosvāmī sustained the life of Mahāprabhu. 10 The good fortune of these two cannot be told, for people sang of them as the intimates of Prabhu. 11 In this way Gaura sported with his *bhaktas*. Now hear, O *bhaktas*, of the meeting with Raghunātha.

12 Formerly, when Raghunātha had come to Śāntipura, Mahāprabhu, being merciful, had taught him. 13 Under the teaching of Prabhu, he went to his own home, and abandoning his false asceticism, he became like a man living in the world. 14 Inwardly he was an ascetic, but outwardly he did all the duties of his station, and seeing that, the hearts of his mother and father were overjoyed. 15 When he got the news that Prabhu had returned from Mathurā, he made preparations to go to Prabhu's side.

16 At that time there was a *mleccha* overlord of the *muluka*; he was *caudhuri* of the *muluka* of Saptagrāma. 17 Hiraṇyadāsa took the *muluka* through an agreement; his control was destroyed, and seeing that, he died. 18 He had realized twenty lakhs, and gave twelve lakhs to the king. That Turk got nothing

9. As in v. 8, Lalitā was one of the dearest friends of Rādhā in the *Vraja-līlā*, and comforted her in her anxiety during separation from Kṛṣṇa. Again, the *GGUD* 160 says that Svarūpa is Viśakhā in the *Vraja-līlā*, and the statement here may not be doctrinal or it may simply reflect an alternate interpretation. Regardless of the specific identities, the theological implication that Caitanya is Rādhā in this suffering of separation is clear.

12. See 2.16.235-37.

16. *Adhikārī*: overlord; *muluka*: kingdom, is again not the whole of Bengal, but an area perhaps made up of several districts. It has been seen before that Raghunātha's father and uncle were prominent in the court which ran the *muluka* of Saptagrāma, which would have covered most of modern Hugli, Howrah, Calcutta, and Twenty-four Parganas districts. *Caudhuri* was a title.

17. Saptagrāma was a provincial capital of the Muslim government of Bengal; there was a mint there. The Muslim rulers of Bengal did not at this time fully accept the Moghul government centered at Delhi, and did not always pay the taxes which had been imposed. This was also true at a later date, when the deficiency of the government of Alivardi Khān in this regard led indirectly to the Maratha invasions of Bengal; see *Mahārāṣṭra Purāṇa*, pp. ix, n. 2. Also at this time, a distinguished *kāyastha* family, the family of Raghunātha Dāsa, was rising in power in the local government. This family seems to have sought an arrangement whereby the Saptagrāma-*muluka* would have come under their control, in return for a tax settlement; this settlement was twelve lakhs of rupees, eight lakhs less than had been assessed, and the former Muslim governor was also ousted, receiving nothing from the new arrangement. It was the Muslim *adhikārī* whose "control was destroyed"; he did not really die—the expression in Bengali is merely hyperbole, indicating extreme affliction, or in this case anger.

18. Hiraṇyagarbha and Govarddhana had an income of twenty lakhs, and their tax agreement was only for twelve, and out of this, the "Turk," the Muslim *caudhuri*, got nothing. He might well have been a Turk or an Afghan, many of whom were in the Bengal government at the time.

at all, and he became an enemy. 19 He brought an *ujīr*, and submitted a detailed account to the palace. Hiraṇya the *majumdāra* fled, but [the Turk] captured Raghunātha. 20 Every day he ordered Raghunātha, "Bring your father and uncle here; if not you will suffer." 21 But when he brought Raghunātha to be beaten, and looked at him, his mind was changed, and he could not have him beaten. 22 Especially because of his *kāyastha* estate, he was afraid in his heart; with his mouth he roared and rumbled, but inwardly he was afraid to have him beaten. 23 Then Raghunātha devised a plan, and humbly he said at the feet of that *mleccha*, 24 "My father and uncle are like your two brothers, and brother is always fighting with brother. 25 Sometimes they fight and sometimes they are affectionate; there is no consistency to it. Tomorrow you three brothers will again be together. 26 As I am to my father, so I am your son; I am in your charge, and you are my protector. 27 The protector should not chastise him who is protected. You know all the *śāstras*, and are like a *zindā-ṭīr*." 28 When he heard this, that *mleccha*'s heart became soft; he began to weep, and the tears rolled down drenching his beard. 29 The *mleccha* said, "From today you are my son. I shall free you today by some stratagem." 30 And having spoken with the *ujīr*, he released Raghunātha, and he said lovingly to Raghunātha, 31 "Your uncle is foolish; he has appropriated eight lakhs; I also am a brother, and he ought to give me some. 32 You go and bring your uncle to me. Let him do that which is good; I have given the burden to him." 33 So Raghunātha brought that uncle to him; he came to terms with the *mleccha*, and all was peaceful.

34 In this way a year passed for Raghunātha, and in his second year he decided to run away. 35 He rose up in the night and fled away alone, but some

19. The *ujīr* (= *wazīr*) was an accountant or lawyer, and he made a detailed account (*kaifiyat*) of the discrepancy of eight lakhs to the court of the Nabab. The Nabab either commissioned the *caudhuri* to arrest the two brothers, or sent someone else to do so. They evidently found only Raghunātha in the house.

22. Why the *caudhuri* should have feared Raghunātha because he was a *kāyastha* is not entirely clear. It is true that his family had been powerful and influential, but his immediate relatives had fallen from favor. One explanation might be in the notion of *saṁāja*, the caste organization of the *kāyasthas*. Many local Muslim governments depended on *kāyasthas* for the work of the court, taxes, etc., and it may have been that the *caudhuri*, or even the Nabab, was afraid that if he offended a member of this prominent family, the rest would obstruct the work of government. See Inden, *MRBC*, 22, 45-47, 77-78.

27. In the Sufi tradition, a *zindā-ṭīr* is one who is perfected while he is still living.

29. Though Raghunātha was in the hands of the *caudhuri*, his capture had been ordered by the Nabab. The *caudhuri* obviously cannot free him without the Nabab's permission.

distance away his father caught him and brought him back. 36 In this way he ran away again and again, and was caught and brought back, and finally his mother said to his father, 37 "Our son has become mad; tie him up and keep him." And his father, much aggrieved, said to her, 38 "He has wealth and power like Indra, and a wife like a celestial nymph; all these are not able to bind his heart. 39 How can we keep him bound with ropes? Fathers can beget sons, but cannot wipe away the effects of previous births. 40 The grace of Caitanya-candra is on him; who can restrain the madness of Caitanyacandra?"

41 Then Raghunātha reflected somberly, and the next day he went to the side of Nityānanda Gosvāmī. 42 He gained sight of Prabhu in Pāṇihāṭṭīgrāma, and with him were many *kīrtanīya*-servants. 43 He was sitting on a *piṇḍi*, at the foot of a tree on the banks of the Gaṅgā, like a crore of rising suns. 44 He was surrounded by many *bhaktas*, above and below; and when he saw the glory of Prabhu, Raghunātha was astonished. 45 At some distance, he fell to the earth in obeisance, and a servant said, "Raghunātha is bowing to you." 46 When he heard that, Prabhu said, "Hey, thief! Show yourself! Come here, come here! Today I shall punish you!" 47 So Prabhu summoned him, but he would not come near. So he was dragged there, and he took the feet of Prabhu on his head.

48 By nature Nityānanda was playful and compassionate, and he said kindly to Raghunātha, 49 "You do not come near me; you stay at a distance. But now I have caught you, and will punish you. 50 Have prepared for my people a meal of curd and *ciḍa*." And when he heard this, the heart of Raghunātha was overjoyed. 51 Immediately he sent his own people to the village, and all the people brought articles of food from the village. 52 *Ciḍa* and curd and milk and *sandēśa* sweets and sugar and plantains, all these they brought and spread out all around before Prabhu. 53 Virtuous *brahmanas*, hearing the word "*mahotsava*" began

37, 40. *Vatula*: mad.

44. It is usual, especially on formal occasions, for people to sit according to social rank. It may well be that here the meaning is that people were sitting everywhere, regardless of custom.

46. That Nityānanda was a rather playful individual has been seen on several occasions, and it may well be that this is a playful insult. The reference to Raghunātha as a thief harks back to the conduct of his family noted above. Rādhāgovinda Nātha claims a deeper meaning for it however: as the thief appropriates the wealth of another for himself, so Raghunātha has stolen away the love of Caitanya from others of his followers.

50. *Ciḍa*: rice which has been soaked, parched, and flattened.

53. I.e., the word had spread that there was to be a great feast (*mahotsava*).

to come, and people in uncountable numbers. 54 They requested articles of food from still other villages, and several hundred *holana*-pots were brought there. 55 Five or seven huge *mṛtkuṇḍikās* were brought, and in them a *brahmaṇa* soaked *ciḍa* for Prabhu. 56 In one place he was soaking the *ciḍa* with hot milk, and half of it he mixed with curd and sugar and plantains, 57 and the other half he mixed with thickened milk, and put into it *campakalā* and sugar and *ghī* and camphor.

58 When Prabhu, wearing a dhoti, sat down on the *piṇḍi*, the *brahmaṇa* placed seven large earthen pots before him. 59 As many of Prabhu's own people as there were in the place, all these very great people sat down in a circle. 60 There were Rāmadāsa Ṭhākura, and Sundarānanda Dāsa, and Gaṅgādhara, Murāri Kamalākara, Sadaśiva, and Purandara, 61 Dhananjaya, Jagadīśa, Parameśvara Dāsa, Maheśa, Gaurīdāsa, and Hoḍa Kṛṣṇadāsa, 62 Uddharaṇa Datta, and many others of his own people; all these sat around, and who can count them all? 63 When they heard of it, *paṇḍitas* and *bhāṭṭacāryas*, and many *brahmanas* came, and honoring them, Prabhu seated them around everybody. 64 He had put before the assembly two *mṛtkuṇḍikās* each; in one was milk-*ciḍa* and in the other curd-*ciḍa*. 65 There were as many people as there could be in the place, and uncounted numbers sitting in the circle. 66 And to each person, two *holanas* were given; one was for soaking *ciḍa* in milk, and the other for soaking *ciḍa* in curd. 67 Some of the *brahmanas* did not get a place around [the circle], and they went to the bank of the Gaṅgā, and soaked *ciḍa* in the two *holanas*. 68 And there were many people who did not find a place on the bank either,

54. Evidently there was insufficient food in Pāṇihāṭṭī to feed the crowd; *holana*: an earthen container in which *ciḍa* is soaked in milk.

55. *Mṛtkuṇḍika*: earthen dishes.

57. *Campakalā*: a kind of banana.

58. *Kuṇḍi*: very large earthen containers or pots. *Dhuti pari*: "Wearing a dhoti"; perhaps Kṛṣṇadāsa has emphasized this otherwise unremarkable fact because an *avadhūta* would not normally wear much more than a loin cloth.

62-63. [The precise meaning of "*upare*," translated here as "around" (lit., "above"), is not altogether clear. The standard procedure would be to seat those of highest status closeby and in the first rank, then seating others farther away or in successive ranks. "*Upare*" has the extended meaning of "additionally" which is suggestive here of concentric rows of *brahmanas*, *paṇḍitas*, etc. Kṛṣṇadāsa and other Vaiṣṇava writers are fond of redefining social rank within the Vaiṣṇava community according to devotion rather than birth, which is consistent with this assembly, seated as it is in rings, appropriately creating a temporary *maṇḍala* (vv. 65, 67 below). TKS] It is also true that because of the size of the crowd, people were distributed helter skelter (vv. 65-69 below), which would be consistent for those outside the graded ranks of the *bhaktas* in the inner circle.

68. *Cipitaka*: flattened rice.

and they got down into the water and ate *cipitaka* and curd. 69 Some were above, and some below, and some on the banks of the Gaṅgā; and twenty people served in these three places.

70 At that time Rāghava Paṇḍita came to that place, and seeing it he was astonished, and began to laugh. 71 He had brought various kinds of *niskāḍi-prasāda*, and he placed them before Prabhu, and distributed them to the *bhaktas*. 72 He said to Prabhu, "For your sake I have had many food-offerings made. Now enjoy these, and keep the *prasāda* in your house." 73 Prabhu said, "I shall eat these articles in the day, and at night I shall eat the *prasāda* at your house. 74 I am a *gopa* in *jāti*, and am here with all these other *gopas*; I get happiness in the fun of eating here on the riverbank." 75 So he sat Rāghava down, and had him given two pots, and Rāghava soaked the two kinds of *ciḍā* in them.

76 When all the people were full of *ciḍā*, Prabhu, in meditation, summoned Mahāprabhu. 77 Mahāprabhu came, and seeing him Nityānanda arose, and with him began to look to the *ciḍā* of everyone. 78 And smiling, he put into the mouth of Mahāprabhu one mouthful from each of the *kuṇḍīs* and *holanās*. 79 And smiling, Mahāprabhu put another mouthful into his mouth and, both laughing, made him eat it. 80 In this way Nityānanda moved around the whole circle, and all the Vaiṣṇavas attentively watched this game. 81 Why he moved around the circle no one knew, for no one was fortunate enough to see Mahāprabhu. 82 Then Nityānanda came back and sat on his seat, and he placed four *kuṇḍīs* of *āroya ciḍā* on his right. 83 Giving him a seat, he seated Mahāprabhu, and the two brothers then began to eat the *ciḍā*. 84 Seeing this, Nityānanda Prabhu was overjoyed, and he showed himself controlled by various emotions. 85 Then he commanded, "Say 'Hari' and eat," and the sound "Hari, Hari!" arose and

71. *Niskāḍi*: mixtures made of fruits, roots, etc.

74. In the *Vraja-līlā*, Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma with all the cowherd boys used to picnic on the banks of the river.

76. I.e., when they had all been served.

78-79. [That Nityānanda and Mahāprabhu feed each other is suggestive on several counts. Socially this act makes Nityānanda equivalent, although not necessarily equal, to Caitanya, a position consistent with the beliefs of many devotees, and with Kṛṣṇadāsa's own special relationship to Nityānanda. Theologically this exchange is suggestive of Nityānanda's special relationship to Caitanya as the *bhaktā-svarūpa* of the *pañca-tattva*, which itself is indicative of the symbiotic relationship of devotee to lord. TKS]

82. *Āroya-ciḍā*: *ciḍā* which had been dried by the sun.

84. *Āveśa*: controlled or possessed; *bhāva*: emotion.

filled the world. 86 Saying "Hari, Hari!" the Vaiṣṇavas ate, and they all remembered the feast on the riverbank.

87 Nityānanda Prabhu is noble, and full of great mercy; he did all these things for the good fortune of Raghunātha. 88 Who can know the glorious mercy of Nityānanda; he brought Mahāprabhu to the feast on the riverbank. 89 Śrī Rāmadāsa and the other *gopas* were overcome with *prema*, and they knew the bank of the Gaṅgā to be the Yamunā-beach. 90 Hearing of the great feast, grocers from villages around brought *ciḍā* and curd and *sandēśa* sweets and plantains to sell. 91 As many articles as they brought, they sold for great price; they took the money for the articles, and were fed with those very things [which they had sold]. 92 And all the people who had come out of curiosity, they too ate *ciḍā* and curd and bananas. 93 After he had eaten, Nityānanda cleansed his mouth, and what remained in the four *kuṇḍīs* he gave to Raghunātha. 94 And what remained in the other three *kuṇḍikas*, mouthful by mouthful the *brahmaṇas* gave to all the *bhaktas*. 95 The *brahmaṇas* brought a flower-garland and put it before Prabhu, and brought sandalwood paste and anointed the whole body of Prabhu. 96 The servant brought *tambūla* and presented it to him, and Prabhu chewed it smiling. 97 The garlands and sandalwood and *tambūla* that remained, Prabhu with his own holy hands distributed to all. 98 Raghunātha was overjoyed, receiving the remnants from Prabhu, and dividing it among his own people, he ate with them. 99 Thus has been told the sport of Nityānanda, and it has become famous as the "*ciḍādadhi-mahotsava*."

100 So Prabhu rested, and when the day was done, he began *kīrtana* at the *mandira* of Rāghava. 101 Nityānanda Rāya had all the *bhaktas* dance; and finally he too danced and flooded the world with *prema*. 102 Mahāprabhu watched his dance; everyone watched Nityānanda, but did not see anyone else. 103 The dance of Nityānanda was like his own: there is nothing in the three worlds to compare to it. 104 Who is able to describe the beauty of the dance, that dance which Mahāprabhu came to see? 105 When he had finished his dance, Prabhu took rest; and when it was time to eat, the *paṇḍita* requested him [to eat].

86. The expression "*haila smaraṇa*" is literally "recalled" or "remembered," i.e., remembered when, as Kṛṣṇa and the *gopas*, they had eaten together on the bank of the Yamunā.

100. The house of Rāghava Paṇḍita.

102. I.e., they did not see Caitanya.

103. "Like his own": i.e., it can be compared only to itself; or like that of Caitanya, who is mentioned in the previous couplet.

105. "The *paṇḍita*": Rāghava Paṇḍita.

106 Prabhu with his own people sat down to eat, and he spread a seat for Mahāprabhu on his right. 107 Mahāprabhu came and sat on the seat, and when he saw this, delight grew in the heart of Rāghava. 108 He brought and placed *prasāda* before the two brothers, and afterwards he served all the Vaiṣṇavas. 109 Various kinds of *pīṭha* and *payasa*, and heavenly *śali* rice, and so many kinds of preparations, putting nectar to shame, 110 this was the *prasāda* of Rāghava Ṭhākura, the essence of nectar, and again and again Mahāprabhu came to eat of it. 111 When Rāghava had cooked and made a food offering, he spread a separate offering for Mahāprabhu. 112 And each day Mahāprabhu ate there, and sometimes Prabhu gave him *darśana*. 113 Rāghava brought [the food] and served the two brothers; with great care he made them eat everything, so that nothing remained. 114 He brought how many offerings I do not know; in the house of Rāghava Rādhā Ṭhākuraṇī [herself] cooked. 115 For she had received a boon from Durvāsā, that what she cooked would be sweeter than nectar. 116 The *prasāda* was beautiful and sweet-smelling, the essence of sweetness, and in eating it the two brothers had unparalleled joy. 117 Everyone told Rāghunātha to sit down and eat, but the *paṇḍita* said that he would eat afterwards. 118 So the *bhaktas* ate their fill, and raising the sound of "Hari" they got up and rinsed their mouths. 119 The two brothers also rinsed their mouths, and Rāghava brought garlands and sandalwood and put these on them. 120 He gave them *biḍā* to eat, and bowed to their feet, and to the *bhaktas* he gave *biḍā*, and garlands and sandalwood. 121 And Rāghava was very gracious to Rāghunātha, and he gave him the leaves with the leftovers of the two brothers. 122 He said, "Caitanya Gosvāmī has eaten of this; if you take the remnants, your bonds will be broken. 123 For he always dwells in the hearts of *bhaktas*, and in the houses of *bhaktas*. Sometimes he is hidden, and sometimes he is manifest: he is the

115. Rādhā had been granted a boon by Durvāsā, the *ṛṣi*, that whatever she cooked would taste like nectar, and that whoever should eat of it would gain long life. The story is that because of this, Yaśoda fed Kṛṣṇa Rādhā's cooking whenever she could, and that this is one of the reasons Kṛṣṇa fell in love with her. [This may also be an oblique reference to Rāghava Paṇḍita's wife, Damayantī, who lovingly prepared special foods for Caitanya. These foods, which seemed to be the favorite of Caitanya, were carted to Puri annually with the devotees making their pilgrimage to the Car Festival. According to Kṛṣṇadāsa, not only were the foods elaborate and expensive, but were prepared with a keen eye to their Ayurvedic properties which especially pleased Caitanya; see below 3.10.12-38. TKS]

120. *Biḍā*: pan.

123. *Svatantra*: self-dependent.

self-dependent Bhagavān. 124 Prabhu pervades everything, and he is always dwelling in everything; and he who doubts this is destroyed."

125 In the morning Nityānanda Prabhu bathed in the Gaṅgā, and he sat with his own people at the foot of that tree. 126 Rāghunātha came and bowed to his feet, and entreated him through Rāghava Paṇḍita, 127 "I am a low, mean, insignificant *jīva*; it is my desire to gain the feet of Caitanya. 128 It is like a dwarf wanting to catch the moon; with great care I have planned many times to go, but I have never succeeded. 129 As often as I have fled, abandoning my home and everything, my mother and father have caught and bound me. 130 Except for your grace no one gains Caitanya; but if you are gracious, even wretched people gain him. 131 I am unworthy, and fear to entreat you; but, Gosvāmī, be merciful. Grant me Caitanya. 132 Give me grace, and let me take your feet upon my head, and bless me [saying], 'Without obstacles you will gain Caitanya.'" 133 When he heard this Prabhu smiled and said to all the *bhaktas*, "His wealth in worldly possessions is like the wealth of Indra. 134 But by the grace of Caitanya he has no pleasure in them. All of you give him your blessings, that he gain the feet of Caitanya. 135 He who gains the perfume of the lotus-feet of Kṛṣṇa, he finds no pleasure in Brahma-loka and the rest."

Sloka 2. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 5.14.43:

He, exalted, ardent for the illustrious one, even while a youth, abandoned like dirt his friends and kingdom, and his wife and son, which are dear to his heart and hard to leave.

136 Then Prabhu had word sent to Rāghunātha. Placing his feet upon his head he began to say, 137 "When you had prepared that feast on the river-bank, Caitanya himself came, being merciful to you. 138 And being gracious he ate of the milk and *cipīṭa*, and he watched the dance, and in the night he ate *prasāda*. 139 Gaura himself came, that he might save you, and he has cut away all your obstacles and bonds. 140 He will present you to Svārūpa, and having made you an intimate servant, he will keep you at his feet. 141 So be certain of this, and go to your own home, and quickly, and without difficulty, and you will gain

126. Rāghunātha never addresses Nityānanda directly, but always through some intermediary.

130. This statement is more than honorific hyperbole, for as Ananta, Nityānanda provides the *dhāma*, i.e., the landscape, its inhabitants, etc. around Kṛṣṇa, through which one gains access to him.

Sloka 2. See 2.23.śl.12.

the feet of Caitanya." 142 So all the *bhaktas* gave him their blessings, and Raghunātha bowed to the feet of them all.

143 He took leave of Prabhu and of the Vaiṣṇavas, and met in private with Raghava. 144 And having consulted with him, he gave in private one hundred gold *mudrās* and seven *tolās* of gold into the hand of the store-keeper of Prabhu. 145 And he warned him, "Do not speak of this to Prabhu now. When he goes to his own house, then tell him of it." 146 Then Raghava Paṇḍita took him to his house, and gave him *darśana* of his *ṭhakura*, and gave him garlands and sandal. 147 And he gave him much *prasāda* to eat on the road, and again Raghunātha said to the *paṇḍita*, 148 "All the servants and those who are dependent, who are with Prabhu, I want to honor the feet of all of them. 149 So give [each] twenty, fifteen, twelve, ten, five *mudrās*, having decided who is worthy of what." 150 He wrote it all out and presented it to Raghava, and Raghava wrote out how much would be given, against the name of each. 151 He placed with humility before the *paṇḍita* one hundred *mudrās* and two *tolās* of gold. 152 And taking the dust of his feet he came to his own house. By the grace of Nityānanda he considered himself fulfilled. 153 From that time, he did not go within the house, but went to the *durgā-maṇḍapa*, which was outside, and lay there. 154 There were guards there who remained awake; and he thought of many plans for escape.

155 At that time all the Gaura-*bhaktas* from Gauḍa were going to Nīlācala to see Prabhu. 156 Raghunātha was not able to go with them all; in a group as evident and famous he would certainly be caught. 157 One day it happened that while he was thinking in this way, lying in the *devī-maṇḍapa* outside, 158 when there were four *daṇḍas* left in the night, Yadunandana Ācārya entered. 159 He was favored by Vāsudeva Datta, and was a *purohita*, the *guru* of Raghunātha. 160 He was an intimate student of Advaita Ācārya, and respecting the commands of Ācārya, Caitanya was the wealth of his life. 161 When he came and stood in the courtyard, Raghunātha came up to him and bowed down. 162 One of his pupils had served his *ṭhakura*, but he had left that service. For the sake of that worship 163 he said to Raghunātha, "Cause him to continue

153. *Durgā-maṇḍapa*: an open, covered area for the *Durgā-pāja*, often used for large gatherings of the public.

159. Yadunandana was Raghunātha's *ṭkṣa-guru*, the *purohita* or priest of the family, and a man who was much loved by Vāsudeva Datta.

162. One of the pupils of Yadunandana had served the personal deity of Yadunandana, but had given up that service. Raghunātha was evidently a friend of that pupil, with some influence over him.

the worship; I can find no other *brahmaṇa* to serve." 164 And so saying he took Raghunātha and went away; all the guards, at the end of the night, had fallen asleep.

165 The house of the Acārya was to the east of where they were, and the two of them went along that path, talking and listening. 166 When they were halfway there, Raghunātha said at the feet of his *guru*, "I shall find that *brahmaṇa*, and I shall send him to your place. 167 You go home and be at ease, and give me your leave." So begging his leave under this pretext he decided, 168 "There are no more servants or guards with me; this is a good opportunity for me to flee." 169 Thinking thus, he turned his face toward the east; he turned and looked behind him, but saw no one. 170 So reflecting on the feet of Śrī Caitanya and Nityānanda, he left the [main] path and ran along a side path. 171 At every village he left the path and went through the forests, and with body, mind and speech concentrated on the feet of Caitanya. 172 He went fifteen *krośas* in one day, and in the evening he stopped at the cow-shed of a *gopa*. 173 Seeing that he was hungry, the *gopa* brought him milk; he drank that milk and remained there.

174 The servants and the guards, not seeing [Raghunātha], went and asked his *guru* about him. 175 He said, "He asked leave of me and went to his own house." And the outcry arose, "Raghunātha has fled!" 176 His father said, "All the *bhaktas* of Gauḍa have gone to Nīlācala to Prabhu. 177 Raghunātha has gone away with them; you ten men go and catch him and bring him back." 178 He humbly sent a letter to Śivānanda, "Send back my son." 179 So the ten men went up to Jhāṅkrā, and at Jhāṅkrā they met the Vaiṣṇavas. 180 Giving him the letter they asked Śivānanda for news, and Śivānanda said, "He has not come here." 181 So the ten turned around and came home, and his mother and father were extremely anxious in their hearts.

182 Now Raghunātha Dāsa rose up in the morning, and leaving the eastern direction, he turned his face to the south. 183 Crossing Chatrabhoga, he left the main road, and made his way through unknown villages. 184 He had nothing to eat, but he travelled all day; hunger did not stop him, for his mind was on gaining the feet of Caitanya. 185 Sometimes chewing, sometimes cooking, sometimes drinking milk—whatever he got, by that he preserved his life. 186 For twelve days he travelled to Śrī Puruṣottama, and while on the way he ate on only three days.

183. Chatrabhoga is a place in the Sundarbans.

187 Gosvāmī was sitting with Svarūpa and the others, and Raghunātha came to meet him. 188 Remaining at a distance, in the courtyard, he prostrated himself, and Mukunda Datta said, "Raghunātha has come." 189 Prabhu said, "Come." And he came and held his feet, and raising him up Prabhu embraced him in mercy. 190 He bowed to the feet of Svarūpa and all the other *bhaktas*, and seeing the mercy of Prabhu, they all embraced him. 191 Prabhu said, "The crement of worldly things." 192 And Raghunātha said in his heart, "I know nothing of Kṛṣṇa; I consider that I have been snatched away [from it] by your grace." 193 Prabhu said, "Your father and your uncle I consider my maternal grandfathers, because of their relationship to Cakravartī. 194 Both of them are servants of Cakravartī, but are like brothers to him, and so I joke with them. 195 His father and uncle are worms in the excrement pit of worldly things; they consider great affliction of the poison of worldly things as happiness. 196 Even though they do brahmanical things for *brāhmaṇas*, they are not pure Vaiṣṇavas, but are seeming Vaiṣṇavas. 197 Still it is the nature of worldly things to bring great blindness, and cause people to do things which bind them to the world. 198 From such worldly concerns Kṛṣṇa has liberated you; the greatness of the mercy of Kṛṣṇa cannot be described."

199 Seeing the exhaustion and pallor of Raghunātha, he said to Svarūpa, his heart soft with pity, 200 "I present this Raghunātha to you; treat him as a son or a servant. 201 There are among my people three named Raghunātha; from today this one will be known as 'Svarūpa's Raghunātha'." 202 And so saying he took the hand of Raghunātha and put it into the hand of Svarūpa. 203 Svarūpa said, "It is as Mahāprabhu commands," and so saying he again embraced Raghunātha. 204 I cannot describe Caitanya's affection for his *bhaktas*; having pity on Raghunātha, he said to Govinda, 205 "He has fasted for many days on the path; feed him well for many days." 206 And to Raghunātha he said, "Go to bathe in the sea, go to see Jagannātha, and come back here and

193. *Ājā*: maternal grandfathers, an eastern Bengali dialect form. Cakravartī is Nīlambara Cakravartī, Caitanya's maternal grandfather, who evidently felt toward the two as toward his younger brothers. The relationship between ego and his maternal grandfather is traditionally a joking one; there are some family relationships which do not permit joking.

195. In this and the following couplet, Caitanya is exercising his prerogative to joke; he also seems in these two couplets to be addressing his words to the company at large, rather than directly to Raghunātha.

196. The brahmanical things are such as feeding *brāhmaṇas*, giving them money, etc. But they have not given up their desire for wealth and power, so they cannot really be considered Vaiṣṇavas.

eat." 207 And so saying Mahāprabhu got up and went to do his midday rituals, and Raghunātha Dāsa met all the *bhaktas*. 208 Seeing the mercy of Prabhu toward Raghunātha, the *bhaktas* were astonished, and praised his good fortune. 209 So Raghunātha went and bathed in the sea, and saw Jagannātha and again came to Govinda. 210 Govinda gave to him the leavings from the leaf of Prabhu, and Raghunātha received this *prasāda* in joy.

211 In this way he remained at the feet of Svarūpa, and for five days Govinda gave him *prasāda*. 212 But from the next day, after having watched the flower-*añjali*, he remained standing in the lion gate begging for food. 213 The servants of Jagannātha, and so many people with worldly possessions, having finished their service, would go home at night, 214 and seeing a Vaiṣṇava in the lion gate begging for food, were kind to him and had the *pasāri* give him food. 215 Such had been the custom for a long time, that *bhaktas*, possessing nothing, stand in the lion gate. 216 And all day long the Vaiṣṇavas made *nāma-saṁkīrtana*, and had *darśana* of Jagannātha whenever they wished. 217 Some begged in the *chatra*, and ate whatever little they got, and some at night remained in the lion gate for alms. 218 Great was the asceticism of the *bhaktas* of Mahāprabhu, and when he saw it, Gaura Bhavagan loved them. 219 Govinda said to Prabhu, "Raghunātha does not take *prasāda*; but he stands in the night in the lion-gate and eats what he gets by begging." 220 And when he heard this Mahāprabhu was pleased and began to say, "It is good; for he is acting according to the *dharma* of an ascetic. 221 *Vairāgi*s will always perform *nāma-saṁkīrtana*, and stay alive by eating what they get by begging. 222 The *vairāgi* who is dependent upon others does not gain the desired goal, and Kṛṣṇa ignores him. 223 The highest object of his desire escapes the *vairāgi* who caters to his palate, and he is controlled by his taste. 224 The duty of a *vairāgi* is always to make *nāma-saṁkīrtana*, and to fill his belly with vegetables and leaves and fruit and roots. 225 He who runs this way and that for the satisfaction of his taste-buds, devoted to his belly and his penis, does not gain Kṛṣṇa."

212. *Añjali*: offering.

214. *Pasāri*: those who sell *prasāda*.

217. *Chatra*: places, attached to most large temples and monasteries, where food is dispensed to the needy and to pilgrims.

220. *Vairāgi*: "ascetic," lit., one who is divorced of passion, the standard term for Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava ascetics of that period. See characterization, vv. 220-25 and 234-36, śl.3.

222. "Dependent upon" people other than Kṛṣṇa; the true ascetic knows that Kṛṣṇa will provide him with the necessities of life, and therefore he depends only upon Kṛṣṇa.

226 On another day Raghunātha petitioned at the feet of Svarūpa regarding his own duties. 227 "For what purpose did he have me leave home? I do not comprehend his intention. What work am I to do, Prabhu? Instruct me." 228 Raghunātha said none of this to Prabhu; for his own words he caused to be spoken by Govinda or Svarūpa. 229 So the next day Svarūpa went before Prabhu and asked, "Raghunātha petitions at the feet of Prabhu, 230 saying, 'What is my duty? I do not understand the reasons for this. Instruct me with your holy mouth.'" 231 Smiling, Mahāprabhu said to Raghunātha, "I have made Svarūpa responsible for your instruction. 232 Learn from him the truths of that which is to be attained and the way of attaining it. He knows far more than I do. 233 Still, if you have faith in my instructions, then be certain of these words of mine: 234 Do not listen to gossip, and do not speak gossip; do not eat well, and do not wear fine clothes; 235 do not be proud, but give honor to others; always take the name of Kṛṣṇa; and in your mind serve Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in Vraja. 236 These in brief are my instructions; you will get the details of them from Svarūpa."

Śloka 3. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Padyāvalī* 32 [quoting Kṛṣṇa Caitanya]:

He who knows himself as humbler than the grass, who is more forbearing than a tree, who feels no pride but gives honor to other men, he should always practice the *Hari-kīrtana*.

237 Hearing this, Raghunātha clasped his feet, and Mahāprabhu embraced him in his mercy. 238 Again he presented him to Svarūpa; and with Svarūpa he performed intimate service.

239 At that time all the *bhaktas* of Gauḍa came, and as before, Prabhu met them all. 240 And taking all of them, Prabhu cleansed the Guṇḍica, and with all of them he had a forest-feast. 241 With all of them he danced at the Car Festival, and seeing this the heart of Raghunātha was filled with wonder. 242 When Raghunātha Dāsa met them all, Advaita Ācārya was very kind to him. 243 And Śivānanda Sena told him the story: "Your father sent ten men to take

232. *Sādhyā*: that which is to be attained; *sādhana*: the way of attaining, striving.

234. *Grāmyakathā*: "gossip" or "idle chatter."

Śloka 3. [This stanza is traditionally the third *śloka* of the "*śikṣaṣṭaka*" of Caitanya, which is found in 3.20. TKS] See 1.17.śl.4; 3.20.śl.5.

238. *Antaraṅga sevā*: intimate service; this does not mean catering to the needs of the body, which would in fact be external or *bahiraṅga*, but intimacy in the sense of knowing and understanding the *bhāva* and the innermost mind.

you back; 244 he sent a letter to me to send you [back]; but when they didn't find you they went home from Jhāṅkra."

245 At the end of the four months the *bhaktas* returned to Gauḍa; and when he heard this the father of Raghunātha sent a man. 246 That man asked Śivānanda Sena, "Did you see a *vairāgi* at the place of Mahāprabhu? 247 He is the son of Govarddhana, and his name is Raghunātha. Did you meet him at Nīlācala?" 248 Śivānanda said, "He is there with Prabhu; he is very famous. There is no one who does not know him. 249 [Prabhu] has put Svarūpa in charge of him; he is like the very life of the *bhaktas* of Prabhu. 250 Day and night he sings *nāma-saṁkīrtana*, and never for an instant does he leave the feet of Prabhu. 251 He is greatly ascetic, caring neither for food nor for clothing; he eats what he gets and somehow maintains his life. 252 At ten *daṇḍas* into the night he goes, and having watched the flower offering, and stands in the lion gate to beg for food. 253 If anyone gives him anything, he eats it; sometimes he fasts, and sometimes chews lime." 254 When he had heard this, the man went to Govarddhana, and told him the whole story of Raghunātha. 255 When they heard it, his mother and father were most unhappy, and they decided to send a man with goods for their son. 256 So they sent to the place of Śivānanda four hundred *mudrās*, and two servants, and one *brāhmaṇa*. 257 Śivānanda said, "You will not all be able to go. When I go, then you will come with me. 258 So now go home. When all of us go, then we shall take all of you with us." 259 It was on this occasion that Śrī Kavikarṇapūra wrote extensively in his book of the greatness of Raghunātha.

Ślokas 4-5. Kavikarṇapūra's *Caitanyacandrodaya Nāṭaka* 10.9 [śl. 3-4]:

4 To whom among dwellers at Nīlācala is Raghunātha not known?—that ocean of asceticism, beloved of Svarūpa Dāmodara, soothed by the constant and profound grace of Śrī Caitanya, chief in the hearts of all of us, possessed of great virtues, the pupil of Yadunandana Ācārya, beloved of Śrī Vāsudeva, and sweet in nature, 5 he is a field of glory which, uncultivated and untended, delights the hearts of all people, in which the tree of *prema* for him, even at the time of planting, is incomparably fruitful.

260 As Śivānanda spoke to the man, so in just that way Karṇapūra composed his *ślokas*.

252. *Puṣpañjali*: flower offering.

261 So at the end of the year, Sivananda went to Nīlacala, and the *brahmaṇa* and the servants of Raghunātha went with him. 262 With the *brahmaṇa* and the servants and four hundred *mudrās*, he went and met Raghunātha at Nīlacala. 263 But Raghunātha Dāsa did not accept these, and so with the goods the three people remained there. 264 At that time Raghunātha took great pains to offer Prabhu an invitation two days in every month. 265 Those two invitations required eight *pañās* of cowries, and he took that much from the servants and the *brahmaṇa*. 266 In this way, inviting him, two years went by; at the end of that time Raghunātha stopped the invitations. 267 For two months Raghunātha did not extend him any invitation, and the son of Śaṭ asked Svarūpa, 268 "Why has Raghu stopped sending me invitations?" And Svarūpa said, "He has reached a personal decision: 269 'I take the goods of a worldly man to offer invitations. Perhaps the heart of Prabhu is not pleased at this. 270 Taking these goods, my mind is not at ease; I see that reputation is the only fruit of these invitations. 271 Because it is my request, Prabhu honors my invitations; if he did not honor them, this stupid person would be unhappy.' 272 He has decided this, and has given up the invitations." And when he heard this, Mahāprabhu smiled and began to say, 273 "If one eats the food of a worldly man, the heart is soiled; and if one has a soiled heart, one does not remember Kṛṣṇa. 274 It is a *rājasa*-invitation, to eat the food of a worldly person, and the hearts of both him who gives it and him who accepts it are soiled. 275 Because of his diffidence I took [food] there so many days. It is good, that by himself he has realized this, and has given it up."

276 And after some days Raghunātha left the lion gate, and began to go to the *chatra* to beg and eat. 277 Hearing this from Govinda, Prabhu asked Svarūpa, "Raghu does not stand in the lion gate to beg?" 278 Svarūpa replied, "He feels unhappy in the lion gate; so he goes at noon time to the *chatra* to beg." 279 Prabhu said, "It is good that he has left the lion gate; begging in the lion gate is like the action of a prostitute."

Sloka 6.

This man is coming, he will give me money; this man has not given me anything; another man is coming, he will give me something, he has not

274. "Rājasa-invitation": an invitation prompted by lower, material motives of conceit, praise, fame, etc.

276. *Chatra*: see commentary to v. 217.

Sloka 6. I.e., there is constant concern with who will give what, with the result that the mind is not free for meditation on Kṛṣṇa.

given me anything; but another man will come, and he will give me something.

280 But going to the *chatra*, one fills one's belly with as much as is necessary; there is no anxiety, and in happiness one can praise Kṛṣṇa."

281 So saying, he gave him his grace: he gave him a Govarddhana-*śīla* and a garland of *guñja*-flowers. 282 Śaṅkarāraṇya Sarasvatī had come from Vṛndāvana, and had brought the *śīla* and the garland from there. 283 Having woven the *guñja*-garland, he brought it and the Govarddhana-*śīla* and gave them to Prabhu. 284 Receiving these two wonderful things, Prabhu was greatly pleased, and at the times of *smaraṇa* he would put the *guñja*-garland around his neck. 285 Sometimes he held the Govarddhana-*śīla* before his eyes, and sometimes to his heart, and sometimes to his nose to smell it, and sometimes he put it on his head. 286 He always wet the *śīla* with the water of his tears, and Prabhu called the *śīla* the body of Kṛṣṇa. 287 In this way he had the garland and the *śīla* for three years, and then he delightedly gave the garland and the *śīla* to Raghunātha. 288 Prabhu said, "This *śīla* is the *vigraha* of Kṛṣṇa. Take it and serve it eagerly. 289 Do *sattvika-pūjā* to this *śīla*, and quickly you will gain the wealth of the *prema* of Kṛṣṇa. 290 Take a *kuja*-jar of water and some shoots of *tulasī*, and with pure *bhāva* perform the *sattvika-seva*. 291 On the two sides, between two leaves, there should be tender shoots, and in this way, with faith, you will gather eight shoots." 292 So with this instruction, with his holy hands

281. Govarddhana-*śīla*: a rock from Govarddhana mountain. *Guñja* itself can mean a bouquet of flowers; here however, the reference is to the bowers of Vṛndāvana, where Kṛṣṇa and the *gopīs* played.

282. [Śaṅkarāraṇya Sarasvatī is not to be confused with Caitanya's brother, who upon taking *saṁnyāsa*, assumed the name of Śaṅkarāraṇya, according to many MSS. TKS]

284. It is not clear whether remembrance and recreation of the Vraja-līla (*smaraṇa*) is deliberately induced by meditation, or whether these are times when he is simply abstracted from immediate reality, against his will. In later devotional practices, such as *mañjart-sādhana*, performed by the Vraja devotees, it is induced.

288. *Vigraha*: form, body.

289. *Sattvika-pūjāna*: *pūjā* in which there is no trace of the other lower *guṇas*, *rajas* and *tamas*, i.e., *pūjā* in which there is thought only of Kṛṣṇa, and not a trace of egotism. Rādhāgovinda Nātha comments: this type of *pūjā* is only the material *sattvika-pūjā*; but if one worships in this way for a long time, by the grace of Kṛṣṇa the material or *prākṛta* elements will be wiped away, and pure *sattva* will appear in the heart.

290. *Kuja*: a small earthen jar.

291. These are instructions for the gathering of the *tulasī*: find twigs which have a shoot between two leaves, and gather eight of these.

he gave the *śila*, and in joy Raghunātha began to serve it. 293 Svarūpa Gosvāmī gave him two cloths of one twelve-finger span, and one *pīḍi*, and a *kuja* for bringing water. 294 And with these Raghunātha worshiped; and at the time of worship he saw Vrajendranandana in the *śila*. 295 "Prabhu has given me this Govarddhana-*śila* with his own hands"—thinking thus, Raghunātha floated in *prema*. 296 In the service with water and *tulasī*, joy was born in him, more joy than there was in the worship with the sixteen *upacāras*. 297 In this way he worshiped for many days, and then Svarūpa Gosvāmī said to him, 298 "Offer *khajā* and *sandēśa* worth eight cowries; if you offer them with faith, they will be like nectar." 299 So he made an offering of eight cowries' worth of *khajā*; at the order of Svarūpa, Govinda carried it out. 300 When Raghunātha got the *śila* and the garland, he thought about the purpose of Gosvāmī in this. 301 "In giving me the *śila* Gosvāmī has given me Govarddhana; and in giving me the *guñja*-garland he has given me the feet of Rādhikā." 302 Raghunātha in his joy was oblivious of his surroundings, and with body and mind he served the feet of Gaurāṅga.

303 Who can write of the endless qualities of Raghunātha? Raghunātha's observances were [as firm as] a row of stones. 304 Seven and a half *praharas* he spent in *smaraṇa*; for food and sleep he had four *daṇḍas*, and on some days not even that. 305 The story of his asceticism is a wonderful one; from that time on he put no sweet thing on his tongue. 306 He wore no clothing except for a torn old ragged patchwork wrap, and he kept with great care the commands of Prabhu. 307 He ate only to keep himself alive, and for eating even that he reproached himself.

Sloka 7. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 7.15.40:

He who knows the *ātman* to be supreme, by that knowledge his longings are destroyed; for what purpose and for what cause does he nourish the body, being addicted to bodily things?

293. *Bitastī*: "twelve-finger span." These items are to be used in the *pājā*, for dressing the *śila* the two pieces of cloth, and a small platform to place it on (*pīḍi*), and a small jar (*kuja*) to contain the water for the offering.

296. The sixteen *upacāras* are the sixteen articles of worship used in a full *pājā*: see Gopala Bhaṭṭa's *HBhV* 11.46-55.

298. *Khajā* is a flaky kind of pastry; *sandēśa* is a sweet made with milk.

299. Govinda made the purchase for him.

304. There are eight *praharas* in a day and a night; he would eat and sleep in the remaining hour and a half. *Smaraṇa* is "recollection," reflection and meditation on Kṛṣṇa. See commentary to v. 284 above.

308 All the *prasāda*-rice which the *pasāri* could not sell, after two or three days became rotten. 309 They would throw that rice to the cows in the lion-gate; and because of its rotten stench the *tailaṅga* cows could not eat it. 310 That rice Raghunātha brought to his house at night, and he washed it, throwing much water on it. 311 The inner kernel of the rice he found hard; but he spread it with salt and ate it all. 312 One day Svarūpa saw him doing that, and smiling he asked him for a little to eat. 313 Svarūpa said, "You eat such nectar every day, and do not give us any? Is this your nature?" 314 Prabhu heard the story from the mouth of Govinda, and the next day Prabhu came and spoke with him. 315 "How can you eat such things and not give me any?" and so saying he took a handful to eat. 316 He was taking another handful, but Svarūpa held his hand, and saying, "This is not fit for you," he snatched it away by force. 317 Prabhu said, "Every day I eat many kinds of *prasāda*; but I have never found any *prasāda* sweeter than this." 318 Thus again and again he showed mercy to Raghunātha, and seeing the asceticism of Raghunātha he was delighted in his heart. 319 And Raghunātha Dāsa has spoken of his own deliverance in his *Gaurāṅgastava-kalpavṛkṣa*:

Sloka 8. Raghunātha Dāsa Gosvāmī's *Gaurāṅgastavakalpataru* 11:

He who has saved me, a fallen and worthless person, from the burning fire of great wealth, by his mercy, joyously presenting me to his own Svarūpa, and has given me the Govarddhana-*śila* and the garland of *guñja* flowers, even though they were dear to him, that Gaurāṅga has made me joyful, being risen in my heart.

320 Thus has been narrated the meeting of Raghunātha; and he who hears that gains the feet of Caitanya.

321 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

309. *Tailaṅga*: the area of southern Orissa and northern Andhra.

Sloka 8. [The *Gaurāṅgastavakalpataru* is only one in a collection of hymns of praise composed by Raghunātha, which collectively are known by the generic name of the *Stavavali*. TKS]

Antya Līla Chapter 7

Sloka 1.

By whose grace even a wretched man like me becomes immortal, I bow to those holy people who taste the pollen of the lotus-feet of Caitanya.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and to the hosts of Gaura-bhaktas.

2 The next year, when the *bhaktas* of Gauḍa came, Mahāprabhu met them all, as he had done previously. 3 In this way Prabhu sported with his *bhaktas*; and at that time Vallabha Bhaṭṭa came to meet him. 4 Coming, Bhaṭṭa bowed to the feet of Prabhu, and Prabhu, because of his knowledge of the *Bhāgavata*, embraced him. 5 Honoring him, Prabhu sat him down beside him, and humbly Bhaṭṭa began to speak. 6 "For a long time it has been a desire of my heart to see you; and Jagannātha has fulfilled it, for now I have seen you. 7 Seeing you like the manifest Bhagavān, you are Vrajendranandana, and no other. 8 He who remembers you is purified; is it then strange that there is purification in *darśana* of you?"

Sloka 2. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.19.33:

By remembrance of them, the homes of men are immediately purified; what then [comes from] sitting with them, and washing their feet, and touching them, and having *darśana* of them?

9 The *dharma* of the Kali age is the praising of the name of Kṛṣṇa; and apart from the power of Kṛṣṇa there would be no promulgation of this. 10 You have

3. See the commentary to 2.4.103. When Caitanya was in Kāśī, Vallabha Bhaṭṭa was living in the village of Āḍaila near that city, and Caitanya took a meal with him.

8. *Smaraṇa*: remembers.

begun it, and there is the proof: you hold the power of Kṛṣṇa, and so are none other than he. 11 You manifest the name of Kṛṣṇa in the world, and he who sees you floats in Kṛṣṇa-prema. 12 There is no manifestation of *prema* apart from the power of Kṛṣṇa; Kṛṣṇa is the giver of *prema*, and the proof of this is in the *śāstras*."

Sloka 3. Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta*, *pārvakhaṇḍa* 5.37:

Of the lotus-navel one, there are many *avatāras* in many ways grace-bestowing. But apart from Kṛṣṇa is anyone else the giver of the gift of *prema* even to creepers?

13 Mahāprabhu said, "Listen, O great-minded Bhaṭṭa. I am a *māyāvādī saṁnyāsī*, and I know nothing of Viṣṇu-bhakti. 14 Advaita Ācārya Gosvāmī is the manifest *Īśvara*; my heart has been purified in association with him. 15 There is none who is his equal in Kṛṣṇa-bhakti or in all the *śāstras*; and thus his name, 'Advaita Ācārya.' 16 By his grace the *mlecchas* get Kṛṣṇa-bhakti; who can tell the power of his Vaiṣṇavism? 17 And Nityānanda the *Avadhūta* is the manifest *Īśvara*; mad and drunken with *bhāva*, he is a sea of Kṛṣṇa-prema. 18 And Sarvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya, a master of the six systems, *guru* of the world in the six systems, is a great *bhāgavata*. 19 He showed me the other shore of *bhakti-yoga*. By his grace is known the essence of the *yoga* of Kṛṣṇa-bhakti. 20 And Rāmananda Rāya is chief among great *bhāgavatas*; he taught me that Kṛṣṇa is *svayaṁ bhagavān*. 21 And in that, that *prema-bhakti* is the crest jewel of the ends of man; and from him I know that *prema-bhakti* in the *rāga-mārga* is the best of all. 22 *Dāsyā*, *sakhya*, *vātsalya*, and *madhura bhāvas* there are, and these are the refuges of [those who are by nature] servants, friends, elders, and lovers. 23 There is [that *bhakti* which] is mixed with knowledge of his divinity, and that which is pure *bhāva*; and by knowledge of his divinity one does not gain Vrajendrakumāra.

Sloka 3. See 1.3.515.

14. *Sakṣat*: manifest, to appear before one's eyes. See 1.10.54; 3.2.2-4.

15. I.e., he is "without" (a-) a second (*dvaita*).

16. *Vaiṣṇavata*: "Vaiṣṇavism."

22. See 2.19.157-59, 165-92; 2.23.20-44.

23. *Aiśvarya*: divinity, martial sovereignty, splendor, and throughout the next verses.

Śloka 4. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.9.21:

That Bhagavān, son of the *gopikā*, is easily obtainable by those who have *bhakti*; but for those who are concerned with the body, or with *jñāna*, or becoming *ātman*, it is not so easy.

24 The word '*ātmabhūta*' speaks of the followers; Lakṣmī did not gain Vrajeṇ-dranandana by knowledge of his divinity.

Śloka 5. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.47.60:

That grace which rose up for the beautiful women of Vraja, who received the blessing of necks embraced by his arms at the time of the *rāsa*-celebration, was not vouchsafed even to Śrī, eternally beloved, or other heavenly women, whose fragrance is like lotuses; so why others?

25 In pure *bhāva* his friend rides upon his shoulders; and in pure *bhāva* Vrajeśvarī ties him up. 26 'My friend,' 'my son'—this is in their pure hearts; and thus do Śuka and Vyāsa praise [him].

Śloka 6. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.12.11:

They, worshipful for the merit they had earned, played with him, whom the followers of *māyā* consider as a human child, and whom worshipers in the *dāsyā-bhāva* consider to be the god to be fully adored, and whom those who follow *jñāna* consider to be the experience of the pleasure of *brahma*.

Śloka 7. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.8.46:

O *brāhmaṇa*, what holy work, engendering such great merit, did Nanda do, or the most blessed Yaśodā, that Hari sucked milk from her breast?

27 Even if they saw his divine splendor, pure ones would not know it as splendor; thus *bhāva* alone is greater than this splendor.

Śloka 4. See 2.8.śl.49; 2.9.śl.11; 2.24.śl.26.

24. "Those who have as their elements (*bhūta*), spirit (*ātma*)"; "followers": *pariśada-gaṇa*. These seem to be such as Lakṣmī, who did not gain Kṛṣṇa by knowing him as divine (*aiśvarya*); only those gain Kṛṣṇa who seek the sweet side of his nature (*mādhurya*).

Śloka 5. See 2.8.śl.17; 2.8.śl.50; 2.9.śl.9.

Śloka 6. See 2.8.śl.14.

Śloka 7. See 2.8.śl.15.

Śloka 8. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.8.45:

Yaśodā considered to be her own son that Hari whose greatness is celebrated by the three [Vedas], by the Upaniṣads, by Sāṃkhya, by Yoga, by Sātvata.

28 All this Rāmānanda Raya has taught me; he is a man who knows *rasa* unhindered, and who has the joy and happiness of *prema*. 29 And Svarūpa Dāmodara is the image of *prema-rasa*; and in his company I got knowledge of the sweet *rasa* of Vraja. 30 The *prema* of the Vraja-devīs is pure and without a hint of *kāma*; a sign of it is that it is dedicated to the happiness of Kṛṣṇa.

Śloka 9. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.31.19:

O beloved! In fear that your most delicate lotus feet be injured by our hard breasts, we place them gently down. With those same lotus feet you wander about the forest—are they not hurt by those sharp pointed stones? You are our very life, and therefore our minds are rended.

31 The pure *prema* of the *gopīs* has nothing of knowledge of his divinity; in *prema* there is rebuke—this is a sign of it.

Śloka 10. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.31.16:

O Acyuta, entranced by the song of your knowing flute, and having transgressed husbands and sons and family and relatives and brothers and friends, we have come to you knowing the way. O cheat! What kind of a man would abandon women in the night?

32 This is the best worship of all; it surpasses all [other kinds of] *bhakti*. And thus Kṛṣṇa says, 'I am in your debt.'

Śloka 11. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.32.22:

Your union with me is stainless, and I by my own deeds will not be able to repay you, even in the lifetime of a god. You have loved me properly,

Śloka 8. Sātvata: Pañcarātra. See 2.19.śl.31.

28. *Anargala*: unhindered; *argala* being a bar on a door, i.e., that true knowledge of *rasa* is open to him.

29. He literally is the "container of the *mārti*" (*mārtimān*), the visible and immediate manifestation of *prema-rasa*.

Śloka 9. See 1.4.śl.26; 2.8.śl.47; 2.18.śl.7.

Śloka 10. See 2.19.śl.35.

Śloka 11. See 1.4.śl.29; 2.8.śl.22.

having cut all the unaging fetters of world and family. Let your holy deeds be rewarded by their own holiness.

33 So pure *bhāva* is far greater than knowledge of divinity, and on the earth there was no *bhakta* the equal of Uddhava. 34 He prayed for the dust of their feet. All this I have learned in the company of Svarūpa.

Sloka 12. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.47.61:

O, that I could be one of these plants or shrubs or creepers, in the dust of their feet in Vṛndāvana; they have abandoned the proper path and their own people, hard to abandon, and have worshiped the path of Mukunda, sought after by the *śrutis*.

35 Haridāsa Ṭhākura is chief among great *bhāgavatas*; each day he takes three lakhs of the names of Kṛṣṇa. 36 I learned the greatness of the name from him, and by his grace the greatness of the name is known. 37 Ācāryaratna, Ācāryani-dhi, Gadādhara Paṇḍita, Jagadānanda, Dāmodara, Śaṅkara, and Vakreśvara, 38 Kāśīśvara, Mukunda, Vāsudeva, Murāri, and how many other *bhaktas* incarnated in Gauḍa 39 propagate *prema* and the Kṛṣṇa-name throughout the world, and from the company of all of these has come my Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti*."

40 Knowing that there was deep pride in the heart of Bhaṭṭa, Mahāprabhu spoke all these words as a trick. 41 "I know all about the Vaiṣṇava-truths, and I can explain better than anyone the meaning of the *Bhāgavata*"— 42 this deep pride was in the mind of Bhaṭṭa; but when he heard the words of Prabhu, it shrank. 43 Hearing of the group's Vaiṣṇavism from the mouth of Prabhu, Bhaṭṭa desired to meet all of them. 44 And he said, "Do all these Vaiṣṇavas stay in a particular place?" And Prabhu said, "You will see all of them here." 45 Then Bhaṭṭa, with ingratiating words and most humbly, offered Prabhu an invitation.

46 The next day all the *bhaktas* came to the place of Prabhu, and Mahāprabhu introduced Bhaṭṭa to them all. 47 Seeing the glory of the Vaiṣṇavas, Bhaṭṭa was astonished; he was like a firefly before them all. 48 Then Bhaṭṭa had much *mahāprasāda* brought, and he fed Mahāprabhu and his people. 49 The *saṁnyāsins* with Paramānanda Purī all sat on one side to eat. 50 Advaita sat on one side of him, and Nityānanda on the other, and Prabhu sat between them, with his *bhaktas* before and behind. 51 There were so many *bhaktas* of Gauḍa that

47. *Teja*: glory, "radiance."

I cannot count them; they all sat in rows in the courtyard. 52 Seeing the *bhaktas* of Prabhu, Bhaṭṭa was astonished, and he made obeisance at the feet of each of them. 53 Svarūpa, Jagadānanda, Kāśīśvara, Śaṅkara, Rāghava, and Dāmodara served. 54 Vallabha Bhaṭṭa had much *mahāprasāda* brought, and he himself served the *saṁnyāsins*, together with Prabhu. 55 Getting the *prasāda*, all the Vaiṣṇavas said "Hari, Hari!" and the sound of Hari rose up and filled the whole Brahmā-world. 56 He brought many garlands, and sandalwood, and pan, and betel nuts, and worshiping all of them, Bhaṭṭa was delighted.

57 On the day of the Car Festival, Prabhu began the dance; as before, he divided them into seven groups. 58 Advaita, Nityānanda, Haridāsa, Vakreśvara, Śrīnivāsa, Rāghava, and Gadādhara Paṇḍita— 59 these seven led the seven groups dancing, and Prabhu wandered out singing "Hari bol!" 60 Fourteen drums were playing in loud *kīrtana*, and in the *prema* of each of the dancers, the world floated. 61 Seeing this, Vallabha Bhaṭṭa's heart was astonished, and he lost himself, agitated in pleasure. 62 Then Mahāprabhu stopped the dance of all of them, and as before, he himself began to dance. 63 More *prema* arose, when they saw the beauty of Prabhu, and Bhaṭṭa was certain that he was the manifest Kṛṣṇa. 64 In this way they all watched the Car Festival, and Bhaṭṭa was astonished at the actions of Prabhu.

65 At the end of the festival, Bhaṭṭa went to the place of Prabhu, and placed this humble request at the feet of Prabhu: 66 "I have written a *ṭīka* on the *Bhāgavata*; will you listen to it, Mahāprabhu?" 67 Prabhu replied, "I am not able to understand the meaning of the *Bhāgavata*; I am not great enough to hear the meaning of the *Bhāgavata*. 68 I only sit and take the names of Kṛṣṇa; and [though I take them] day and night, I have not fulfilled the prescribed number." 69 Bhaṭṭa said, "I have developed an explanation of the meaning of the name of Kṛṣṇa; listen to that which I have expounded." 70 And Prabhu said, "I do not consider many meanings of the name of Kṛṣṇa; I only know 'the beautiful Śyāma, son of Yaśodā.'"

Sloka 13. *Nāmakaumudī*.

He who is *śyāma*-colored, like the leaf of the *tamāla* tree, who drinks from the breast of Yaśodā, in him is the primary meaning of the name Kṛṣṇa—this is attested in all the *śāstras*.

58. Śrīnivāsa: Śrīvāsa Paṇḍita.

66. *ṭīka*: commentary.

70. *Śyāmasundara yaśodānandana*: "the beautiful . . . Yaśodā."

71 This meaning is the only one that I have ascertained; I have no right to all the other meanings." 72 Knowing that the commentary of Bhaṭṭa would be trifling and worthless, the omniscient Prabhu was indifferent to it. 73 Disappointed, Bhaṭṭa went to his own house; and his *bhakti* toward Prabhu was lessened a little.

74 Then Bhaṭṭa went to the place of Paṇḍita Gosvāmī; he came and went, expressing affection for him in various ways. 75 But all the people of Nīlacala [recognized] the indifference of Prabhu toward him, and they would not listen at all to the commentaries of Bhaṭṭa. 76 Bhaṭṭa was ashamed, for he was insulted, and he went unhappily to the place of the *paṇḍita*. 77 Humbly he said, "I take refuge with you; being merciful, you can save my life. 78 If you would listen to my explanations on the Kṛṣṇa-name, then the mud of my shame would be removed." 79 The *paṇḍita* was in difficulty, and he was hesitant. He could not decide what he should do. 80 But even though the *paṇḍita* did not agree, Bhaṭṭa went and read to him, forcing him to listen. 81 The *paṇḍita* was not able to forbid him because he was high-born; [he prayed] "Save me in this difficulty, O Kṛṣṇa. I take refuge in you. 82 Prabhu is indwelling, and he will certainly know my heart. I do not fear him, but his followers are harsh." 83 Even though there was no error in the decision of the *paṇḍita*, still the followers of Prabhu were angry because of their affection for him. 84 And Vallabha Bhaṭṭa continued to come to the place of Prabhu, and debate and so on with Ācārya and the others. 85 Whatever Bhaṭṭa said about the establishment of the truths, no sooner than he heard it Ācārya would refute it. 86 Whenever Bhaṭṭa would go before Ācārya and the others, he appeared like a heron among swans. 87 One day Bhaṭṭa asked Ācārya, "The *jīva* is a woman who looks on Kṛṣṇa as husband. 88 She who is *pativrata* does not take the name of her husband. But you take the name of Kṛṣṇa. What kind of *dharma* is this?" 89 The Ācārya

74. Paṇḍita Gosvāmī: Gadādhara Paṇḍita; Bhaṭṭa probably chose Gadādhara because he was renowned for his recitation and understanding of the *BhP*.

81. Because Bhaṭṭa came from a family of high station, Gadādhara could not prevent him from speaking; but neither did he want to listen to the commentary.

84. Ācārya: Advaita Ācārya. Sārvabhauma was also referred to as Ācārya, but context here points to Advaita.

88. It is an ancient view that the name of an individual or object is intimately bound up with the nature of that individual or object, and with its life force. Use of the name weakens the life force, and therefore a woman who is true to her husband, a *pativrata*, never uses his name. See P. V. Kane, *History of Dharma-śāstra*, 5 vols. in 7 (Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1930-62), 2:334.

replied, "Before you is the personification of *dharma*. Ask him, and he will give you an answer to it." 90 Prabhu heard this and said, "You do not know the inner meaning of *dharma*. If she gets the command from her husband, it is the *dharma* of this *pativrata* 91 [to obey] the command of her husband, to take his name incessantly. And the *pativrata* is not able to disobey this command of her husband. 92 Thus she takes the name, and gets the fruits of the name. And by the grace of Kṛṣṇa the fruits of the name are the arousal of *prema*." 93 When he heard this, Vallabha Bhaṭṭa was silent, and going to his house with a saddened heart, he thought, 94 "I am constantly defeated in that assembly. If one day my arguments would come out on top, 95 then I would be happy, and all my shame would disappear. But how can I establish my own arguments?"

96 So the next day he came, and made obeisance to Prabhu and sat down, and with a certain pride in his heart he said to all, 97 "I have refuted the explanations of Svāmī of the *Bhagavata*; I am unable to accept the words of his explanations. 98 He who takes and reads his commentaries sees that they are not consistent; for that reason I do not honor Svāmī." 99 Prabhu smiled and said, "Who does not honor Svāmī is to be counted as inwardly a prostitute." 100 And so saying, Prabhu remained silent; and when they heard this everyone was delighted. 101 The *Gaura-avatāra* is for the good of the world, and he knows who has pride in his heart. 102 So Bhagavān corrected Bhaṭṭa with various kinds of slights, as Kṛṣṇa broke the pride of Indra. 103 Ignorant *jīvas* consider what is for their good as being not good; but after their pride is crumbled, their eyes are opened. 104 So Bhaṭṭa came home, and in the night he reflected, "Formerly, at Prayāga, he was very merciful to me, 105 and he honored my invitations with his own people. Why now has Prabhu's heart turned against me? 106 In his mind is: let him be free of the pride that says 'I am victorious'—this is the nature of Īśvara, and he does it for the good of all. 107 To cause me to know myself, that I am proud, and to destroy that pride, he has insulted me. 108 He does it for my benefit, and I consider it painful; so Indra, most foolishly, did toward Kṛṣṇa." 109 So thinking, in the morning he came to the feet of Prabhu, and humbly he praised him and took refuge in him, 110 "I

97. Svāmī: Śrīdhara Svāmī, the commentator on the *BhP*, whose commentary, *Bhavartha-dīpikā*, is accepted by the Vaiṣṇavas of Bengal.

99. "Svāmī" also means "husband."

102. When Indra was angry because Kṛṣṇa had obstructed his sacrifice, he caused it to storm for seven days, in order to destroy Vraja; Kṛṣṇa, however, merely held the mountain Govardhana on his fingers over Vraja and protected it from the storm.

am an ignorant *jīva*, and what I did was the deed of an ignorant man. Stupidly I flourished my learning before you. 111 And you, as *Īśvara*, showed mercy, as is appropriate to yourself. And by your contempt toward me you broke all my pride. 112 I am ignorant, and I considered my benefit as insult, as ignorant *Indra* vilified *Kṛṣṇa*. 113 Now by the *kohl* of your mercy, the blindness of my pride is gone; now I know that you have been so gracious to me. 114 I have committed an offence; forgive me, that I might take refuge in you. Be merciful to me; place your feet on my head." 115 Prabhu said, "You are a *paṇḍita* and a great *bhāgavata*. Wherever these two qualities are, there is no mountain of pride. 116 You produced your own commentary, scorning that of *Śrīdhara Svāmī*; you hold such pride that [you say] 'I do not honor *Śrīdhara Svāmī*.' 117 We know the *Bhāgavata* through the grace of *Śrīdhara Svāmī*; *Śrīdhara Svāmī* is the *guru* of the world, and I honor him as *guru*. 118 Whoever will shame *Śrīdhara* out of pride, writes foolishness, and people will not respect him. 119 But he who writes following *Śrīdhara*, all the people accept him and respect him. 120 So follow *Śrīdhara* in explaining the *Bhāgavata*; leave your pride and worship *Kṛṣṇa-Bhagavān*. 121 Leave your offence, and make *Kṛṣṇa-saṅkīrtana*, and quickly you will gain the feet of *Kṛṣṇa*." 122 Bhaṭṭa said, "Since you have been kind to me, again one day accept my invitation." 123 Prabhu was incarnated to save the world, so he honored the invitation, to give him happiness. 124 "Let there be benefit to the world"—this was in the heart of Prabhu; and so, by punishment, he purified his heart. 125 So [Vallabha] invited Mahāprabhu and all his followers, and Mahāprabhu was kind to him.

126 The *bhāva* of Jagadānanda Paṇḍita was profound; like that of Satyabhāmā, the nature of his *prema* was contrary. 127 Again and again he had quarrels with Prabhu because of love, and each went on quarreling over trifles with the other. 128 And the *bhāva* of Gadādhara Paṇḍita was also pure and profound; but his nature was yielding, like that of Rukmiṇī Devī. 129 Prabhu wanted to see him angry because of love, but he did not get angry because of his knowl-

113. *Kohl*: collyrium, the black ointment used around the eyes as a cosmetic and as an ointment for protection against eye disease and infection.

126. *Vāma*: contrary, tricky, subtle, left. An example of Jagadānanda's *vāma* qualities is the incident of the perfumed oil which he brought Caitanya, and breaking the vessels of it on the ground, 3.12.117-119. Jagadānanda is deemed to be Satyabhāmā by Kavikarṇapūra in *GGUD* 51.

128. *Dakṣiṇa*: yielding, straightforward, lit., "right," as opposed to *vāma* in v. 126.

129. Rukmiṇī also did not dare become angry at Kṛṣṇa, knowing him to be divine; but as to Kṛṣṇa anger is sometimes an expression of love, Caitanya here wants to make Gadādhara angry at him. As Kṛṣṇa, Caitanya does not want to be looked upon as divine, he wants to be loved.

edge of *Īśvara*. 130 As a pretext, Prabhu showed signs of anger, and when he heard of it, terror was born in the heart of the *paṇḍita*, 131 as previously, when Kṛṣṇa joked with her, terror arose in the heart of Rukmiṇī. 132 The worship of Vallabha Bhaṭṭa was that to the child, and he served him with the *Bala-gopāla-mantra*. 133 But in the company of the *paṇḍita*, his mind was changed, and his heart was on the worship of the *Kiśora-gopāla*. 134 He wanted to learn the *mantra* and the rest from the *paṇḍita*, and the *paṇḍita* said, "This is not for me to do. 135 I am dependent on another; my Prabhu is Gauracandra; I am not independent, apart from his command. 136 That you come to see me, because of that Prabhu rebukes me." 137 In this way Bhaṭṭa went on for many days, and finally Prabhu was most kind to him. 138 On the day of the invitation, he had the *paṇḍita* summoned; he sent Svarūpa Gosvāmī and Jagadānanda and Govinda. 139 On the way, Svarūpa said to the Paṇḍita, "Prabhu has been indifferent to you in order to test you; 140 why did you not come and reproach him for it? Why did you endure it like a coward?" 141 The *paṇḍita* said, "Prabhu is the self-dependent omniscient crest-jewel; I do not think that I should be impudent to him. 142 What he says, I bear, taking it on my head; he himself will be merciful, judging what is fault and what is not." 143 So saying, the

[This short passage is somewhat puzzling if the analogy with Rukmiṇī is taken to be one of identity, for Gadādhara is within the tradition nearly uniformly believed to be Rādhā, master of love-play appropriate to a woman of the *vāma* nature, whereas Rukmiṇī's relation to Kṛṣṇa could never generate the desirable eroticism of Rādhā's. Kṛṣṇadāsa earlier identifies Gadādhara as the *śakti* of Kṛṣṇa (1.7.15), which Kavikarṇapūra identifies as Rādhā or the *gopī* Lalita (*GGUD* 10-11, 146-55); and the actions of Gadādhara recorded in all the prior biographies are consistent with this appraisal. But Kṛṣṇadāsa never actually calls Gadādhara Rādhā, which may be for internal, theological consistency—he does style Caitanya as the androgynous dual-incarnation, Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa—or for other reasons, for Gadādhara's position apparently caused some consternation in the community at large. That the latter is a distinct possibility is underscored by the fact that Kṛṣṇadāsa honors Gadādhara in only two *maṅgalācāraṇas* (1.13.1-4; 3.5.2), while singling out the other members of the *pañca-tattva*—Nityānanda, Advaita, and Śrīvāsa—at the beginning of all sixty-two chapters. To add further confusion, however, Kṛṣṇadāsa reports that at one point Caitanya was delighted at Gadādhara's waywardness in refusing to return to Nīlācala (2.17.129-41). TKS]

131. *BhP* 10.60.10-20.

132. Vallabha's *bhāva* was the *vatsalya-bhāva*, and his *iṣṭa-mantra* was the *mantra* of the child Kṛṣṇa. This concern with the child Kṛṣṇa, rather than with Kṛṣṇa the lover of the *gopīs*, is most common among Vaiṣṇavas of northern and western India; most of the poems of Surdas (*Suradāsa*) and others are on the child theme.

133. The companionship of Gadādhara caused him to change his attention from the child Kṛṣṇa to the youthful lover (*kiśora*). This may or may not have been true, but there is no record that he did take a new *mantra* and actually change his worship.

141. *Svatantra*: self-dependent; *sarvajña*: omniscient.

paṇḍita came to the door of Prabhu, and weeping fell at the feet of Prabhu. 144 Smiling a little, Prabhu embraced him, and he spoke to him sweet words, making sure that everyone heard, 145 "I drove you, but you did not move; you said nothing in anger, but endured all. 146 Your mind was not budged, by my trick; you have bought me, by your most deep and simple *bhava*."

147 The *bhava* and the actions of the *Paṇḍita* cannot be described; [Caitanya's] name is "lord of the heart of Gadādhara." 148 And the mercy of Prabhu to the *paṇḍita* cannot be fully described. People celebrate him as "Gaurāṅga of Gadāi"; 149 who can understand the *līlā* of Caitanya Prabhu? In one *līlā* there flow hundreds and hundreds of streams of the Gaṅgā. 150 The qualities of courtesy and of brahmanhood of the *paṇḍita*, and his actions of profound *prema* he revealed to the world. 151 He cleansed Bhaṭṭa of the mud of pride, and through that he taught even more people. 152 In his heart he was compassionate, though externally he seemed to have contempt; he who accepts the external meaning, is destroyed. 153 Who has the power to understand the most profound *līlā* of Caitanya? He understands, who has deep *bhakti* toward Gaurācandra. 154 At the end of the day, the *paṇḍita* extended Prabhu an invitation, and Prabhu, with his own people, ate with him. 155 And there Vallabha Bhaṭṭa got permission from Prabhu, and all that he had prayed for formerly from the *paṇḍita* was accomplished. 156 Thus has been described the meeting with Vallabha Bhaṭṭa, and he who hears it gains the wealth of the *prema* of Gaura.

157 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

Antya Līlā Chapter 8

Śloka 1.

I bow to that Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, who out of dread of Rāmacandra Purī, lessened the amount of worldly food that he begged.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, *avatāra* of a sea of compassion, whose feet Brahmā and Śiva and the others serve. 2 Glory, glory to the Avadhūtācandra Nityānanda, who binds the world in a net of *prema*. 3 Glory, glory to Advaita, *avatāra* of Īśvara, who saved the world by making Kṛṣṇa assume an *avatāra*. 4 Glory, glory to Śrīvāsa and the other *bhaktas* of Prabhu, the wealth of whose hearts is the moon Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya.

5 Thus did Gaurācandra, with his own *bhaktas*, play at Nīlācala, in the delights of Kṛṣṇa-*prema*. 6 And at that time Rāmacandra Purī Gosvāmī came, and Paramānanda Purī came to meet Prabhu. 7 Paramānanda Purī bowed to his feet, and [Rāmacandra] Purī Gosvāmī embraced him deeply. 8 Mahāprabhu prostrated himself to him, and embracing him he made Kṛṣṇa-*smṛti*. 9 The three passed a little time in pleasant conversation, and Jagadānanda Paṇḍita offered him an invitation. 10 Prasāda of Jagannātha was brought to feed him, and he ate so much as to be censured. 11 And when he had eaten, Purī said, "Listen, Jagadānanda. You eat the remainder of the *prasāda*." 12 And eagerly he sat him down and had him eat, and he himself being eager, served him. 13 Eagerly, again and again, he caused him to eat; and when he had rinsed his mouth he began to criticize, 14 "I have heard that the followers of Caitanya

Śloka 1. Refers to the incident to be described, in which Caitanya is criticized by Rāmacandra for eating too much. Caitanya thereafter reduced his intake of food, so that he would not be criticized in society.

8. Kṛṣṇa-*smṛti*: two Vaiṣṇavas when they meet pronounce the name of Kṛṣṇa. For other scenarios, see 2.6.56 and 2.11.5.

9. Him: Rāmacandra Purī.

147. *Mudra*: actions, i.e., the internal *bhava* and the external results of that *bhava*; Gadādhara-*prāṇanātha*: Lord of the heart of Gadādhara.

148. Gadāi: Gadādhara.

eat a great deal. That indeed is true, and I have just seen it here. 15 For a *saṁnyāsīn* to eat so much is the destruction of *dharma*. To be a *vairāgi* and to eat so much, is not the way of asceticism." 16 For this was his nature—that he would be eager, and afterwards he would criticize, first himself having caused one to eat much.

17 Before Mādhavendra Purī died, Rāmacandra Purī had gone to him. 18 Purī Gosvāmī was having Kṛṣṇa-nāma-saṅkīrtana, and was weeping, saying, "I have not gained Mathurā." 19 Rāmacandra Purī then instructed him, for though he was a pupil, he had no fear of his guru. 20 "Remember that you are the full *ānanda* of *brahma*; why, since you are *cit-brahma*, do you weep?" 21 When he heard this, anger rose up in Mādhavendra's mind. "Go, go, you evil person," he said, rebuking him. 22 "I have not gained Kṛṣṇa, I have not gained Mathurā. I am dying in my own grief, and you come to add fire to it. 23 Do not show your face to me; go someplace else. If I die seeing you I will have an evil passing. 24 I have not gained Kṛṣṇa, and I die in my own grief, and you tell me that I am *brahma*; this is stupid and vile." 25 This is that same one for whom Śrīpāda Mādhavendra had contempt. Because of this offence, desires were born in him. 26 He was a dry *jñānī* of *brahma*, [in whom] there was no relationship to Kṛṣṇa. He criticized everyone, and was expert in such criticism. 27 Īśvara Purī Gosvāmī served Śrīpāda, and with his own hands cleaned his stool and urine. 28 He caused him constantly to remember the Kṛṣṇa-name, and always caused him to hear the *śloka*s of Kṛṣṇa and the *līlā* of Kṛṣṇa. 29 Being pleased, Purī embraced him, and gave him a boon, "May you have a wealth of *prema* toward Kṛṣṇa." 30 From that time Īśvara Purī was an ocean of *prema*, and Rāmacandra Purī became criticized by all. 31 The two are witness to the mercy and the anger of holy men, and by these two, people are taught. 32 Mādhavendra, the guru of the world, gave a gift of *prema*; as he died, he recited this *śloka*:

Śloka 2. Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Padyavali* 330 [quoting Mādhavendra Purī]:
O lord, moist with pity for the wretched, lord of Mathurā, when will I see

17. *Antarddhāna*: died, lit., disappeared.

21. *Papīṣṭha*: evil person. Mādhavendra is angry for two reasons; first, because one of his pupils has the audacity to instruct him, and secondly, because in the *bhakti-mārga* the guru is considered like the deity; he is a beloved *bhakta* of the deity, but he is not identical with the deity. Rāmacandra is speaking as in the *jñāna-mārga*, in which *jīva* and *brahma* are identical.

27. Śrīpāda: Mādhavendra Purī.

32. See v. 17 above.

Śloka 2. See 2.4.12.

you? For want of the sight of you, my heart is restless and anxious. O merciful one, what shall I do?

33 By this *śloka* he gave instruction in Kṛṣṇa-*prema*, and the special *bhava* of the *bhakta* in *viraha* from Kṛṣṇa. 34 He went sowing in the earth the shoots of *prema*; and the tree of those shoots of *prema* is Caitanya Ṭhākura. 35 Thus has been told the story of the death of Purī Gosvāmī, and he who hears it is very fortunate.

36 Now Rāmacandra Purī remained at Nīlācala; and as his nature was indifferent, he stayed in any place. 37 He had no rules of conduct, and he ate at places where he had not been invited; but he ascertained the places where others took their food. 38 An invitation to Prabhu took four *pañas* of cowries: Prabhu, Kāśīśvara, and Govinda—these three ate. 39 Each day Prabhu ate here and there, and when anyone brought the price, it was determined at four *pañas*. 40 The places and the conduct of Prabhu—where he went and ate and slept, Rāmacandra Purī inquired after all this. 41 He was unable to touch the great qualities of Prabhu; he looked for gaps [in proper conduct,] but he found no gaps. 42 "He is a *saṁnyāsīn*, but he eats sweet rice. With this enjoyment, how can he control his senses?" 43 And he criticized him in this way to everyone, while coming faithfully every day to see Prabhu. 44 Prabhu paid him great respect and honor, as an elder. But still he searched for gaps in proper conduct; this was his desire. 45 Prabhu knew how much he criticized him, but still he treated him with great respect.

46 One day in the morning he came to the house of Prabhu, and seeing some ants, he commented:

Śloka 3. [the words of Rāmacandra Purī]:

There were sweets here last night. Thus the ants are wandering here. It is wonderful, the way indifferent *saṁnyāsīn*s nourish their senses. And he rose up and went away.

39. There were two ways in which he could be invited to take food; in the houses of certain people he would accept cooked food; others could purchase *prasāda*, not cooked by themselves, and offer it to him. In either case, these three all ate for the price of four *pañas*.

42. It is not clear who speaks this line. It is probably a petty criticism made by Rāmacandra, who could find no more serious flaws in Caitanya's conduct. It might also be Kṛṣṇadāsa's own comment on Rāmacandra, but context points to the former.

44. *Kāma*: desire, selfish ways.

47 Prabhu had heard from others that he made such criticisms; but now in his presence he heard this fanciful vilification. 48 Ants by nature wander everywhere; yet he attributed it to some fault, and raised the point as a philosophical matter. 49 When he heard it there was a little diffidence in Mahāprabhu's mind, and he summoned Govinda and said to him, 50 "From today, this is my rule for eating: one fourth of the *piṇḍa-bhoga*, and curry worth five *gaṇḍas*. 51 Never bring any more than this; if you bring me more, you will not see me here." 52 Govinda told these words to all the Vaiṣṇavas, and when they heard it it was as if a thunderbolt had fallen on the heads of all of them. 53 They all reproached Rāmacandra Purī, "This evil man has come and taken away what was dear to all of us." 54 On that very day a *brāhmaṇa* had offered an invitation; one-fourth of rice, and curry worth five *gaṇḍas*— 55 Govinda informed all that it could be only so much, and the *brāhmaṇa* groaned, striking [himself] a blow on the head. 56 Prabhu ate half of that rice and curry, and that which remained, Govinda got. 57 Prabhu ate half, and Govinda half, and then all the *bhaktas* left off eating. 58 Prabhu instructed Govinda and Kāśīśvara, "You two beg elsewhere and fill your stomachs."

59 In this way, many days passed in great grief, and when he heard it, Rāmacandra Purī came to Prabhu. 60 Making obeisance, he bowed to the feet of Prabhu, and with an expectant smile he said to Prabhu, 61 "The *dharma* of *saṁnyāsins* is not the satisfaction of the senses; they should eat only to fill their stomachs. 62 I see that you are thin, and I understand that you take only half your food. This is harsh asceticism, it is not the *dharma* of a *saṁnyāsin*. 63 They eat what is necessary and appropriate, they do not eat for enjoyment; and then the *jñāna-yoga* of the *saṁnyāsin* is accomplished."

Sloka 4-5. *Bhagavad Gītā* 6.16-17:

4 O Arjuna! *Yoga* is not for those who eat excessively, nor is it for those who do not eat at all. It is not for those who sleep constantly, nor for those awake too much. 5 *Yoga*, which destroys grief, is for him who is controlled in eating and sporting, whose mind is set on acts and whose sleeping and waking are controlled.

64 Prabhu said, "I am an ignorant boy, your pupil; you instruct me, in this I am most fortunate." 65 And when he heard this, Rāmacandra Purī rose up and

50. *Piṇḍabhoga*: a small vessel of rice, offered in the food-offerings to Jagannātha; *gaṇḍa* is a unit of four cowries, a trifling sum.

65. Purī Gosvāmī: Paramānanda Purī. "Half their food" probably means "half what they usually ate."

went away. Purī Gosvāmī heard that the *bhaktas* were eating half their food.

66 The next day Paramānanda Purī came with the *bhaktas* to Prabhu, and humbly said to him, 67 "Rāmacandra Purī has the nature of one who speaks ill of others. At his word you give up food; what will be gained from that? 68 It is the nature of Purī to feed people plentifully, and with care to urge the eater to eat. 69 And then, when he has fed him, he criticizes him: 'You eat so much; have you got a great deal of money? 70 You feed so much to a *saṁnyāsin*; you destroy his *dharma*. Thus it is known that you have no sense of decorum whatever.' 71 He is always trying to find out who acts in what way, and who eats how much. 72 These two things are forbidden in the *śāstras*, and this is the *karma* which he incessantly does.

Sloka 6. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.28.1:

One should not praise or blame the work or the nature of others, but should consider the world as of one soul with *prakṛti* and *puṇya*.

73 Among these, he abandons the former injunction of praise, and considers the latter injunction of blame as powerful.

Sloka 7. *Nyāya*:

Between the former injunction and the latter injunction, the latter is more powerful.

74 He does not accept that a someone has a hundred good qualities; rather to those qualities, by a twist, he attributes fault. 75 His nature should not be discussed; still, we speak, for we have endured much inner pain. 76 Why do you abandon food because of his words? Accept invitations as before; pay heed to the words of us all." 77 Prabhu said, "Why are you all angry toward Purī Gosvāmī? He speaks from natural *dharma*; what is the fault in that? 78 It is a great injustice for an ascetic to be lascivious in matters of the tongue; it is the *dharma* of an ascetic to eat food only to preserve his life."

79 Then all, joining together, cared for Prabhu, and because of their persistence Prabhu kept half: 80 an invitation to Prabhu cost two *pañas* of cowries, and for this sometimes two and sometimes three people ate. 81 If a *brāhmaṇa* with whom he could not take [cooked] food invited him, it cost two *pañas* of

78. *Yati*: ascetic or *saṁnyāsin*.

79. I.e., he raised his intake of food to half of what it had been before he cut it to five *gaṇḍas*, etc.

cowries as the price of the *prasāda*. 82 If a *brāhmaṇa* with whom he could not take [cooked] food invited him, he brought some *prasāda*, and some [food] he cooked in his house. 83 If Paṇḍita Gosvāmī or Bhagavān Ācārya or Śarvabhāuma invited him on a day of invitation, 84 Prabhu ate according to the wishes of them all; in that Prabhu was not independent, such was his heart. 85 The *avatāra* of Prabhu was to give pleasure to his *bhaktas*; so he acted according to what was appropriate in each place. 86 Sometimes he observed the rules of people, as if he were a common man. And sometimes he made manifest his non-dependent, divine nature. 87 Sometimes he was like a servant to Rāmacandra Puṛī, and sometimes he did not honor him, and saw him as a blade of grass. 88 The divine actions of Prabhu are beyond the perceptions of the intellect; whatever he did, whenever he did it—that was all mind-stealing.

89 In this way was Rāmacandra Puṛī at Nīlācala; and having stayed there for many days, he went to the places of pilgrimage. 90 When he left, the people of Prabhu were pleased, as if a rock [they had been carrying] on their heads fell suddenly to the ground. 91 They offered invitations to Prabhu, and danced and sang as they wanted, and they all ate *prasāda* as they wanted to do. 92 Such is the result of the disrespect to a *guru*, that gradually one commits the offences all the way up to *Īśvara*. 93 Still, Prabhu did not consider it a fault of [Rāmacandra's], and he considered him as a superior; and by the fruit of that, he taught the people. 94 As the actions of Caitanya are full of nectar, in listening to them, sweetness enters the ears and the heart. 95 So listen attentively to the actions of Caitanya which I am writing, and easily you will gain *prema* at the feet of Śrī Kṛṣṇa.

96 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

83. Evidently these three had fixed days in the month when there was standing invitation to Caitanya.

84. *Svātantrya nāi*: not independent.

86. *Svatantra*: non-dependent, self-dependent; *aiśvarya*: divine nature, majesty, or sovereignty.

88. *Manohara*: "mind stealing," charming, captivating.

92. I.e., that starting by showing disrespect to one's *guru*, offences increase until one ends up with offences against *Īśvara* himself.

Antya Līla Chapter 9

Sloka 1.

The desert lands of the hearts of unfortunate people are always watered by the floods of *prema* of the innumerable blessed followers of Caitanya.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, full of mercy, glory glory to Nityānanda, whose heart is compassionate. 2 Glory, glory to Advaitācārya, who is full of mercy, and glory to the Gaura-*bhaktas*, full of all *rasa*.

3 In this way Mahāprabhu with his *bhaktas* dwelt at Nīlācala, in delights of the *prema* of Kṛṣṇa. 4 Inwardly and outwardly there were waves of *viraha* for Kṛṣṇa, and in many *bhāvas* Prabhu's mind and body were agitated. 5 In the day he danced and sang and had *darśana* of Jagannātha, and in the night he tasted *rasa* with Rāya and Svarūpa. 6 People of the three worlds came to have *darśana* of him, and whoever saw him gained the wealth of the *prema* of Kṛṣṇa. 7 In the dress of men, *devas* and *gandharvas* and *kinnaras* [came], and many divine serpents of the seven lower worlds, 8 and many who lived in the Seven Islands and in the Nine Khaṇḍas, in various guises all came and had *darśana* of Prabhu. 9 Prahlāda, Bali, Vyāsa, Śuka, and the rest of the *munis* came and saw Prabhu, and were delirious with *prema*. 10 People who could not see him shouted from the outside, and Prabhu came out and said, 'Say [the name of] Kṛṣṇa!' 11 At the sight of Prabhu, all the people floated in *prema*, and in this way Prabhu passed his days and nights.

12 One day people came and said to Prabhu, "The [king's] eldest son has forced Gopīnātha to mount the scaffold. 13 He will throw him down from there

7. *Viśadhara*: "holder of poison," divine serpents, presumably the *Nāgas*.

8. See commentary on 3.2.9 for the *Saptadvīpa* and the *Navakhaṇḍa* of Jambudvīpa.

12. *Baḍajāna*: The eldest son of the king Pratāparudra; his name was *Puruṣottama*.

on swords placed beneath. Prabhu, only if you protect him, will he be saved. 14 Bhavananda Raya and his family are your servants; his son is your servant, and it is right that you should save him." 15 Then Prabhu said, "Why does the king punish him?" And the people told him the whole story. 16 "For a long time he has attended to the affairs of the king; Gopīnātha is a Paṭṭanāyaka, the brother of Rāma Raya. 17 He controlled Malajāthyadāpāṭa, and he collected the taxes and brought the goods to the king. 18 He was two lakhs of *kāhanas* short, and the king asked him for those two lakhs of *kāhanas*. 19 He said, 'I have no negotiable goods; but I shall have accounts made, and gradually by buying and selling I shall repay the amount. 20 I have twelve horses; take them for what they are worth.' And so saying he brought the horses and held them at the gate of the king. 21 One son of the king knew well the value of horses, and the king sent him, with his friends and ministers. 22 That prince decreased the value, and when Gopīnātha heard the price he became angry. 23 For this is the nature of princes—he bent his neck, and with his face in the air again and again he looked this way and that. 24 And [Gopīnātha] scornfully said to him, in serious words, forgetting his fear of the king's disposition, 25 'My horses do not bend their necks and look up into the air; it is not right to lower the price of the horses because of that.' 26 When he heard this, anger raged in the heart of the prince, and returning to the king he reviled him much, 27 'He will not pay a cowrie; he wanders about deceiving us. Give me your permission; I shall put him on the scaffold and extort the money.' 28 The king said, 'That is good, go and do it. Let us get the money by whatever means we can.' 29 So the prince came and made [Gopīnātha] mount the scaffold, and he set swords below to have him thrown upon."

30 When he heard this, Prabhu said, in the anger of love, "He has not given the king his money; where is the king's fault in this? 31 He himself has used the money that he owed the king, without fear of the king. He has spent it in various ways on the wives of others and on dancing girls. 32 Let him who is clever do the king's business; he spent the king's wealth, which he received."

33 At that time another man came running, "They have taken Vāṇīnātha and the others of his family prisoner." 34 Prabhu said, "The king will take his goods according to his own calculation. I am an indifferent *saṁnyāsin*. What

17. He ruled the part of Orissa called Malajāthyadāpāṭa, under Pratāparudra.

18. *Kāhana*: 16 *paṇas* or 1280 cowries, a unit of money.

19. *Sihāla-dravya*: negotiable goods.

24. Gopīnātha spoke sarcastically to the prince.

can I do about this?" 35 Then Svarūpa and other *bhaktas* of Prabhu, all begged at the feet of Prabhu, 36 "They are the family of Rāmananda Raya, and they are all your servants; such disinterest as yours toward them is not right." 37 And when he heard this he said in an angry voice, "You all command me to go to the king. 38 This is the opinion of all of you—that I should go to the king, spread out my *añcala*, and beg cowries. 39 A *brahmaṇa-saṁnyāsin* is worth five *gaṇḍas*; even if I beg, how would he give me two lakhs of *kāhanas*?" 40 At that time another man came running, "They are about to throw Gopīnātha down on the swords!" 41 When they heard this, his followers all entreated Prabhu, and Prabhu said, "I am a mendicant; I can do nothing. 42 But if it is in the hearts of all of you to save him, all of you together make this known at the feet of Jagannātha. 43 Jagannātha is Īśvara, and all things are in his hands. He is able to do what is to be done, or not to do it."

44 And when Mahāprabhu was speaking thus in that place, the minister Haricandana went and said to the king, 45 "Gopīnātha is a Paṭṭanāyaka, he is your servant. It is not right to punish a servant with death. 46 Particularly since he has money due you; if you take his life, what will be the result? Your own wealth will be lost. 47 So buy the horses for a proper price, and whatever the remainder is he will pay gradually. Why do you take his life meaninglessly?" 48 The king said, "I did not know about all this. Indeed why should I take his life, when I want his goods. 49 You go and solve it all; [see] that my money comes in, and save his life." 50 Then Haricandana came and told this to the prince, and he had Gopīnātha quickly brought down from the scaffold. 51 "Give the money which the king asks," and he asked him how he would do it. He answered, "Take my horses for a proper price, 52 and gradually I shall give him everything, as much [at a time] as I am able. What can I say if unjustly you take my life?" 53 So he took the horses, paying him a fair price, and after arranging time limits for the payments, he sent him home. 54 Now Prabhu asked that man, "What did Vāṇīnātha do, when they arrested him?" 55 He replied, "Vāṇīnātha was fearless, and took the name of Kṛṣṇa; without resting he said 'Hare Kṛṣṇa, Hare Kṛṣṇa.' 56 He counted the numbers on the fingers of his

38. *Añcala*: the front part of the dhoti, spread out to receive the money.

39. Or: "*brahmaṇas* and *saṁnyāsins*," for the compound is *dvandva*, and it would perhaps not be usual for a *saṁnyāsin* to refer to his former caste, which he had disavowed when he took orders.

56. [Presumably he cut the line to keep track of the number of repetitions of the name. TKS]

two hands, and when he had completed a thousand he cut a line on his body," 57 When he heard this, Mahāprabhu was greatly pleased. Who can understand the tricks of the grace of Gaura?

58 Right after that, Kaśī Miśra came to the place of Prabhu, and Prabhu said to him with great anxiety, 59 "I cannot remain here. I shall go to Ālalanātha. With so many disturbances, I find no peace here. 60 The family of Bhavananda Raya did the business of the king, and they spent the king's money in various ways. 61 What is the fault of the king? The king wanted his own money. But he could not give it, and so they told me about the punishment. 62 When the king had Gopīnātha mount the scaffold, four people came to tell me about it. 63 I am a mendicant *saṁnyāsin*; I live alone. They give me sorrow, coming to tell me of their own sorrows. 64 Today, Jagannātha saved him; tomorrow who will save him, if he does not give the king his wealth? 65 Hearing the talk of these worldly people, my mind is distracted. So I cannot remain here." 66 So Kaśī Miśra said, holding the feet of Prabhu, "Why is your mind agitated by the talk of these people? 67 You are a *saṁnyāsin*, indifferent to the world; to whom do you have ties? He is blind in knowledge, who worships you for worldly things. 68 The fruit of the worship of you is the wealth of *prema* towards you, and he who worships you for worldly gain is a stupid man. 69 For you Rāmananda left his kingdom. For you Sanātana abandoned worldly things. 70 For you Raghunātha came, leaving everything, and when his father sent him worldly goods here, 71 the grace of your feet was upon him, and he eats from begging in the *chatra*, and does not touch the worldly goods. 72 The brother of Rāmananda is Gopīnātha Mahāśaya, and he has no desire for worldly things from you. 73 Seeing his misery, his servants and others came to tell you, having no other refuge. 74 That indeed is pure *bhakti*—he worships you for you [alone], and enjoys or suffers his pleasure and pain by himself. 75 He wants your grace, and he worships constantly, and quickly he is joined to your feet.

Sloka 2. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.14.8:

That man participates in the heritage of *bhakti*, who looking well to your mercy, enjoying the fruits of the *karma* earned by himself, is living making obeisance to you with speech, mind, and body.

57. [*Chandabanda*: "tricks," lit., including clever phraseology that leaves meanings ambiguous and open to interpretation, which Kṛṣṇadāsa here feels compelled to stipulate. TKS]

71. See 3.6.276-302.

Sloka 2. See 2.6.122.

76 So remain here. Why would you go to Ālalanātha? No one will cause you to hear a word of worldly matters. 77 And if it is in your heart to save him, he who saved him today will protect him [in the future]."

78 So speaking, Kaśī Miśra returned to his own place. At midday, [King] Pratāparudra came to his house. 79 It was a rule with Pratāparudra, that as long as he remained at Śrī Puruṣottama, 80 each day he would come to massage the feet of Miśra, and to hear how the service of Jagannātha should be carried on. 81 When the king began to press the feet of Miśra, Miśra said to him somewhat artfully, 82 "O Deva! Hear an extraordinary thing. Mahāprabhu is leaving Kṣetra and will go to Ālalanātha." 83 When he heard this, the king was miserable, and he asked the reason for it. Then Miśra told him the whole story. 84 "When you had Gopīnātha Paṭṭanāyaka forced to climb the scaffold, his servants all came and told Prabhu of it. 85 When he heard it, the heart of Mahāprabhu was agitated, and in anger he reprimanded Gopīnātha severely. 86 'He has not conquered his senses, and he carries on the affairs of the king; in various immoral ways he has squandered the wealth of the king. 87 The wealth of a king is like the wealth of a *brāhmaṇa*: he who steals it and enjoys it is a very wicked man. 88 He takes a salary from the king, and [still] he steals. He deserves the king's punishment—this is the judgment of the *śāstras*. 89 The king asks for his own money, he does not punish him; the king is a great follower of *dharma*, while this one is a great sinner. 90 He does not give the money which he owes to the king, and shouts out to me; this is great misery, and who is able to bear it? 91 I have decided that I shall go and remain at Ālalanātha, where I shall hear no talk of good or evil of worldly people.'" 92 When he heard this, the king said with great pain in his heart, "I shall give up all my wealth, if Prabhu remains here. 93 If I gain *darśana* of Prabhu for an instant, the wealth of a crore of philosopher's stones is not the equal of that. 94 These two lakhs of *kāhanas* have the substance of ashes. I shall dedicate my life, my kingdom, to the feet of Prabhu." 95 Miśra said, "That you give up the money is not Prabhu's wish. They were given pain; he could not bear it." 96 The king said,

77. Caitanya and Jagannātha are identical; if Caitanya wishes to save him in the future, Jagannātha can do it, as he has done before.

80. We have seen the Mahārāja of Puri sweeping the ground before the Car of Jagannātha; this is another way in which he humbled himself in reverence for that deity. The connection between the temple at Puri and the royal line of the Mahārāja has always been a very intimate one. Even today, two sets of temple records are kept, one for the temple, and the other being in the keeping of the Mahārāja.

95. "They": the *bhaktas* of Caitanya who came to ask for his intercession.

"I did not give him pain. I did not know that he had been brought up the scaffold, or that he was to be thrown on swords. 97 He mocked my son Puruṣotama, and that son feigned his punishment. 98 You go and keep Prabhu here carefully; I renounce all the money for his sake." 99 Miśra said, "That you renounce the money is not in the mind of Prabhu; if you renounce the money, Prabhu would consider that additional sorrow." 100 The king said, "I give up the money for his sake—but do not tell him this. They are naturally beloved of me—tell him that. 101 Bhavananda Raya is most respected and honored by me, and his sons are naturally loved by me." 102 So saying he bowed to Miśra and went to his own place, and he summoned the eldest prince and Gopinātha. 103 The king said, "I relinquish to you all the money; and that Malajāthyadānapāṭa has been returned to you. 104 Do not misappropriate the royal wealth again; and from today, double salary has been given you." 105 So saying, he put a cloth on him, "Take this by the order of Prabhu, and go." And he bade him farewell.

106 In matters of the highest ends, let the mercy of Prabhu be aside, for the fruits of it are infinite; who is able to speak of them? 107 There is a hint of his mercy in the matter of the king's goods; but how it all adds up does not come to the mind of just anyone. 108 How mounting the scaffold he accepted the life [of Gopinātha] and wealth [of the king]; how abandoning everything [the king] gave a gift of his kingdom; 109 how everything was sold and taken, but the money not given over; how [Gopinātha's] salary was doubled, and a cloth put on him. 110 It was not the wish of Prabhu that the money should be given up to him, nor that his salary be doubled or his position be restored. 111 Still, his servant came and petitioned, because of which the heart of Mahāprabhu was distressed. 112 There was no intention of Prabhu to give the happiness of worldly goods; by the power of the petition all of this was the fruit. 113 Who is able to describe the wonderful nature of Gaura; Śiva and Brahma and the others do not gain the *bhāva* of his heart.

114 Then Kaśi Miśra came to the feet of Prabhu, and he reported the actions of the king. 115 Prabhu said, "Kaśi Miśra! What have you done? You have caused me to take [a boon] from the king!" 116 But Miśra said, "Hear me, Prabhu. The words of the king were sincere, and he petitioned me this way:

100. "They": the family of Bhavananda.

105. *Neta* and *dhāt*: according to the *Śabdakalpādruma*, the word *neta* (*netra*) has two meanings, that of "eye" and "matted hair"; and *dhāt* is "cloth," thus the term means a cloth to be worn on the head, a cloth to cover the hair; it was evidently a sign of honor, signifying that Gopinātha was once again in the king's service and protected by him.

117 "Do not let Prabhu consider that "for my sake the king has given up two lakhs of *kāhanas*." 118 All the sons of Bhavananda are most dear to me; I look upon them all as my own. 119 Thus wherever I have given them the right, let them eat and drink and loot and squander, and I will not judge them. 120 I made Rāmananda Raya the *rāja* of Rājamahinda; of what he collected, and of what he gave me, there was no accounting made. 121 In this way Gopinātha has served me, and he perhaps has appropriated two or four lakhs of *kāhanas*. 122 Some he has given me, and some he has not given me, I do not judge. This time he has gained sorrow by his antagonizing the prince. 123 I did not know that the prince was taking such extreme measures; I consider all the sons of Bhavananda as my own. 124 For this reason I give up the money, let him know that this is the case. Very natural is my affection for him."

125 Hearing these humble words of the king, Prabhu was delighted, and at that time Bhavananda Raya came to him. 126 He came with his five sons and fell at his feet, and Prabhu raised them up and embraced them. 127 Rāmananda Raya and the others were all there together, and Bhavananda Raya began to speak. 128 "All these, my whole family, are your servants. You have saved us in this danger, Prabhu; you have excised the source [of the danger]. 129 Now you have manifested your affection for your *bhaktas*; you have saved [us] as of old you saved the five Pāṇḍavas." 130 Gopinātha fell at his feet, his cloth wrapped on his head, and he told the whole story of the vast mercy of the king, 131 how he had subtracted the remainder of the money due, and doubled his salary, and how he had restored him to his position and put the headcloth on him. 132 "Where there had been the panic of death on top of the scaffold, now there sits this headcloth, and all this grace. 133 On top of the scaffold, I meditated on your feet, and because of the power of remembering your feet, this fruit has been gained. 134 The people are astonished when they see all that has happened to me; they praise you and sing of the greatness of your mercy. 135 But this is not the chief fruit of the remembering of you; this is only a suggestion of the fruit, for in it is inconstant material wealth. 136 You made Rāma Raya and Vāṇinātha indifferent to worldly things; but that mercy, from which

128. "The source": you have not only saved me from the immediate danger, but have taken away the wrong impulses which threw me into the danger in the first place.

129. The reference is to Kṛṣṇa's assistance to the five Pāṇḍava brothers, as told in the *Mahābhārata* story. [Kṛṣṇadāsa previously identified these five brothers, i.e., Rāmananda Raya, Gopinātha Pāṇḍanāyaka, Kalanidhi, Sudhanidhi, and Vāṇinātha Nāyaka, as the five sons of Pāṇḍu in the prior age (see 1.10.130-32 and 2.10.48-52). Kavikarṇapura in *GGUD* 120ff gives one of Rāmananda Raya's identities as Arjuna. TKS]

such [indifference] comes, has not come to me. 137 Give me your pure grace, Gosvāmī, cleanse me of worldly things. I am full of remorse. Let me have no concern with worldly affairs!" 138 Prabhu said, "If you five become *saṁnyāsins*, who will support your many relatives? 139 Whether you are deep in the affairs of the world or whether you are indifferent and unattached to things, in birth after birth you five will be my own servants. 140 But keep this one command of mine: Do not squander any of the royal wealth. 141 Give the king's wealth [to the king], so that some profit comes of it. Spend what wealth you have in various deeds of *dharma*. 142 Do not spend it wrongly, for in that both the worlds are destroyed [for you]." And so saying, Prabhu bade farewell to them all.

143 The play of the mercy of Prabhu at the house of Rāya has been narrated, in which is seen the quality of his affection toward his *bhaktas*. 144 And embracing them all, Prabhu bade them farewell, and making the "Hari" sound, all the *bhaktas* arose and went away. 145 Seeing the mercy of Prabhu, everyone was astonished; they could not understand the actions of Prabhu. 146 When they all asked for such mercy, Prabhu said, "None of this is from me." 147 The blaming of Gopīnātha and his own remorse—had only this been told, not a part of it would be understood. 148 [Gopīnātha] did not ask of Kāśī Mīśra, nor did he ask of the king; Mahāprabhu brought about such fruit without exertion. 149 This is the greatest depth of the actions of Caitanya; he whose mind is concentrated on his feet understands it. 150 He who hears this manifestation of his affection to this *bhaktas* gains *prema-bhakti*, and his adversity is destroyed.

151 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

139. *Udāsa*: indifferent; *virakta*: unattached or lit., devoid of passion.

Antya Līlā Chapter 10

Śloka 1.

I bow down to Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, who is pleased with whatever his *bhaktas* offer him with faith, and who is anxious to grant his favor to the *bhaktas*.

1 Glory, glory to Gauracandra, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and to the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*.

2 At the end of the rainy season, all the *bhaktas*, in greatest joy, went to Nīlacala to see Prabhu. 3 Advaita Ācārya Gosvāmī, counted first among all, and Ācāryaratna, Ācāryanidhi, and Śrīvāsa and the other blessed ones. 4 And even though Prabhu had ordered him to remain at Gauḍa, still Nityānanda went in *prema* to see him. 5 For the sign of deep love is this—that one does not obey injunctions; so he broke the command in order to be with him. 6 It was as during the *rāsa*, when [Kṛṣṇa] ordered the *gopīs* to go home, they disobeyed his order and stayed with him. 7 As much as Kṛṣṇa is pleased when his commands are obeyed, he is a crore of times more pleased when his commands are disobeyed for *prema*. 8 So Vasudeva Datta, Murāri Gupta, Gaṅgādāsa, Śrīmān Sena, Śrīmān Paṇḍita, Akiñcana Kṛṣṇadāsa, 9 Murāri Paṇḍita, Garuḍa Paṇḍita, Buddhimanta Khān, Sañjaya, Puruṣottama, Bhagavān Paṇḍita, 10 Śuklāmbara, Nṛsimhānanda, and so many others—all went, and their names cannot be counted. 11 Those who lived in Kulīnagrāma, and those who lived at Khaṇḍa, went all together, and Śivānanda Sena went with them all.

5. *Anurāga*: deep love.

12 Rāghava Paṇḍita went, having prepared the bags, in which Damayanti had put many things, 13 various wonderful things to eat, food proper for Prabhu, so many that Mahāprabhu could eat them for a year. 14 There was *āmra-kāsundī*, *adākasundī*, and *jhalakāsundī*, and various kinds of lime, ginger, mango, and pepper. 15 And *āmastī*, *āmra-khaṇḍa*, *tailāmra*, *āmata*, and old *sukuta*, powdered with great care. 16 Do not think that *sukuta* is to be scorned; the pleasure that Prabhu got from the *sukuta* he did not get from the five nectars. 17 Mahāprabhu takes only affection [to be pleased], being sensitive to the inner emotion, and so took great delight in the *kāsundī* and the *sukuta*-leaves. 18 Damayanti considered Prabhu as human [and reasoned] "sometimes phlegm forms in the belly because of heavy food; 19 if one eats *sukuta*, that phlegm is destroyed." This kind of affection gave delight to Prabhu, as he reflected on it.

Śloka 2. Bhāravi 8.20:

No woman throws away a garland, even if it is muddy, if it is offered by her lover, made with his own hands, and she wears it on her full breast, over her heart; the qualities dwell in the love, not in the object.

20 Powdering coriander seed, aniseed, and husked rice, she made them into balls and cooked them with sugar. 21 And balls of *śuṇṭhikhaṇḍa*, which cure bile and phlegm, she made up separately and put within the sacks of cloth. 22 And *koliśuṇṭhi*, *kolicūrṇa*, and *kolikhaṇḍa*, a hundred kinds of pickles—how many kinds shall I name? 23 And *nārikhela-khaṇḍanaḍu*, *gaṅgājala-nāḍu*—all kinds

12. *Jhali*: bags, which usually means a wicker basket; it seems from a later passage, however, that there were actually cloth sacks of some kind, perhaps like the bags available today in Bengal by that name. Damayanti was the name of Rāghava Paṇḍita's sister.

13. [There are often no direct translations for these food items, those items that are probable, but not certain, are indicated in the commentary below. It is somewhat puzzling as to why Kṛṣṇa-dāsa, who was himself an ascetic, would devote so much energy to these minute descriptions (similar lists can be found in 2.3.36-54; 2.14.21-32; 2.15.205-19; 3.6.passim; 3.18.100-103); see Introduction, Section III.2. TKS]

14. *Āmrakāsundī*: a kind of chutney made with green mango, in which is put powdered mustard seed and salt; *adākasundī*: a ginger chutney; *jhalakāsundī*: a hot chili chutney. The second half of the couplet might mean "prepared with various kinds . . ."

15. *Āmastī*: dried mango; *āmra-khaṇḍa*: pieces of mango; *tailāmra*: mango with oil(?); *sukuta*: jute leaves.

20. *Dhaniya*: coriander seed; *mahurt*: aniseed; *taṇḍula*: husked rice.

21. *Śuṇṭhikhaṇḍa*: balls of dried ginger.

22. *Koli*: jujube; *acāra*: chutney, or what is commonly called pickle.

23. *Khaṇḍa* and *nāḍu* are different shapes; *nārikela* is coconut.

of *khaṇḍa* which would keep for a long time. 24 And kinds of *maṇḍa* and *kṣīra-sāra*, which would keep for a long time, and *amṛta-karpāra* and the like, of many kinds. 25 And she made *atava-ciḍa* of *śali-kañcāṭī* paddy, and with it she filled great sacks of new cloth. 26 Some of the *ciḍa* and *huḍuma* she fried in *ghi*, and cooking them in sugar, she made balls of them and put in camphor and so forth. 27 Having powdered fried *śali-taṇḍula*, she soaked the powder in *ghi* and cooked it with sugar; 28 camphor, black pepper, cardamom, cloves, and roasted sugar she powdered, and made balls of wonderful aroma. 29 And again she fried the *khai* of *śali*-paddy in *ghi*, and mixing it with sugar she made *ukhaḍa*, putting in camphor and other things. 30 She powdered *phuṭakalāi* and fried it in *ghi*, and putting in camphor and things she mixed it with sugar and made balls. 31 I do not know how to name them all in this one life, so many thousands of kinds of things to eat there were. 32 It was the request of Rāghava, and Damayanti prepared them, such was the great strength of their affection for Prabhu. 33 They brought Gaṅgā-mud, and strained it through a cloth, and made cakes of it, putting in sweet-smelling things. 34 They filled delicate earthen pots with chutney and so on, and filled the sacks of cloth with all the other things. 35 They made *jhalis* double the size of ordinary *jhalis*; and arranging them in rows they filled all the *jhalis*. 36 Tying up the *jhalis*, they sealed them with great care, and three bearers, in a row, carried the *jhalis*. 37 In brief this matter of the *jhalis* has been discussed; it has become famous as the "*jhalis* of Rāghava." 38 Makaradhvajakara was put in charge of the *jhalis*, and he guarded them like his life.

39 In this way all the Vaiṣṇavas came to Nīlācala, and by good luck that day was the *jala-līlā* of Jagannātha. 40 Govinda boarded a boat on the water of the Narendra, and with all the *bhaktas* and servants was playing in the water. 41 At that time Mahāprabhu with his *bhaktas* came to the Narendra to watch the fun of the water-play. 42 And at that time all the *bhaktas* of Gauḍa arrived, and they met Prabhu at Narendra. 43 The *bhaktas* all fell at the feet of Prabhu, and raising them up, Prabhu embraced them all. 44 In the group from Gauḍa, they all made *kīrtana*, and they wept with *prema*, because of the meeting with Prabhu.

24. *Kṣīrasāra*: creamy butter; *maṇḍa*: a kind of sweet.

25. *Ātava-ciḍa*: rice that has been only soaked and not otherwise prepared.

29. *Khai*: fried rice; *ukhaḍa*: a sweet of fried rice coated with sugar.

33. This is used for cleaning the teeth.

34. *Sandhāna*: *acāra*, chutney or pickle.

39. The time when Jagannātha is taken and put on a boat, to play in the water of the Narendra-sarovara.

45 Instruments were playing, and there was singing and dancing in praise of the water-play; on the banks there was a great uproar, and games in the water. 46 Weeping was mingled with the *kīrtana* of the Gauḍīyās, and the great uproar filled the Brahmā-worlds. 47 With all the *bhaktas*, Prabhu descended into the water, and with all of them he played in delight. 48 This water-sport of Prabhu, Vṇḍāvana Dāsa has described in detail in his *Caitanya Maṅgala*. 49 And if I were to describe again what has already been told, it would be meaningless writing, and the book would grow too large. 50 When the water-līla was done, Govinda went to the temple, and Prabhu also went to the temple with his followers. 51 When he had seen Jagannātha, again he came to his own home, and he had *prasāda* brought and fed the *bhaktas*. 52 And all passed a little time in pleasant talk, and then he sent them all, each to the place where he had dwelt formerly. 53 Rāghava presented the *jhalis* to Govinda, and Govinda put the *jhalis* in a corner of the eating room. 54 He emptied the *jhalis* from the previous year, and placed the articles which they held in another room.

55 The next day Mahāprabhu with his followers went to see Jagannātha arising from his rest. 56 And they began the *beḍha-kīrtana* there, and began to sing in seven groups. 57 Seven people led the dance in seven groups—Advaita Ācārya, Prabhu Nityānanda, 58 Vakreśvara, Acyutānanda, Śrīnivāsa Paṇḍita, Satyarāja Khān, and Narahari Dāsa. 59 Prabhu wandered among the seven groups, and in the minds of all was “Prabhu is in my group.” 60 With the tumult of the *saṅkīrtana* the sky split open, and all the people who dwelt at Jagannātha came to see. 61 Seeing it from a distance, the *rāja* came with his people, and all the *rāja*’s wives climbed up on the roof and saw it. 62 The *kīrtana* made the earth tremble on all eight sides, and the people sounded the name of Kṛṣṇa, and there was a great tumult. 63 In this way for some time the *kīrtana* went on, and then Prabhu had a mind to dance himself. 64 In seven directions the seven groups were singing and playing, and Gaura Rāya danced among them, overcome with great *prema*. 65 Mahāprabhu remembered an Oriya verse, and he ordered Svarūpa to sing that verse.

48. [Vṇḍāvana Dāsa’s *CBh* (= *Caitanya Maṅgala*) describes the arrival of the devotees and subsequent *kīrtana* in 3.9.1-99 [= GM ed. 3.8] and the water sports in 3.9.100-140. TKS]

56. *Beḍha*: surrounding; the *kīrtana* went in procession around the temple of Jagannātha.

58. Śrīnivāsa: Śrīvāsa.

59. [The action invokes Kṛṣṇa and the *gopīs* in the *rāsa-līla*. TKS]

Śloka 3. [refrain]:

O you who charm the world, let me go to give you worship.

66 He danced with this verse, deeply absorbed, and the people all around him were wet with the tears of *prema* of Prabhu. 67 Prabhu raised his arms and said, “*Bol! Bol!*” and the people, floating in *ananda*, raised the sound of Hari. 68 Now he fell in a faint, and he had no more breath; and suddenly he stood up again and shouted. 69 He was like a *śimālī* tree, thick with goose-flesh: sometimes his body blossomed [with it], and sometimes it abated. 70 Bloody sweat came out of every pore of his body, and he stuttered “*jaja gaga mama pari*.” 71 It seemed that each of his teeth were separately trembling; his teeth chattered so, it seemed that they would fall out on the ground. 72 As time went on Prabhu became increasingly absorbed in *ananda*. The third watch came, and still the dancing was not ended. 73 A sea of *ananda* welled up in all the people, and everyone forgot their bodies, their selves, and their homes. 74 Then Nityānanda Prabhu devised a stratagem, and one by one he stopped all the *kīrtanīyas*, 75 [until] there was only one group, that with Svarūpa. With Svarūpa they sang with voices lowered. 76 The uproar ceased, and gradually Prabhu came to his senses; then Nityānanda told him of the exertions of them all. 77 Knowing the fatigue of the *bhaktas*, he concluded the *kīrtana*, and with all of them he went to bathe in the sea. 78 With all of them Prabhu ate *prasāda*, and bidding them all farewell he went to rest.

79 [Prabhu] laid himself down in the door of the *gambhīra*, and Govinda came to massage his feet. 80 All the time this was a most rigid rule, that when

Śloka 3. The Oriya is important: “*jagamohana parimuṇḍa yaṅga*.” *Parimuṇḍa* is *nirmaṇchana*, the waving of lights, incense, etc., before the image. The second part of the verse, of which this is the refrain, is “Seeing the moon like face of him who enchants the world, my mind is intoxicated.”

66-76. [For Caitanya’s delirium in *prema*, see text and commentary to 1.7.86-93; 1.17.5; 2.8.135; 1.18.151-74; and 2.23.31-32. TKS]

67. *Bol*: speak or chant, i.e., the name of Hari.

69. *Pulaka*: raised flesh, goose-flesh; the texture of the *śimālī* tree is very much reminiscent of this; *saru*: lit., “thin,” i.e., normal, without *pulaka*, so translated here as “abated.”

70. These syllables are the initial syllables of the Oriya verse cited above, and are representative of the garbled speech (*svarabhāṅga*) of one possessed of *prema*.

71. *Eka eka danta yena prthak prthak naḍe*!

76. “Came . . . senses”: lit., “came outside,” i.e., became aware of what was going on around him. See 3.18.74-77.

79. *Gambhīra*, lit., “deep,” therefore a room deep within the house, an inner room. It should be noted that today in Puri, the reputed room of Caitanya is called by the name *gambhīra*. Govinda is Caitanya’s personal attendant.

Prabhu had taken *prasāda* and lain down, 81 Govinda would come and massage his feet, and then go and eat what Prabhu had left. 82 Prabhu had lain down, stretching completely across the door. Govinda was unable to go within, so he said to him, 83 "Move a little to one side, and let me enter." And Prabhu replied, "I do not have the strength to move my body." 84 Again and again Govinda asked him to move to one side, and Prabhu said, "I cannot move my body." 85 Govinda said, "I want to massage your feet." And Prabhu said, "Do it or not, as you like." 86 Then Govinda spread an outer garment over him, and stepped over Mahāprabhu and went into the house. 87 He massaged his feet, and kneaded his waist and his back, and with the gentle massaging, Prabhu went to sleep. 88 He slept peacefully, with Govinda kneading his limbs, and after two *danḍas*, Prabhu woke up. 89 Seeing Govinda there, Prabhu said to him angrily, "You are still sitting there after all this time? 90 When I went to sleep why did you not go and eat the *prasāda*?" And Govinda answered, "You were lying in the doorway; there was no way for me to go." 91 Prabhu said, "Then how did you get in? Why did you not go out the same way to eat the *prasāda*?" 92 And Govinda thought to himself, "It is my duty to serve, should it be an offence or cause me to go to perdition. 93 I would not mind a crore of offences for the sake of service. But I have great fear of even the suggestion of an offence committed for my own sake." 94 So Govinda kept all this to himself, and he refused to answer the question Prabhu had asked. 95 Every day, when Prabhu slept, he went to take *prasāda*; but that day, knowing that he was tired, he stayed to massage him. 96 There was no way to go; how could he go? To step over Prabhu [for his own sake] would have been a great offence. 97 This is the delicate *dharma* of the *bhakti-śāstras*, and he fathomed the inner meaning of this *dharma* because of the grace of Prabhu. 98 Prabhu played all these games to reveal the qualities of *bhaktas*; to show all these, he used many subterfuges. 99 So in brief has been related the dance of the *parimuṇḍa*, which even now the servants of Prabhu sing.

100 In a manner like this Mahāprabhu with his followers washed and cleansed the *guṇḍica* house. 101 And as before, Prabhu had *kīrtana* and danced, and as before he had the feast in the forest in the *ṭoṭā*. 102 He danced before

93. Govinda had stepped over Caitanya's prostrate body on the way in for Caitanya's sake, in order to be able to massage his feet; but to step back over his body for his own sake, in order to go out and get himself something to eat, he would have considered an offence.

99. *Parimuṇḍa*: cf. the Oriya verse above in *śloka* 3.

102. [The Horāpañcamī is described in 2.14. TKS]

the car, as formerly, and had *darśana* of the Horāpañcamī Festival. 103 All the *bhaktas* remained there for the four months of the rains, and had *darśana* of the Janmāṣṭamī and the other festivals. 104 When previously the *bhaktas* had come from Gauḍa, they all wanted to feed Prabhu something. 105 Each one brought some *prasāda* and gave it to Govinda, [having gotten the promise] that certainly Gosvāmī would eat it. 106 Some brought *paidā*, some *laḍu*, and some *piṭhā* and *pānā*—the best, very expensive *prasāda*, of many kinds. 107 Govinda would say to him, "Such and such a one has given this," and Prabhu would say "Keep it," and not eat it. 108 So in preserving these things, one corner of the house became filled; the food offerings of a hundred people were stored there. 109 They all took pains to ask Govinda, "Has Prabhu eaten the *prasāda* which I gave him?" 110 And Govinda said something to each one, deceiving them. And one day he said to Prabhu dejectedly, 111 "Ācārya and the other *mahaśāyās*, with great care, have given me things to feed you. 112 But you do not eat them, and again and again they ask. I deceive them so much; how can I be saved?" 113 Prabhu said, "You *adibaśya*, why are you so sad? Bring all that anyone has given here." 114 And so saying, Mahāprabhu sat down to eat; and Govinda told him the name of the donor of each thing as he presented it. 115 "The Ācārya has given this *paidā* and *pānā* and *sarapapī*, and this *amṛtagoṭika* and *maṇḍā* and *karpūrakūpī*. 116 These various things are from Śrīvāsa Paṇḍita, and this *piṭhā* and *pānā* and *amṛtagoṭika* and *maṇḍā* and *padmacini*. 117 Ācāryaratna has given these gifts, and Ācāryanidhi these various things. 118 and Vasudeva Datta this, and Murāri Gupta that, and Buddhimanta Khān these many kinds of things, 119 and Śrīman Sena, and Śrīman Paṇḍita, and the son of the Ācārya. Eat these things given by all of them. 120 These things are from the people of Kulīnagrāma—see how much there is before you, and see that same amount from the people who live in Khaṇḍa." 121 Thus giving the names of all their donors, he placed the items before Prabhu, and happily Prabhu ate them. 122 Even though they had been sitting for a month, and the coconuts were split on top, all the *amṛtagoṭika* and the *pānā* and all the other things 123 tasted fresh; there was no taste of staleness, such was the *prasāda* of Mahāprabhu. 124 Prabhu ate in one *danḍa* what a

106. *Paidā*: a kind of sweet, as is *laḍu*.

113. *Adibaśya*: one who has lived (*baśya*) in a place from the beginning (*adi*), therefore a tribal or aboriginal. Caitanya is obviously using the expression as an affectionate insult; the expression is still used today, and means something like "fool" or "simpleton."

123. There is a pun on the word "*prasāda*," which means both food offered to a deity and "grace," the grace of Caitanya in accepting the food.

hundred men would eat, and then he asked Govinda, "Is there any more?" 125 And Govinda said, "Only the *jhalis* of Rāghava are left." And Prabhu said, "Let them be for now; I shall look to them later." 126 Another day, when Prabhu was eating privately, he opened the *jhalis* of Rāghava and looked at all that was there. 127 He tasted a little bit of all the things, and seeing them sweet and tasty, he praised them greatly. 128 He kept them stored for a year, and when it came time to eat them, Svarūpa served him and made him eat. 129 Sometimes in the night time he would eat some, enjoying those foodstuffs offered in faith by the *bhaktas*. 130 And in this way Mahāprabhu with his *bhaktas* passed the four months in pleasant talk of Kṛṣṇa.

131 From time to time Ācārya and the others invited him, and cooked rice in their houses, and various curries: 132 some vegetables and sauces of *sukuta*, and *nimbabarttāki*, and *bhṛṣṭapaṭola*, 133 *bhṛṣṭaphulabaḍi* and *mudgadali* curry. They knew and cooked the curries according to the taste of Prabhu: 134 hot dishes of pepper, and *madhurāmla*, and ginger, salt, lemon, milk, yogurt, *khaṇḍa* and cream. 135 And they brought *prasāda* of Jagannātha to mix with them; sometimes he went alone, and sometimes with his followers. 136 Ācāryaratna and Ācāryanidhi, Nandana and Rāghava, and Śrīvāsa and others—all these *bhaktas* were *brāhmaṇas*. 137 And they in this way tendered him invitations with great care. And Vāsudeva, Gadādhara Dāsa, Murāri Gupta, 138 and all the people of Kulīnagrāma and of Khaṇḍa invited him, and had *prasāda* of Jagannātha brought.

139 Now hear the story of the invitation of Śivānanda Sena. The eldest son of Śivānanda was named Caitanya Dāsa. 140 And he brought him with him to meet Prabhu, and when they met, Prabhu asked his name. 141 And when he heard the name "Caitanya Dāsa," Gaura-rāya said, "What name does he have? I do not understand." 142 And Sena said, "He who bears the name understands it," and so saying he extended an invitation to Prabhu. 143 He had brought some very expensive *prasāda* of Jagannātha, and with his *bhaktas* Prabhu sat down to eat it. 144 Out of regard for Śivānanda, Prabhu ate, although he was not disposed to eat such heavy food. 145 The next day Caitanya Dāsa invited him, and knowing Prabhu's preferences he had curry brought, 146 and curds and lemon and ginger and *karaḍīyā* and salt. And when he saw the prepara-

132. *Nimbabarttāki*: egg-plant fried with *nima* leaves.

135. Those who were not *brāhmaṇas*, or were not *brāhmaṇas* of appropriate caste, could not cook for Caitanya in their own homes, so they fed him *prasāda* of Jagannātha which they bought.

142. The name of course means "servant of Caitanya."

tions, Prabhu was well disposed. 147 Prabhu said, "This boy knows my mind; I am pleased that he invited me." 148 And so saying he ate the rice and curd, and gave the remainder to Caitanya Dāsa to eat.

149 In this way the invitations went on for four months, and some of the Vaiṣṇavas did not find a day on which to invite him. 150 Gadādhara Paṇḍita and Sārvabhauma Bhāṭṭācārya—for these two there were fixed days for eating. 151 Gopīnātha Ācārya, Jagadānanda, Kāśīśvara, Bhagavān, Rāmabhadra Ācārya, Śaṅkara, Vakreśvara— 152 from time to time he was invited to eat at the houses of these; and for others to extend him invitation for *prasāda*, it cost two *paṇas* of cowries. 153 At first the obligation had been four *paṇas* of cowries, but he had decreased his meals, in deference to Rāmacandra. 154 So the *bhaktas* of Gauḍa remained for four months, and then he bade them farewell, and he remained with the *bhaktas* who were his companions at Nīlacala.

155 Thus has been told of the invitations and meals of Prabhu, and how he tasted the food brought by the *bhaktas*. 156 And within [this] is the description of the *jhalis* of Rāghava, and within that the story of the *parimūṇḍa* dance. 157 He who hears these stories of Caitanya with faith will always gain the *prema* of the feet of Caitanya. 158 To hear it is like nectar, it soothes the ears and heart; he is most fortunate, who tastes it.

159 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

150. Fixed days for eating: on certain days of the month these two regularly offered Caitanya invitations.

153. Rāmacandra frequently openly criticized Caitanya and others for perceived breaches in ascetic conduct. See 3.8.

Antya Līlā Chapter 11

Śloka 1.

I bow to that Haridāsa, and to Caitanya his Prabhu, who danced, holding the dead body of [Haridāsa] in his arms.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to him full of mercy, glory to the beloved Advaita and to the beloved Nityānanda. 2 Glory to the Lord of Haridāsa and the Īśvara of Śrīnivāsa, glory to the Lord of the heart of Svarūpa and of the beloved Gadādhara. 3 Glory to the Īśvara of the heart of Jagadānanda and of the beloved Kāśī, and glory to the Īśvara of Raghunātha, Rūpa, and Sanātana. 4 Glory to Kṛṣṇa in his golden body, *svayaṁ bhagavan*. Be merciful, Prabhu, and give us the gift of your own feet! 5 Glory to Nityānanda, glory to him who is the life of Caitanya; give us the gift of *bhakti* at your lotus feet. 6 Glory, glory to Advaitacandra, honored by Caitanya; give us, O glorious Advaitācārya, *bhakti* at your own feet. 7 And glory to the *bhaktas* of Gauḍa, of whom Gaura is the very life; give me the gift of *bhakti*, joined with all of them. 8 Glory to Rūpa, Sanātana, Jīva, Raghunātha [Dāsa], Raghunātha [Bhaṭṭa], and Gopāla—glory to these six, my lords. 9 By the grace of them all I write the qualities of the *līlā* of Caitanya; [although] I write haphazardly, it purifies me.

10 So in this way Prabhu lived at Nīlācala, and with his *bhaktas* as his companions he had *kīrtana-vilāsa*. 11 In the day he danced and had *kīrtana* and *darśana* of Īśvara, and in the night he tasted *rasa* with Rāya and Svarūpa. 12 In this way time passed happily for Mahāprabhu; but his body could not contain

2. *Nātha*: lord.

9. *Yaiche taiche*: haphazardly, i.e., “even though my description of all this is insufficient, still it brings me purification.”

12. *Vikāra*: lit., “delirium,” the alteration of the condition of his mind from its previous or normal state, because of his feeling of *viraha*.

the delirium of his *viraha* from Kṛṣṇa. 13 Day by day the delirium grew, and at night it was very strong—worry and anxiety and raving and all the rest, as the *śāstras* describe it. 14 Svarūpa Gosvāmī and Rāmananda Rāya, both consoled Prabhu day and night.

15 One day Govinda brought *mahāprasāda*, and in joy went to give it to Haridāsa. 16 He saw that Haridāsa was lying down, and very very softly was doing *kīrtana* of the prescribed number [of names]. 17 Govinda said, “Rise up and come and eat.” And Haridāsa replied, “Today I shall transgress. 18 How can I eat? The number of *saṁkīrtanas* has not been completed. But you have brought *mahāprasāda*; how can I ignore it?” 19 So saying, he bowed to the *mahāprasāda*, and took a tiny bit and ate it. 20 On another day Mahāprabhu came to his place, and he asked him, “Are you well, Haridāsa?” 21 And making obeisance he said to him, “My body is well, but I feel my heart unwell.” 22 Prabhu said, “Tell me specifically what illness you have.” And he said, “The number of *saṁkīrtanas* has not been fulfilled.” 23 And Prabhu said, “You are an old man; reduce the number. You are [already] of perfected body; why do you hold so eagerly to *sādhana*? 24 This *avatāra* of yours is to save people; and you have preached in the world the greatness of the name. 25 Now make *saṁkīrtana* with a lesser number of names.” And Haridāsa said, “Listen to my most honest request. 26 My birth was in a low *jāti*, my body was contemptible. I was engaged in low work. I am miserable and wretched. 27 You accepted me, though I was untouchable and not to be looked upon, and from hell you raised me up and caused me to climb to Vaikuṇṭha. 28 You are the self-dependent Īśvara, and you act according to your own will; that will causes the world to dance. 29 When you cause me to dance much, you show me grace, for though I am a *mlecchā* I have eaten from the pure vessel of a *brāhmaṇa*. 30 But for a long time I have had one desire. It is in my mind that you will withdraw your *līlā*. 31 Do not allow me to witness that *līlā*, Prabhu; make my body fall before you. 32 I shall hold on my heart your lotus-feet, and with my eyes I shall gaze into your moon-like face, 33 and with my tongue I shall pro-

27. *Adṛśya*: unseeable, not to be looked upon, i.e., so impure that even the sight of him would contaminate.

30. [*Samvaribe*: withdraw, lit., cover over, i.e., in this context to die, although theologically it is more accurately characterized as withdrawing the apparent *līlā*, the present manifest *līlā* on earth, and to return to the unmanifest *līlā* in heavenly Vṛndāvana. TKS]

31. That *līlā*: i.e., withdrawing the *līlā*. “Before,” as will be seen, means in both time and space; he wants to die in Caitanya’s presence, and prior to Caitanya’s departure, in much the same way that a wife or devoted servant desires to die prior to his or her *svāmī*.

nounce your name, Kṛṣṇa Caitanya. It is my desire that I leave this life in this way. 34 This is my wish, and if you have mercy, be well disposed toward this entreaty of mine. 35 That this wretched body of mine fall before you: it is up to you if this wish of mine be fulfilled." 36 And Prabhu replied, "Haridāsa, that which you ask, Kṛṣṇa, being full of mercy, will certainly fulfill. 37 But that little happiness which I have is all because of you. It is not right that you go, abandoning me." 38 Haridāsa held his feet and said, "Do not flatter me; though I am despicable, Prabhu, be merciful. 39 There are crores and crores of great men, who are crest-jewels for me, who help you in your *līla*. 40 If a worm like me dies, it is like the loss to the earth when an ant dies. 41 Prabhu, you are affectionate like a parent to your *bhaktas*; I am an insignificant *bhakta*, but you must, Prabhu, grant this my hope. 42 Prabhu, you go and perform the mid-day rituals, and when you have seen Īśvara, come tomorrow and grant me *darśana*."

43 So Prabhu embraced him, and went to the sea-shore to carry out the midday rites. 44 In the morning, having first seen Īśvara, with all the *bhaktas* he came without delay to see Haridāsa. 45 He came before Haridāsa and gave him *darśana*, and Haridāsa bowed to his feet and to those of the Vaiṣṇavas. 46 Prabhu inquired, "Haridāsa, tell me how you are." And Haridāsa said, "Prabhu, according to your grace." 47 And in the courtyard Prabhu began a great *kīrtana*, and Vakreśvara Paṇḍita danced there. 48 Svarūpa Gosvāmī and many other followers of Prabhu surrounded Haridāsa and made *nāma-saṁkīrtana*. 49 And before Rāmananda and Sārvabhauma and the whole assembly, Prabhu began to speak of the qualities of Haridāsa. 50 To tell of the qualities of Haridāsa, Prabhu spoke as if with five mouths, and while he was speaking the great joy of Prabhu grew. 51 The minds of all present were overwhelmed by the qualities of Haridāsa, and all the *bhaktas* bowed to his feet. 52 Haridāsa had Prabhu sit down in front of him, and he fixed the bees of his two eyes upon the lotus of his face. 53 He took the feet of Prabhu and he held them to his heart, and he took the dust of the feet of all the *bhaktas* as ornament to his head. 54 He said the words "Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya" again and again. Drinking the nectar of the face of Prabhu, the tears flowing from his eyes, 55 pronouncing the name "Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya," his life passed away with the name. 56 When they saw that he had died, according to his own wish, like a *mahāyogeśvara*, they all

56. *Mahāyogeśvara*: one who is an adept in *yoga* can die any time he wants to, for death is under his control. Bhīṣma was such an adept; he died on the battlefield of Kurukṣetra with the name of Kṛṣṇa on his lips, at a time of his own choosing.

recalled the death of Bhīṣma. 57 And from them a tumult arose with the words "Hari, Kṛṣṇa," and Mahāprabhu was overcome with the joy of *prema*. 58 He picked up the body of Haridāsa in his arms and danced in the courtyard, absorbed in *prema*.

59 All the *bhaktas* were absorbed in the ecstasy of Prabhu, and absorbed in *prema*, all danced and made *kīrtana*. 60 In this way, Prabhu danced for a long time. Svarūpa Gosvāmī made Prabhu restrain himself. 61 Then they raised Haridāsa Ṭhakura upon a cart, and took him to the sea, making *kīrtana*. 62 And in front, Mahāprabhu went, dancing, and behind Vakreśvara danced, with all the *bhaktas*. 63 They bathed Haridāsa with the water of the sea, and Prabhu said, "The sea has now become a great pilgrimage place." 64 The *bhaktas* drank the water used to wash the feet of Haridāsa, and they put sandalwood, which was *prasāda*, on his body. 65 They put sandalwood and silken cloth, which was *prasāda*, on his body, and they dug a grave in the sand and laid him in it. 66 On all four sides the *bhaktas* made *kīrtana*, and Vakreśvara Paṇḍita danced in joy. 67 Gaura Rāya said "Hari bol, Hari bol!" and with his own holy hands he placed sand on his body. 68 They covered his body with sand and over it constructed a platform. They built a high wall completely encircling the platform. 69 Moving around it, Prabhu made *kīrtana* and danced, and the uproar of the sound of Hari's name filled the earth. 70 Then Mahāprabhu with all the *bhaktas* bathed in the sea and enjoyed the water-games. 71 Having circumambulated Haridāsa, they went to the lion gate, and the commotion of Hari-*kīrtana* filled the whole city.

72 Coming to the lion gate, Prabhu went to the *pasāris*, and spreading out his *añcala*, he begged *prasāda* of them, 73 "For the sake of a great festival for Haridāsa Ṭhakura I beg *prasāda*; give food to me." 74 When they heard this

63. *Mahatīrtha*: great pilgrimage place.

65. Radhagovinda Natha comments tersely, "It is customary to bury the body of a *bhakta* who has reached perfection (*siddha-bhakta*)." Such a *bhakta*'s spirit is already released, and he has no need of the fire to carry it upward to another birth.

67. "His body" can be either his own, i.e., taking sand from the grave as a mark of respect, or Haridāsa's, i.e., he himself put sand on the body to bury it.

72. *Pasāri*: one who sells *prasāda*.

73. It is customary for a son to give a feast after he has put the fire to his father's lips, and so Caitanya is doing here; by playing the part of the son he is showing his great affection for Haridāsa, [and fitting for Haridāsa's prior statement regarding Caitanya's parental affection (*vatsalya*) in v. 41. TKS] It is also in the ordinary social sense, contrary in that he took the corpse of Haridāsa in his arms, for it is strictly forbidden that *brahmanas* touch dead bodies; but Caitanya was a *saṁnyāsin*, and no impurity attached to him. Haridāsa's body was also pure from its perfection (*siddha*).

the *pasāris* lifted up their baskets and gave *prasāda* to Prabhu delightedly. 75 Svarūpa Gosvāmī forbade the *pasāris* to do this, and they took their baskets and sat in their shops. 76 Svarūpa Gosvāmī sent Prabhu to his home, and he kept with him four Vaiṣṇavas and four bearers. 77 Svarūpa Gosvāmī then said to all the *pasāris*, "Bring and give to me one pile of each kind of good." 78 And in this orderly way he accumulated heavy loads of various kinds of *prasāda*, and they brought them and raised them up onto the heads of the four [bearers]. 79 Vāṇīnātha Paṭṭanāyaka brought *prasāda*, and Kāśī Miśra sent many kinds of *prasāda*. 80 Prabhu sat all the Vaiṣṇavas in rows, and Prabhu himself served with the four men. 81 No small amount came from the holy hands of Mahāprabhu; he served on each leaf food enough for five people. 82 Svarūpa said, "Prabhu, sit here and watch. Let me serve, with all of these." 83 So Svarūpa, Jagadānanda, Kāśīśvara, and Śaṅkara—these four served unceasingly. 84 Since Prabhu did not eat, no one ate. For on that day Prabhu had accepted an invitation from Kāśī Miśra. 85 But Kāśī Miśra himself came, bringing *prasāda*, and with eagerness he made Prabhu eat it. 86 Prabhu ate with Purī and Bhārati; and then all the Vaiṣṇavas ate. 87 He fed them all until they were full up to their necks; Prabhu called out, "Give them more, give them more." 88 And having eaten, they all rinsed their mouths, and Prabhu put garlands and sandalwood on them all.

89 Prabhu, overcome with *prema*, gave a blessing, and when they heard it the ears and hearts of all the *bhaktas* were soothed. 90 "Those who saw the feast of Haridāsa's triumph, and who danced there, and who had *kīrtana* there, 91 and who went to bury him in the sand, and who feasted at his celebration, 92 all of them will quickly gain Kṛṣṇa. Such is the power of the *darśana* of Haridāsa. 93 Kṛṣṇa, in his mercy, gave him to me as a companion; and now the wish of the self-willed Kṛṣṇa is that that companionship be broken. 94 When it was the wish of Haridāsa that he should go, I did not have the power to keep him. 95 Only by his wish did he make his own life go forth; it was just as I have heard of the death of Bhīṣma, long ago. 96 Haridāsa was the crest-jewel of the earth; without him, the earth is devoid of a jewel. 97 So raise the joyous sound, say "Glory to Haridāsa!" And so saying Mahāprabhu himself danced. 98 All sang "Glory, glory, glory be to Haridāsa, who has manifested

75-76. It seems that Svarūpa felt that it was inappropriate for Caitanya to ask for the food himself; [or perhaps Svarūpa felt that the disorderly fashion in which it was being collected would not result in the desired end. TKS]

90. *Vijaya-utsava*: the feast of the passing away, the going out, the victory (*vijaya*) of Haridāsa.

the greatness of the name!" 99 Then Mahāprabhu bade farewell to all the *bhaktas*, and in grief and joy, Prabhu rested.

100 Thus has been narrated the triumph of Haridāsa, and in listening to it does *prema-bhakti* to Kṛṣṇa come about. 101 By this is known the affection of Caitanya to his *bhaktas*; he fulfilled the wish of his *bhakta*, did that crest-jewel of *saṅnyāsins*. 102 At the end [Caitanya] granted him his touch and his sight, and he took him in his arms and danced. 103 In his mercy, with his own holy hands he put sand on him, and himself begging the *prasāda*, he made the celebratory feast. 104 Haridāsa was a great *bhāgavata* and a most learned man, and because of his great good fortune he started on his journey before [Caitanya]. 105 The actions of Caitanya are an ocean of nectar, and he who gets a single drop in his ears and heart has his thirst quenched. 106 In whose mind it is to cross the ocean of the world, hear with faith the actions of Caitanya.

107 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

100. *Vijaya*: triumph.

Antya Līlā
Chapter 12

Sloka 1.

O *bhaktas*, listen to the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya' constantly and with joy; sing them, sing them, and remember.

1 Glory glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to him full of mercy, glory glory to Nityānanda, glory to him, an ocean of mercy. 2 Glory to Advaitacandra, glory to him, a sea of mercy, and glory to the Gaura-*bhaktas*, whose hearts are full of mercy.

3 Later, the heart of Mahāprabhu was deeply pained, and the condition of separation from Kṛṣṇa swelled inwardly. 4 "Oh Kṛṣṇa, lord of my life, Vrajen-dranandana, where has he gone, where can I find him, with the flute on his lips?" 5 Day and night he was in this condition, his heart knew no peace, and he passed his nights in difficulty, with Svarūpa and Rāmānanda. 6 Now the *bhaktas* of Prabhu from the Gauḍa country all came to see Prabhu. 7 Śivānanda Sena and Ācārya Gosvāmī and all the *bhaktas* were assembled in one place in Navadvīpa. 8 The people from Kulīnagrāma, and many from Khaṇḍa had all met together and come to Navadvīpa. 9 And Nityānanda Prabhu, though he had no instructions from Prabhu, still went to see Caitanya Gosvāmī. 10 Śrīnivāsa and his four brothers, accompanied by Mālinī, also went, and Ācāryaratna took his wife with him. 11 And the wife of Śivānanda went with her three sons, and Rāghava Paṇḍita went, having prepared the *jhalis*. 12 And Datta, Gupta, Vidyānidhi, and many others—two or three hundred *bhaktas*, who could count them? 13 All went to see Śācīmātā and take her permission, and departed joyfully, singing

10. Śrīnivāsa: Śrīvāsa Paṇḍita; Mālinī was the name of Śrīvāsa's wife.

11. [See 3.10.14-38 for the story of Rāghava's *jhalis* bags of food. TKS]

kīrtana of Kṛṣṇa. 14 Śivānanda Sena took care of the arrangements for the journey, and protecting them all he went in happiness. 15 He did all that had to be done for all of them, and gave them places to stay; for Śivānanda knew his way around the roads of Orissa.

16 One day all the people stopped at a ghat-keeper's, and Śivānanda had them all leave him, and he stayed there alone. 17 They all proceeded, and stopped under a tree in a village; without Śivānanda they did not find places to stay. 18 Nityānanda Prabhu was very irritated, because of hunger, and not finding a place to stay he laid a curse on Śivānanda, 19 "Still he has not come; may the three sons of Śiva die. I die of hunger, and he has not provided me with lodging." 20 When she heard this, Śivānanda's wife began to weep, and at that time Śivānanda came from the ghat. 21 Śivānanda's wife, weeping, said to him, "Gosvāmī has put a curse on our sons, because he did not find a place to stay." 22 And he said, "Mad woman! Why do you cry yourself to death? Let my three sons die if it takes away his unhappiness." 23 And so saying Śivānanda went to the side of Prabhu. Getting up, Nityānanda Prabhu gave him a kick. 24 Śivai was overjoyed, receiving the kick, and he quickly went to a Bengali house and made arrangements for him to stay. 25 He held his feet, and then took Prabhu to the house, and giving him the house he began to say joyfully, 26 "Today you have accepted me as a servant, and have given me the fruit of a servant's offence. 27 You have been merciful, in the guise of punishment, such is your compassion. Who in the three worlds understands your actions? 28 The dust of your holy feet is hard to gain even for Brahmā, and yet my miserable body has received the touch of those feet. 29 Today my work and family and birth have been fruitful; today I have gained the *dharma* of the desired end of Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti*." 30 When he heard this, Nityānanda's heart was filled with joy, and getting up he embraced Śivānanda in *prema*. 31 And filled with joy Śivānanda made the arrangements, and provided places to stay for the Ācārya and the other Vaiṣṇavas.

32 The actions of Nityānanda Prabhu are all contrary; out of anger he kicked [Śivānanda] and did him good. 33 Śivānanda's nephew, Śrīkānta Sena by name, said proudly, when his maternal uncle was absent, 34 "My maternal uncle is a famous follower of Caitanya; and the Gosvāmī acts like his lord, and kicks him." 35 And so saying the boy Śrīkānta went ahead; he left his companions and went

24. Śivai: Śivānanda.

32. *Vipartita*: "contrary," which however Rādhagovinda Natha defines as "wonderful."

ahead to the place of Mahāprabhu. 36 With a *peṭāṅgi* on his body he bowed and made obeisance; and Govinda said, "Śrīkanta, first take off your *peṭāṅgi*." 37 And Prabhu said, "Śrīkanta has come with troubled heart. Say nothing to him. Let him do what pleases him." 38 And Gosvāmī asked news of the Vaiṣṇavas, and Śrīkanta told him, naming them one by one. 39 When he heard the words of Prabhu "he has come with troubled heart," he considered that Prabhu knew everything. 40 He did not say that "he kicked Śivānanda," and now all the Vaiṣṇavas came and met him.

41 As he had before, Prabhu met them all, and from a distance all the women had *darśana* of Prabhu. 42 As before, he showed them all where to stay, and he told them all to eat of the *mahāprasāda*. 43 Śivānanda introduced his three sons to the Gosvāmī, and because of their relation to Śivānanda, he showed them all great kindness. 44 Seeing the youngest son, Prabhu asked his name, and Sena told him that his name was Paramānanda Dāsa. 45 When Śivānanda had come to Prabhu before, Mahāprabhu had said to him, 46 "This time, you will have a son; name him Purīdāsa." 47 And that son which was then in the womb of his mother, was born in the house of Śivānanda. 48 Because of the instruction of Prabhu, he named him Paramānanda Dāsa; and Prabhu smiled, and called him Purīdāsa. 49 When Śivānanda brought that boy to him, Mahāprabhu put his toe in his mouth. 50 Who can reach the shore of the ocean of the good fortune of Śivānanda, of whom Prabhu called the whole family "my own"? 51 Then he took all the *bhaktas* and ate, and he washed his mouth and gave instructions to Govinda, 52 "As long as the wife and sons of Śivānanda are here, see that they get the remainder of my food."

53 There was a confectioner who lived in Nadiyā, whose name was Parameśvara; he sold sweets, and his house was near the house of Prabhu. 54 In his

36. *Peṭāṅgi*: a cloth for covering the upper part of the body; it is said in the Tantric tradition that for the offence of making *prāṇāma* to the deity while wearing a *peṭāṅgi* the offender suffers seven births.

45-48. [The name was apparently in honor of Paramānanda Purī, which is why Paramānanda Dāsa and Purīdāsa are used interchangeably. TKS]

52. [The leftover food (*avaśeṣapātra*) of Caitanya is of course itself *prasāda* and consequently a highly desired privilege. When Kṛṣṇadāsa records this specific distribution of Caitanya's leftovers to a woman and her child, he singles out the individuals as being especially blessed. The child, Paramānanda Sena, was another biographer of Caitanya, Kavikarṇapūra, whose works Kṛṣṇadāsa used and appears to be confirming here; Kṛṣṇadāsa did the same thing with another Bengali woman, Nārāyaṇī, in Navadvīpa who ingested Caitanya's leftovers and conceived Vṛndāvana Dāsa (CBh 2.2.319; 2.10.288-94; CC 1.8.37; 1.17.223), the most prominent biographer Kṛṣṇadāsa acknowledges. See Introduction, Section VI.2. TKS]

53. *Modaka*: *mayara*, confectioner.

boyhood, he used to go again and again to his house, and he gave him *dugdha-khaṇḍa* sweets, and Prabhu ate them. 55 From boyhood he had had great affection for Prabhu, and this year he had come there [to Nīlacala] to see Prabhu. 56 He bowed and said, "I am Parameśvara," and seeing him Prabhu asked him fondly, 57 "Parameśvara! Are you well? It is good that you have come." And he said to Prabhu, "Mukunda's mother has also come." 58 And when he heard the name of Mukunda's mother, Prabhu was a little taken aback; but still, because of his love for him, he said nothing. 59 He was an affectionate fool, he knew no duplicity, for he was pure, and because of those qualities of his, Prabhu was happy at heart.

60 As before, he cleansed the *guṇḍīcā* with all of them, and as before he danced before the car. 61 And they had *darśana* of all the festivals during the four month period, and Mālinī and the others offered Prabhu invitations. 62 They had brought from their home various things of which Prabhu was fond, and they prepared rice in their homes and fed him those curries. 63 During the day he played in various ways with the *bhaktas*, but in the night Prabhu wept, in separation from Kṛṣṇa. 64 In this way, in various *līlās*, the four months passed, and he instructed all the *bhaktas* to return to Gauḍa. 65 All the *bhaktas* gave Prabhu invitations, and Prabhu said sweetly to them all, 66 "Each year you all come to see me. I know well that you undergo much difficulty in coming and going. 67 But even knowing the difficulties of you all, I cannot forbid you. For in my heart the greed for the happiness of the companionship of all of you grows. 68 I gave Nityānanda an order to remain at Gauḍa, and he has transgressed that order and come; what can I say? 69 Ācārya Gosvāmī has come, being merciful to me; I am bound by the debt of his *prema*; I cannot repay it. 70 For me he has left wife and sons and home, and crossed difficult paths to come here. 71 And I remain sitting here in Nīlacala, and I do not exert myself for all of you. 72 I am a *saṁnyāsin*-man, and I have no wealth. What can I give you? How can I pay my debt to all of you? 73 All I have to offer you is my body, which is my only wealth; sell it wherever you want to sell it." 74 At the words of Prabhu, the hearts of all melted, and they wept constantly, tears streaming from their eyes. 75 Hanging on the necks of all of them, Prabhu wept; and as he wept he embraced them all. 76 And they all remained, for no one

57. "Mukunda's mother": it would be usual for Parameśvara to refer to his wife as the mother of his son.

58. As we have seen, Caitanya reacts strongly to any mention of a woman; but because in this instance he realised that Parameśvara was innocent, he refrained from rebuking him.

could move, and five or seven days passed in this way. 77 Advaita and the Avadhūta said at the feet of Prabhu, "By your qualities easily the world can be bought; 78 you bind us more, with the rope of your merciful words. Who can go anywhere, leaving you?" 79 Then Mahāprabhu persuaded them all, and calmly bade them all farewell. 80 He said to Nityānanda, "Do not come again and again; I will be with you there." 81 So all the *bhaktas* departed, weeping, and Mahāprabhu remained in his house in dejection. 82 Prabhu had bound them all with the qualities of his own mercy; who can repay the debt of the mercy of Mahāprabhu? 83 Prabhu is the self-dependent Īśvara; whomever and however he wishes, he causes people to dance; and because of that the people left him and went back to their own country. 84 As by magic one makes a wooden puppet dance, so the actions of Īśvara are not at all understood.

85 The previous year, Jagadānanda had gone to see the mother; receiving the instructions of Prabhu, he had come to Nadiya city. 86 Going to the mother, he bowed down at her feet, and presented her cloth, *prasāda* of Jagannātha. 87 Taking the name of Prabhu, he bowed to the mother, and he spoke to her humble praises of Prabhu. 88 Receiving Jagadānanda, the mother was joyful in her heart; he told her stories of Prabhu, and she listened day and night. 89 Jagadānanda said, "O mother, on certain days Prabhu comes here to you and takes food. 90 And when he has eaten, he says joyfully, 'Today my mother has fed me and I am filled to the throat. 91 I go and eat, and my mother does not realize it. I eat in her presence, and she considers it a dream.'" 92 The mother said, "Sometimes I prepare fine curries, and it is the desire of my heart that Nīmā eat them. 93 And afterwards it seems to me that I have dreamed a dream. I do not look again, for my eyes run with tears." 94 In this way Jagadānanda talked with Śācīmāta, and day and night he told her stories of the happiness of Caitanya. 95 The *bhaktas* of Nadiya all came together, and when they found Jagadānanda they were all delighted. 96 Then Jagadānanda went to meet the Ācārya, and when he found Jagadānanda the Ācārya was delighted. 97 Vasudeva and Murāri Gupta met Jagadānanda, and they kept him joyfully in their houses, and refused to let him go. 98 They heard directly from his mouth intimate stories of Caitanya; and everyone forgot themselves in delight at these stories of Caitanya. 99 Jagadānanda went to the houses of the *bhaktas* to meet them, and each of those *bhaktas* forgot themselves in happiness.

85. *Āi*: "the mother," Caitanya's mother Śācī.

93. Or "not seeing him again, my eyes run with tears." See 2.15.54-67 and 3.3.28-38.

100 The blessed Jagadānanda was a vessel of the *prema* of Caitanya; whoever met him considered that he had gained Caitanya. 101 He went and stayed at the house of Śivānanda Sena, and there he prepared a *mātrā* of oil of sandalwood, etc. 102 He filled a *gāgarī*-pot with this perfumed oil, and carefully took it to Nīlācala. 103 He deposited the oil with Govinda, and told Govinda, "Put this oil on the body of Prabhu." 104 Then Govinda told Prabhu, "Jagadānanda has brought some oil of sandalwood, etc., 105 and his wish is for me to put a little of it on the head of Prabhu. It soothes the distress of *pitta* and *vāyu* disease. 106 He prepared a *kalasa* of this sweet-smelling oil at Gauḍa, and he has brought it here most carefully." 107 Prabhu replied, "A *saṁnyāsin* has no right to oil. And on top of that, perfumed oil—this is a great shame. 108 Give the oil to Jagannātha, that it be burned in the lamps. Then all his labor will be rewarded highly." 109 So Govinda related these words to Jagadānanda, and the *paṇḍita* remained silent, and said nothing.

110 Ten days passed, and again Govinda told him that it was the wish of the *paṇḍita* that Prabhu accept the oil. 111 When he heard this, Prabhu retorted a little angrily, "Get a masseur to put this oil on me— 112 for such delights I have become a *saṁnyāsin*; would my complete destruction be your pleasure? 113 When I go by on the path, people would get the scent of my oil, and would call me a licentious *saṁnyāsin*." 114 Hearing the words of Prabhu, Govinda remained silent. The next morning Jagadānanda approached Prabhu. 115 Prabhu said: "O *paṇḍita*, you brought oil from Gauḍa; but I am a *saṁnyāsin* and I cannot take it. 116 Take it and give it to Jagannātha, let it burn in the lamps, and thus all your labor will be rewarded." 117 The *paṇḍita* said, "Who has told you these lies? I never brought any oil from Gauḍa." 118 And so saying he brought the *kalasa* of oil from the house, and he broke it in the courtyard, before Prabhu. 119 Having smashed the pot of oil he went along the path to his own

101. A *mātrā* is sixteen seers, a seer being about two pounds. *Candanādi* oil is an oil especially used for medicinal purposes in Āyurveda.

105. *Pitta*: bile or gall, thus an upset of the liver functions; *vāyu* is wind, thus flatulent disorder, digestive problems, [but can also be understood as a form of madness, "the wind disease." This is reminiscent of an interesting episode in Vṛndāvana Dāsa's *CBh* 1.8.67-77 where the young Viśvambhara is suffering from the delirium of *prema*, but since he is not yet known to be a devotee, people diagnose his problem as *vāyu*. They administer several oils—Nārāyaṇa and Viṣṇu—which promptly cure him. TKS]

106. *Kalasa*: earthen container.

111. *Marādāniya*: "masseur"; Caitanya is saying sarcastically that as long as he has the luxury of this expensive oil he might as well go the whole way and hire a masseur.

113. *Dārī*: "licentious," one who delights in the company of women.

house; and he slammed the door and remained lying there in his room. 120 On the third day Prabhu went to his door, and called out, "Get up, O *paṇḍita*! 121 Today prepare some food for me to eat. I shall come at noon time; now I am going for *darśana*." 122 So saying, Prabhu departed and the *paṇḍita* got up, and having bathed he prepared various kinds of curries.

123 At midday Prabhu came to eat, and having washed his feet he gave him a seat to sit on. 124 On a plantain leaf he made a pile of *śala*-rice with *ghi*, and on all four sides of it he placed containers of plantain leaves filled with the curries. 125 On top of the rice and curry he put a sprig of *tulasī*, and he brought *piṭhā* and *pānā*, *prasāda* of Jagannātha, and placed them before him. 126 Prabhu said, "Spread rice and curry on a second leaf; today you and I shall eat together." 127 And Prabhu remained with his hand raised; he did not eat. Then the *paṇḍita* spoke words filled with *prema*, 128 "Take the *prasāda* by yourself; I shall take it afterwards. How can I deny your eagerness [that I should eat]?" 129 Then Mahāprabhu sat down to eat in peace, and when he got a taste of the curry he began to say, 130 "How is the taste of this [so good], when you cooked it when you were so angry? This shows me the grace of Kṛṣṇa toward you. 131 Kṛṣṇa himself will eat this, for that he has caused this to be cooked through your hands, and made it excellent. 132 So offer this sweet rice to Kṛṣṇa; who can describe the limits of your good fortune?" 133 The *paṇḍita* said, "He who will eat it, cooks it; I am only the collector of all this food." 134 Again and again the *paṇḍita* served him with various curries, and Prabhu said nothing because of fear, and ate happily. 135 Eagerly the *paṇḍita* fed him, and he ate ten times as much as on other days. 136 Again and again Prabhu thought to arise, and then again the *paṇḍita* served him more curries. 137 Prabhu was not able to say anything; in fear he ate everything. For if he did not eat, Jagadānanda would fast. 138 And then Prabhu said, with respect and humility, "You have fed me

128. I.e., "you are so anxious that I take food that I will not be able to disappoint you; therefore you eat now, and be assured that I shall eat afterwards."

130. The state of mind of the cook affects the quality of the food. This is one common explanation in Bengal as to why meat should not be eaten except after proper sacrifice; when the animal is slaughtered in an ordinary way, it is angry, and that anger transmits itself to the eater of its flesh. In the context of sacrifice, however, as at Durgā-pūjā, the animal has been prepared, dedicated to the deity, and is not angry but at peace.

134-50. [It would appear that the consumption of such massive quantities of food is intended to draw the parallel between Caitanya and Jagannātha, since only God can eat without getting full; and he leaves large quantities of leftovers as *prasāda* for his devotees, which Caitanya clearly did here. TKS]

ten times over; now bring it to an end." 139 Then Mahāprabhu got up and rinsed his mouth, and the *paṇḍita* brought him things to purify his mouth, and garlands, and sandal. 140 Taking the sandal and the rest, Prabhu sat in that place. "Now you eat before me." 141 And the *paṇḍita* said, "Prabhu, you go and rest. When I have finished what I have to do, I shall take *prasāda*. 142 Rāmāi and Raghunātha have prepared the food, and I want to give them a little curry and rice." 143 Prabhu said, "Govinda, you remain here, and tell me when the *paṇḍita* eats." 144 So saying, Mahāprabhu went away, and the *paṇḍita* spoke some words to Govinda, 145 "You quickly go and massage his feet, and tell him 'Now the *paṇḍita* has sat down to eat.' 146 I shall keep the remainder of Prabhu's food for you; when Prabhu goes to sleep, you come and eat it." 147 To Rāmāi and Nandāi and Govinda and Raghunātha—he distributed the rice and curry of Prabhu to all of them. 148 And he himself ate the *prasāda* of Prabhu. And then Prabhu again sent Govinda, 149 "Whether Jagadānanda has or has not taken the *prasāda*—go quickly and tell me that." 150 Govinda came and saw, and told him that the *paṇḍita* had eaten, and then Mahāprabhu rested peacefully.

151 Such was the *prema* of Prabhu toward Jagadānanda; it was as Satyabhāmā was with Kṛṣṇa, as it is told in the *Bhāgavata*. 152 Who can describe the limits of the good fortune of Jagadānanda? He is the comparison of the good fortune of Jagadānanda. 153 He who hears the varieties of the *prema* of Jagadānanda, knows the true form of *prema*, he gains the wealth of *prema*.

154 Kṛṣṇādaśa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

151. Both Satyabhāmā and Jagadānanda were described as *vāma*, "devious" in their loves, Satyabhāmā for Kṛṣṇa in the *Dvāraka-līlā*, Jagadānanda for Caitanya; see ante, 3.7.126. [The parallel with Satyabhāmā is not simply an analogy for Kavikarṇapūra identifies Jagadānanda as Satyabhāmā in his *GGUD* (v. 51). TKS]

Antya Līlā Chapter 13

Sloka 1.

I take refuge in that Gaura, whose body and heart were afflicted with the pain born from his separation from Kṛṣṇa, and who exhibited the blossoming of *bhāvas*.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and to hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*.

2 In such ways did Prabhu, with Jagadānanda, taste these various waves of *prema*. 3 His heart and his body were drawn, because of the misery of his separation from Kṛṣṇa, and again sometimes they blossomed forth under the control of *bhāva*. 4 He lay on young plantain leaves, his body very wasted; when his bones touched the tender young leaves, he felt pain. 5 When they saw this, all the *bhaktas* were very sad; Jagadānanda could not bear it, and devised a stratagem. 6 He brought a delicate cloth and had it colored with red ochre, and had it filled with the cotton of the *śimulī* tree. 7 He put a quilt and a pillow into the hands of Govinda, and told him to have Prabhu lie upon it. 8 Jagadānanda said to Svarūpa Gosvāmī, "Today you go yourself and make Prabhu lie upon it." 9 At the time when he rested, Svarūpa was there. But when he saw the quilt and the pillow, Prabhu was overcome with anger. 10 He asked Govinda, "Who has had this made?" But when he heard the name of Jagadānanda he was hesitant. 11 He told Govinda to take the quilt away, and he lay down

3. Caitanya was in the *bhāva* of Rādhā; sometimes Rādhā was separated from Kṛṣṇa, as when he went to Mathurā, and sometimes again she was united with him. *Bhāva-veśa*: possessed or under the control of *bhāva*.

6. The customary color for *saṁnyāsins'* dress is the orange which results from dye of red ochre. For *śimulī* see commentary to 2.13.97.

upon his bed of plantain leaves. 12 Svarūpa said, "If this is your wish, what can I do? But the *paṇḍita* will be filled with sorrow, that you have scorned his bed." 13 Prabhu said, "So bring and set up a cot; it is the wish of Jagadānanda that I enjoy material things. 14 I am a *saṁnyāsin*, and my bed is on the ground. Is my shaven head for cot or quilt or pillow?" 15 So Svarūpa Gosvāmī came and reported to the *paṇḍita*; and Jagadānanda when he heard it was greatly pained in his heart. 16 Then Svarūpa Gosvāmī devised a way. He had great numbers of dried plantain leaves brought; 17 he tore them with his fingernails into very fine pieces, and with all these pieces he filled two outer-cloths belonging to Prabhu. 18 In this way he made an *oḍhana* and a covering, and Prabhu accepted these with affection. 19 Prabhu lay on them, and when they saw this everyone was happy. But Jagadānanda was inwardly angry, even though he outwardly expressed great sadness.

20 It had been formerly the wish of Jagadānanda to go to Vṛndāvana. But Prabhu had not given his permission, and because of that he could not go. 21 Inwardly he was angry and hurt, but he did not show this publicly. He asked permission of Prabhu to go to Mathurā. 22 Prabhu said, "You would go to Mathurā, being angry with me? You will become a beggar, thereby attaching the guilt to me?" 23 And Jagadānanda said, holding the feet of Prabhu, "For a long time it has been my wish to go to Vṛndāvana. 24 Not getting the permission of my Lord, I could not go. Now give me your permission; I have resolved to go." 25 But Prabhu, because of his love for him, did not agree to his going, though again and again he begged permission from Prabhu. 26 The *paṇḍita* went and entreated Svarūpa Gosvāmī, "For a long time I have wanted to go to Vṛndāvana. 27 But how can I go without the permission of Prabhu? He still does not give me his permission, saying to me that 'you go in anger.' 28 But it is my very natural desire to go there; so entreat him to give me his permission." 29 So Svarūpa Gosvāmī said at the feet of Prabhu, "Jagadānanda wishes very much to go to Vṛndāvana. 30 Again and again he has begged for your permission; give him your permission, that he go and see Mathurā once. 31 As he went to Gauḍa to see the mother, so let him go once to see Vṛndāvana."

13. Sarcastically, Caitanya is saying that as long as he has this luxurious quilt, why not a full-fledged bed?

18. *Oḍhana*: a quilted pillow or thin mattress, whose covering is often very fine material.

22. It does not seem that Caitanya is implying that there is fault attached to becoming a beggar, but that Jagadānanda will take this course out of resentment, not out of positive motives, and will constantly blame Caitanya because of this.

32 Because of the words of Svarūpa Gosvāmī, Prabhu granted permission, and having summoned Jagadānanda, he instructed him, 33 "Up to Vārāṇasī, you go along the path as you wish; but after that go carefully, in the company of *kṣatriyās* and others. 34 If they merely catch a man from Gauḍa, they restrain him as a highwayman; they keep him tied up, and take everything from him, and do not allow him to go. 35 When you get to Mathurā, stay with Sanātana, and bow to the feet of all the *svāmīs* at Mathurā. 36 Stay at a distance and pay them devotion; do not stay with them, for you will not be able to endure the strivings and activities of them all. 37 In the company of Sanātana, have *darśana* of the forests; do not leave for an instant the company of Sanātana. 38 So go quickly! Do not remain there long! And do not climb Govarddhana to see Gopāla. 39 Tell Sanātana that I am coming, and that he should keep a place ready for me in Vṛndāvana." 40 So saying he embraced Jagadānanda, and Jagadānanda left, having bowed to the feet of Prabhu. 41 He begged leave of all the *bhaktas*, and going along the forest path he came to Vārāṇasī. 42 He met both Tapanā Miśra and Candrasekhara, and from them he heard all the stories of Prabhu. 43 He came to Mathurā and quickly met Sanātana, and they were both overjoyed to meet one another. 44 Sanātana showed him the twelve forests. They both stayed at Gokula and saw the Mahāvana. 45 Both stayed together in the hut of Sanātana, and the *paṇḍita* cooked and visited the temples. 46 Sanātana went begging to the Mahāvana, and sometimes at the temples, and sometimes at the houses of *brahmanas*. 47 Sanātana supplied the *paṇḍita* with the necessities, and brought him food and drink which he had begged in the Mahāvana.

33. *Kṣatriya* here obviously refers generically to martial people, soldiers.

34. "As a highwayman" could also be "highwaymen imprison him"; the whole verse can as a matter of fact be read differently. "They" can refer either to the Muslim soldiery, who in fact as we have seen did once accuse Caitanya's Bengali companions of being robbers; or "they" can refer to the bandits who probably did infest the area, and still do.

35. *Svāmīs*: *gosvāmīs*, *bhaktas*.

36. Rādhāgovinda Nātha reads this line as meaning that the people living in Vraja are all *siddha-bhaktas*, and Jagadānanda is at this point not one; therefore he should not stay with them because he will not understand the meaning of what they do. The verse however could also be read to mean that their discipline is so rigorous that Jagadānanda will not be able to keep up with it. In either case, it is interesting that from v. 37 it could be deduced that Caitanya does not yet number Sanātana among these, or else considers him more tolerant.

38. [There is a tradition among Bengalis that Govarddhana is so holy as not to be touched by the feet, and so they do not climb Govarddhana on pilgrimage. See the commentary to 2.18.13, 20. TKS]

45. *Gopha*: cave or cavelike hut.

48 One day the *paṇḍita* offered Sanātana an invitation; when he had performed his daily rituals, he began to cook for him. 49 There was a great *saṁnyāsīn*, named Mukunda Sarasvatī; and he had given Sanātana an outer garment. 50 Sanātana had bound that cloth around his head, and he came and sat in the doorway of the dwelling place of Jagadānanda. 51 Seeing that crimson cloth, the *paṇḍita* was overcome with *prema*, for he thought it was *prasāda* of Mahāprabhu; and he asked him, 52 "Where did you get that crimson cloth?" And Sanātana said, "Mukunda Sarasvatī gave it to me." 53 When he heard this a sadness arose in the heart of the *paṇḍita*, and he took the pot in which the rice was cooking and was about to throw it at him. 54 Sanātana knew [what was in] him, and was ashamed; [Jagadānanda] then said to him, placing the pot back on the fire, 55 "You are chief among the followers of Mahāprabhu; Mahāprabhu loves none other as he loves you. 56 Yet you hold a cloth given by some other *saṁnyāsīn* on your head? How can one bear this?" 57 And Sanātana said, "*Sādhu*, you are a great *paṇḍita*, and no one is as beloved of Caitanya as you are. 58 Your firm devotion to Caitanya is becoming to you; if you do not show me, how shall I learn? 59 It was to see this that the cloth was tied on my head, and that wonderful *prema* has been seen clearly. 60 It is not right that a Vaiṣṇava wear a red cloth; what is the use of it? I shall give it to someone from another country." 61 So Jagadānanda cooked, and made an offering to Caitanya, and then the two sat and took *prasāda*. 62 Having taken the *prasāda* they embraced one another, and both wept, in the agony of separation from Caitanya.

63 In this way [Jagadānanda] remained for two months in Vṛndāvana—the sorrow of separation from Caitanya could not be borne. 64 So he delivered Mahāprabhu's message to Sanātana, "I am coming; keep a place for me." 65 Then Jagadānanda *Paṇḍita* begged his leave, and Sanātana gave him a few things as presents for Prabhu: 66 some sand from the place of the *rāsa* dance, and a *śilā* of Govarddhana, and dried ripe *pilu*-fruit, and a garland of *guñjā* flowers. 67 Jagadānanda *Paṇḍita* took all these things and left. Much agitated, Sanātana bade him farewell. 68 He decided on a place for Prabhu, and he found

60. As has been seen in v. 6 above, Caitanya himself wore red or orange clothing, as was usual with *saṁnyāsīns*. Sanātana therefore seems to be referring to Vaiṣṇavas as opposed to *saṁnyāsīns*, to ordinary Vaiṣṇavas, who wear white.

68. Sanātana, taking seriously Caitanya's word that he would be coming to Vraja, seeks out a proper place for him to stay. *Maṭha* has come to mean "monastery," but here it clearly refers to a hermitage. In the place in Vṛndāvana called the *Dvadaśa-āditya-tilā* there is an old temple of Mahāprabhu.

a *maṭha* in the twelve *aditya-tilās*. 69 Gosvāmī cleaned that place; before the *maṭha* he built a thatched-roofed shelter. 70 So quickly Jagadānanda journeyed to Nīlācala, and Gosvāmī and all the *bhaktas* were greatly delighted. 71 Bowing to the feet of Prabhu, he greeted them all, and Mahāprabhu embraced him deeply. 72 In the name of Sanātana, the *paṇḍita* bowed, and he gave him all the gifts—the sand of the *rāsa*-place and the rest. 73 He received all the gifts, and distributed the *pīlu*-fruit, and he ate happily, saying “This is fruit from Vṛndāvana.” 74 Those who knew swallowed the fruit with the stone, and those who did not know chewed it like Gaudīya *pīlu*; 75 the linings of their mouths were torn, and saliva dripped from their tongues; this was a game, the eating of the *pīlu* of Vṛndāvana. 76 So all were delighted with the coming of Jagadānanda, and in this way was the *vilāsa* of Prabhu at Nīlācala.

77 One day Prabhu was going to Yameśvara-*ṭoṭā*, and just at that time a *devadāsī* began to sing. 78 In a very sweet voice she was singing in the *gurjari-rāga* a *pada* of the *Gītagovinda*, which steals the mind of the world. 79 Hearing the song from a distance, Prabhu was overcome, and he did not know whether it was a man or a woman who sang. 80 Prabhu ran, completely absorbed, to meet the singer. The path was lined with *sija* trees, and they pricked him as he ran, 81 but he did not feel the thorns in his body. Govinda ran helter-skelter after him. 82 Prabhu was running and the woman was only a short distance away when Govinda caught him in his arms and said, “It is a woman singing.” 83 When he heard the word “woman,” Prabhu came back to himself. He turned and came back along the path. 84 Prabhu said, “Govinda, you have saved my life today. If I had touched a woman I would have died. 85 I do not know how to repay this debt to you.” And Govinda replied, “It was Jagannātha that kept you, not this worthless creature.” 86 Prabhu said, “You will remain

70. Gosvāmī: Caitanya.

74. On the stones of the fruit called *pīlu* there are sharp protuberances; if one swallows the stone with the fruit these do not cut the mouth, but if the stone is chewed, the mouth is bruised. The variety of the fruit grown in Bengal does not have this peculiarity, and those who had not eaten the Vṛndāvana variety inadvertently chewed the stones.

77. [Devadāsī: lit., female servant of the deity, a temple dancer married to the lord installed in that temple. TKS]

78. [Of the twenty-four songs in Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda*, six are in the *gurjari-rāga*. In the Miller edition of the text, they are Song 2 [1.17-24]; Song 5 [2.2-9]; Song 7 [3.3-15]; Song 11 [5.8-15]; Song 15 [7.22-29]; and Song 18 [9.2-10]. There is no way of knowing which of these songs was being sung. TKS]

83. [Bahya haila: came back to himself, lit., became outwardly conscious. See 3.18.74-77. TKS]

86. “Wherever I am” means not only physically but psychically.

with me; wherever I am, you protect me carefully.” 87 And so saying Prabhu returned to his own house; and when they heard this, great fear clutched the hearts of Svarūpa and the others.

88 And now Raghunātha Bhāṭṭācārya, the son of Tapanā Mīśra, left all his duties and went to see Prabhu. 89 From Kāśī he went along the path of Gauḍa, and with him servants went, carrying *jhalis*. 90 On the way they met Viśvāsa Rāmādaśa. He was a *kāyastha* of Viśvāsakhāna, and trusted by the king. 91 He was skilled in all the *śāstras*, and a teacher of the *Kāvya-prakāśa*, a devout Vaiṣṇava and a worshiper of Raghunātha. 92 Day and night, for all eight watches, he muttered the name of Rāmacandra. He had abandoned everything for *darśana* of Jagannātha. 93 So he met Raghunātha Bhāṭṭa on the way, and he took the *jhalis* of Bhāṭṭa on his head and carried them. 94 With various kinds of service he massaged his feet, and because of this Raghunātha felt diffidence in his heart. 95 “You are a great man, a *paṇḍita* among great *bhāgavatas*. Do not serve me; in happiness come with me.” 96 Rāmādaśa said, “I am a low *śūdra*; service of *brahmanas* is my own *dharma*. 97 Do not feel hesitant; I am your slave. If I serve you, I get delight in my heart.” 98 And so saying he carried the *jhalis* and served him, and day and night he muttered the *tāraka-mantra* of Raghunātha.

99 In this way Raghunātha arrived at Nīlācala, and going to the feet of Mahāprabhu they met him eagerly. 100 Bhāṭṭa fell at his feet, bowing and making obeisance, and Prabhu, recognizing him as Raghunātha, embraced him. 101 He paid him the respects of Śekhara and Mīśra, and Mahāprabhu asked after them all. 102 “It is well that you have come; see the lotus feet and come today and take *prasāda* with me.” 103 He told Govinda to give him a place to stay, and he introduced him to Svarūpa and the other *bhaktas*. 104 In this way he remained eight months with Prabhu, and day by day, by the grace of Prabhu, his delight grew. 105 From time to time he offered Mahāprabhu invitations, and cooked food in his house and various curries. 106 Raghunātha Bhāṭṭa was very skilled in cooking, and what he cooked was like nectar. 107 And Bhāṭṭa ate the remains on Prabhu's plate, after Prabhu had eaten with great pleasure.

90. “Trusted” is a pun on *viśvāsa*, which was also the man's name. Of what king he was a servant we are not told.

91. Mammāṭa's *Kāvya-prakāśa* is a text of esthetics. Raghunātha is Rāma.

96. *Kāyasthas* are indeed *śūdras*, despite claims of belonging to the *kṣatriya-varṇa*; see Inden, MRBC.

98. *Tāraka-mantra*: see 3.3.244 and commentary.

108 But when Rāmadāsa first met Prabhu, Mahāprabhu did not grant him the slightest grace. 109 For he knew that in his heart he was desirous of *mukti* and proud of knowledge; for Prabhu is omniscient Bhagavān, and knows the hearts of all. 110 So Rāmadāsa dwelt at Nīlācala and taught the *Kāvya-prakāśa* to the family of the Paṭṭanāyaka. 111 When he had remained for eight months, Prabhu bade farewell to Bhaṭṭa, and gave him this prohibition: "Do not marry." 112 And he said, "Go and serve your old mother and father, and study the *Bhāgavata* with Vaiṣṇavas, 113 and come once again to Nīlācala." And so saying he put a garland from [his own] throat around his neck. 114 So embracing him, Prabhu bade him farewell, and in *prema* Bhaṭṭa began to weep in a choked voice. 115 Begging leave of Svarūpa and the other *bhaktas*, Bhaṭṭa, respecting the command of Prabhu, journeyed to Vārāṇasī. 116 For four years he served his mother and father at home, and studied the *Bhāgavata* with a Vaiṣṇava *paṇḍita*. 117 When his mother and father gained Kāśī, he became indifferent to the world, and he left the house and everything and again came to Prabhu. 118 And as before, he remained at Prabhu's side for eight months, and when the eight months had passed, again Prabhu commanded him, 119 "By my command, Raghunātha, go to Vṛndāvana. And going there remain with Rūpa and Sanātana. 120 Read the *Bhāgavata* and always take the name of Kṛṣṇa, and quickly Kṛṣṇa Bhagavān will grant you grace." 121 So saying, Prabhu embraced him, and by the grace of Prabhu he was drunk with Kṛṣṇa-*prema*. 122 A *tulasī*-garland of Jagannātha, fourteen hands [long], and a roll of *chuṭa-pān* which [Prabhu] had gotten at the great festival [of Jagannātha]— 123 that garland and *chuṭa-pān* Prabhu gave to him, and he kept the garland as his *iṣṭa-deva*. 124 So having received the command of Prabhu, he came to Vṛndāvana, and he took refuge there with Rūpa and Sanātana. 125 At the assembly of Rūpa Gosvāmin he read the *Bhāgavata*, and in the reading of the *Bhāgavata* his heart was mad with *prema*. 126 Because of the grace of Prabhu he wept and trembled and choked; the tears blurred his eyes and choked his voice, and he could not read. 127 His voice was that of a nightingale, and in it there were separate *rāgas*; in reciting one *śloka* he transformed it in three or four *rāgas*. 128 And when he heard or read of the sweetness and beauty of Kṛṣṇa, he was agitated in *prema*, and he knew nothing else. 129 So he dedicated himself to the feet of Govinda, and the lotus-feet of Govinda were the wealth of his life. 130 He had built by

110. The Paṭṭanāyaka was Gopinātha; see 3.9 for Gopinātha's story.
117. Gained Kāśī: died at Kāśī.

123. *Iṣṭa-deva*: personal deity.

one of his own pupils a temple of Govinda, and he ornamented him with flute and crocodile-earrings and the rest. 131 He listened to no village gossip, and he spoke none with his tongue. But he spent eight watches in the worship and stories of Kṛṣṇa. 132 He did not open his ears to words which were condemnatory of Vaiṣṇavas; he always worshiped Kṛṣṇa—this one thing was all he knew. 133 At the time of remembrance, the garland given by Mahāprabhu he would put on his neck, with sandalwood which was *prasāda*. 134 By the grace of Mahāprabhu his *prema* for Kṛṣṇa was without obstacle. Thus is told the fruits of the grace of Caitanya upon him.

135 Thus has been told of the coming of Jagadānanda to Vṛndāvana, and within that the hearing of the song of the *devadāsi*. 136 And the fruit of the *prema*-mercy of Mahāprabhu to Raghunātha—three stories of that have been related in this chapter. 137 He who listens to all these stories with faith, Gaura Hari gives to him the treasure of the *prema* of Kṛṣṇa.

138 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

133. *Mananera kālā*: time of remembrance, i.e., *hlā-smaraṇa*.

Antya Līlā Chapter 14

Sloka 1.

Now is narrated a suggestive example of that which Gaurāṅga displayed, by mind, body, and heart, absorbed by the illusion of separation from Kṛṣṇa.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, *svayaṁ bhagavān*; glory, glory to Gaurācandra, the life of *bhaktas*. 2 Glory, glory to Nityānanda, who is the life of Caitanya, and glory to Advaitācārya, glory to him most beloved of Gaura. 3 Glory to Svarūpa, Śrīvāsa and the other *bhaktas* of Prabhu; give me the strength, that I may describe Caitanya.

4 Deep was the *bhāva* of the madness of *viraha* of Prabhu; no one can understand it, even if he is steadfast. 5 And who can describe it, if he does not understand it? But he understands and describes, to whom Caitanya gives the power. 6 In the *kaḍaḥ* of these two—Svarūpa Gosvāmī and Raghunātha Dāsa—this *līlā* is manifested. 7 At that time these two remained by the side of Prabhu; all the other *kaḍaḥ*-writers remained in distant countries. 8 These two experienced every moment, and in brief and at length they wrote their [respective] *kaḍaḥ*-compositions. 9 Svarūpa was a writer in *sūtras*, and Raghunātha in full. Let me describe [the latter's] full comments, in the manner of a *pañji*-

6. *Kaḍaḥ*: diary, notebook, short descriptive text. See Introduction, Section VI.1.

7. Murāri Gupta, Kavikarṇapūra, and the others who wrote *kaḍaḥ* having to do with Caitanya were not at this time in Puri, but were in their home countries, and so could not record these events.

8. *Bahulya*: "at length"; *kaḍaḥ* are not by definition long books, so probably Rādhagovinda Nātha's interpretation here is correct: they wrote briefly but concisely, so that from a brief statement a great deal can be deduced. V. 9 suggests that one wrote in brief, the other less so.

9. *Vṛttikāra*: "in full"; he "expanded" on the *sūtras* which Svarūpa had written. A *pañji* is an almanac, concise and formulaic, and to interpret such texts a commentary (*ṭīkā*) must be made.

ṭīkā. 10 Listen to the description of the *bhāva* with faith; you will attain knowledge of that *bhāva*, and you will gain the wealth of *prema*.

11 That condition in which the *gopīs* were when Kṛṣṇa went to Mathurā was the same condition born in Prabhu in separation from Kṛṣṇa. 12 And as Rādhā lamented at the sight of Uddhava, that gradually over time became the delirious lament of Prabhu. 13 Prabhu always experienced the *bhāva* of Rādhika, and in that *bhāva* he knew himself as Rādhā. 14 Such is the way of divine madness; it is not surprising. Divine madness and delirium are in the *adhiraḍha-bhāva*.

Sloka 2. Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Ujjvalanīlamanī* [*sthāyibhāva-prakaraṇa*] 14.190:

The strange and wonderful divine madness, showing itself as illusion of the *bhāva* called *mohana*, gained in certain indescribable ways, is called *divyonmāda*; there are many kinds of this—*udgharṇa*, *citrajalpa*, and others.

15 One day Mahāprabhu was lying down, and he saw in a dream Kṛṣṇa at the *rāsa-līlā*. 16 He was beautiful in the *tribhaṅga* pose, his flute to his lips, wearing yellow garments, and garlands of forest flowers, the charmer of Madana. 17 The *gopīs* were dancing around him in a circle, and in the center Vrajendra-nandana danced with Rādhā. 18 Seeing this, Prabhu became absorbed in this *rāsa*, and he realized 'I have gained Kṛṣṇa in Vṛndāvana.' 19 Seeing the delay of Prabhu, Govinda awakened him; and when he woke, he realized that it had been a dream, and he was saddened. 20 And because it was his body's habit, he completed his daily rituals, and when it was time he went to have *darśana* of Jagannātha. 21 While he was getting *darśana* from behind the Garuḍa pillar, in front of Prabhu stood lakhs and lakhs of people also enjoying *darśana*. 22 There was an Oriya woman who could not get *darśana* because of the crowd, and so she climbed up on the Garuḍa pillar to see, putting her foot on Prabhu's

10. [For more on the various manifestations and interpretations of the delirium of *prema*, what is here called "divine madness," see 1.7.86-93; 1.17.5; 2.8.135; 2.18.151-74; 2.23.31-32; and 3.15.passim; and 3.17-19.passim. TKS]

12. Uddhava had been sent from Mathurā by Kṛṣṇa; Rādhā lamented when she saw him, for it meant that Kṛṣṇa himself was not then returning.

14. See 2.23.37-38. *Divyonmāda*: divine madness.

19. The "delay" in awakening.

22-25. Caitanya's attitude toward women is confusing. Several times we have seen him withdraw completely from even the mention of a woman's name, and go so far as to drive Choṭa Haridāsa to suicide because he conversed with a woman. Yet here he not only allows one to touch his body,

shoulder. 23 When he saw that, Govinda frantically tried to stop the woman, but Prabhu prevented Govinda from pulling her down, 24 "Ādibāṣya! do not stop the woman; let her have *darśana* of Jagannātha as much as she wants." 25 Then the woman scrambled to the ground; seeing Mahāprabhu she bowed at his feet. 26 Seeing her distress, Prabhu began to speak, "So much humility Jagannātha has not given to me. 27 She is absorbed in Jagannātha, heart, body, and life; she put her foot on my shoulder and did not realize it. 28 This is a blessed devotee; bow to her feet, that by her grace we too may receive such humility." 29 When first he came and had *darśana* of Jagannātha, he saw in Jagannātha the manifest Vrajendranandana. 30 And his heart was controlled by the *darśana* which he had in the dream, and everywhere he looked there he was, his flute to his lips. 31 And now when he saw the woman, Prabhu came to himself, and he saw the true forms of Jagannātha and Subhadra and Balarāma. 32 But now he thought, "I see Kṛṣṇa in Kurukṣetra. Why have I come to Kurukṣetra? Where is Vṛndāvana?" 33 I have lost the jewel which I had gained." And thus he was bewildered, and deeply pained he returned to his own house.

but forbids Govinda to prevent her from doing so. Rādhāgovinda Nātha's explanation would seem to be the only reasonable one: that in this passage, although he has been awakened from his dream, he is still deep in *bhāva*, and in this Rādhā-*bhāva* the touch of a woman is not offensive to him. This presumably was also the reason why Rāmananda could touch his two *devadāsīs* in the intimate way previously described. So it was when Caitanya heard the girl singing the *pada* from the *Gītāgovindā*; in his *bhāva* he ran toward her, and it was not until he "came out," became aware of the outside world, that he realized that this would have been against his *dharma* as a *saṁnyāsīn*. [This passage might also be interpreted from a social standpoint, wherein the devotee, who is absorbed in the various ritual actions—here getting *darśana* of Jagannātha—is not subject to the same social constraints that apply at other normal times. This is consistent with the idea of the devotional community being somewhat of a segregated community outside the normal hierarchizing tendencies of Indian society. TKS]

24. *Ādibāṣya*: "aboriginal," here a mild rebuke meaning "fool." Cf. 3.10.113.

26. [*Ārti*: humility, distress. This is a special and spontaneous expression of Vaiṣṇava helplessness and anxiety usually felt with respect to the deity or in situations involving other devotees. It demonstrates a high degree of selflessness borne of pure love and devotion, which here is the envy of Caitanya. TKS]

29. "First" probably means when he first came to the temple on that day.

31-33. He obviously did not come completely to his senses, but came out of the complete trance he had been in, the very deepest *bhāva* in which he saw Jagannātha as Kṛṣṇa in Vṛndāvana, into a state of less deep *bhāva*, in which he saw Jagannātha as Kṛṣṇa in Kurukṣetra, the princely Kṛṣṇa, [i.e., he moved from absorption in the highest form of Kṛṣṇa, his *mādhurya* or sweet, loving form, to the lower *aīśvarya* or regal and majestic form. This is very suggestive of the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava appraisal of the place of Jagannātha in the hierarchy of Vaiṣṇava divinity. TKS]

34 Sitting on the ground [Caitanya] wrote in the dirt with his fingernails; a stream of tears flowed from his eyes, and he could not see. 35 "I gained the lord of Vṛndāvana, and again I lost him; who has taken my Kṛṣṇa? Where am I?" 36 In *prema*, and under the influence of the dream, Prabhu's mind was confused; and when he came to himself, it was as if he had lost his treasure. 37 Prabhu sang and danced as if he were mad; [only] because of the nature of his body he managed to bathe and eat. 38 And when it was night, with Svarūpa and Rāmananda he spoke of the things that were in his heart:

Sloka 3.

After I had gained the wealth of Acyuta, I lost it, and because of regret, abandoning this body-house of mine, my mind has assumed the *dharma* of a *Kapalika*, and with its pupils, the senses, has gone to Vṛndāvana.

39 Kṛṣṇa was gained and lost,
and remembering his qualities,
Mahāprabhu was agitated in the fire of it;
his arms on the necks of Rāya and Svarūpa;
he said: "Ah, Hari, Hari";
his steadiness left, and he became disturbed.

40 "Hear, O friends, the sweetness of Kṛṣṇa.
My heart longs for it,
and leaving *loka* and *Veda-dharma*
it becomes a *yogī*, a mendicant. [refrain]

41 The ring of *līlas* of Kṛṣṇa
are pure earrings of conch-shell,
fashioned by Śuka the artisan.
I wear those earrings in my ears,
I hold the shell of the gourd of thirst,
and on my shoulder is a sack of hope.

Sloka 3. *Kapalika*: a school of Nātha *yogīs*.

40. Caitanya is speaking.

41. The thirst is to taste the sweetness of Kṛṣṇa. These are the three articles worn or carried by *yogīs*: earrings, gourd or water-vessel, and sack. The hope is of course the hope of gaining Kṛṣṇa.

- 42 The *kāntha* of thought is the covering for my body;
my body soiled with ashes and dust,
and my answering rave is 'Hā, hā, Kṛṣṇa.'
In my hand the *dvādaśa* of anxiety,
on my head the *jhulani* of longing,
my body is thin for want of alms.
- 43 Vyāsa, Śuka, and the other *yogīs*,
Kṛṣṇa, the *ātma*, Nirañjana,
and all his *līlās* in Vraja,
in the *Bhāgavata* and other *śāstras*
have been described,
and those *tarjja*-songs are read incessantly.
- 44 Making the ten senses pupils,
and taking the name Mahābāula,
with its pupils it has gone away.
My body, my own house,
great wealth, enjoyment of worldly things—
all have been abandoned, and it has gone to Vṛndāvana.
- 45 [Among] the creatures in Vṛndāvana,
all, moving, and unmoving,
trees and creepers, householders in the *aśrama*,
at their houses for alms,

42. These are other characteristics of the *yogin*; *kāntha* is the ragged or patchwork cloth, and the body is covered with dust and ashes. Thought is thought of Kṛṣṇa, but the metaphorical significance of ashes and dust is not so clear. "Answering rave" is *pralāpa-uttara*: *yogins* are mad, or are thought to be so, and their answers have no relation to the questions asked them. Whatever is said to this one, he answers, "hā hā kṛṣṇa," an expression of longing. The staff which the *yogin* carries is called the *dvādaśa-daṇḍa*. [According to RGN in some MSS the metaphoric dressing in the clothing and accoutrement of delirium is dropped in favor of a more direct expression *udbegadi daśa haṭhe* (in place of *udbega-dvādaśa haṭhe*), which can be translated "in [my] hand the conditions culminating with anxiety." RGN goes on to note that the expression breaks the metaphor because *daśa* does not correspond to any physical object that could be worn or held, and v.49f below bears out the reading. TKS] *Jhulani* is a cloth worn on the head according to the commentator Viśvanātha Cakravartin.

43. *Ātma*: *paramātmā*, the indwelling; *nirañjana*, "stainless," he who is beyond the stain of *māyā*. *Tarjja*, "songs" which have hidden meaning, songs which use the *sandha-bhāṣa* peculiar to Tantrics and other *yogins*.

44. Mahābāula: "the great mad one," a good name for a *yogin*; see PHM, pp. 250-253. "It" is the heart or mind; like a *yogin* it has abandoned all worldly things, taken its pupils, and gone away to Vṛndāvana.

- alms of leaves and roots and fruit,
with its pupils it makes a living.
- 46 The *rasa* of the form and qualities of Kṛṣṇa,
his touch and sound and scent—
the *gopīs* taste that nectar.
The morsel that remains of all of them,
the pupils, the five senses, bring,
and with those alms they preserve its life.
- 47 In a corner of the empty *kuñja-maṇḍapa*,
practising *yoga*, meditating on Kṛṣṇa,
it remains there with the pupils.
Kṛṣṇa, the *ātma*, Nirañjana—
the heart sees him manifest;
it remains awake in the night, in meditation.
- 48 The heart is separated from Kṛṣṇa,
and in sorrow has become a *yogī*,
and in that separation is the tenth stage.
In the agitation of that condition,
my mind has fled away,
and my body is an empty house."

49 In separation from Kṛṣṇa, the *gopīs* were in the tenth condition and that tenth condition had arisen in Prabhu.

Śloka 4. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Ujjvalānīlamanī* [*śṛṅgārabheda prakaraṇa*] 15.167:

From this, worry, insomnia, anxiety, emaciation, pallor, lamenting, illness, madness, stupefaction, and death appear.

50 With these ten conditions, Prabhu was agitated day and night; always one of the conditions would arise, and his mind could not be still.

51 When he had described all this, Mahāprabhu became silent. Rāmānanda Rāya began to recite *śloka*s, 52 and Svarūpa Gosvāmī sang of the Kṛṣṇa-līlā. And between the two of them they brought Prabhu a little toward conscious-

47. *Kuñja-maṇḍapa*: the grove where Kṛṣṇa sported with Rādhā and the *gopīs*; it is empty because Kṛṣṇa has gone away to Mathurā.

48. The tenth stage of separation leads to death.

Śloka 4. These appear from the condition of separation.

52. [*Bahya-jñāna*: consciousness, lit., "cognizant of the outer world." See 3.18.74-77 for his three states of consciousness. TKS]

ness. 53 In this way they got through half the night, and then inside the house they made Prabhu lie in the inner-room. 54 Rāmananda Raya then went to his own house, and Svarūpa and Govinda both lay down in the door. 55 The whole night Mahāprabhu stayed awake, and loudly sang *Kṛṣṇa-nāma-saṁkīrtana*. 56 When he did not hear Prabhu, Svarūpa opened the outside door, and then the other three doors, and saw that Prabhu was not in the house. 57 When they failed to see Prabhu, they became very worried; lighting torches they all moved about looking for him. 58 There was a place to the north of the lion-gate, and within it was Caitanya Gosvāmī, fallen on the ground. 59 Seeing him, Svarūpa and the others were overjoyed, but when they saw his condition they again became concerned. 60 Prabhu was lying on the ground, five or six hands long; his body was unconscious, and there was no breath in his nostrils. 61 His arms and legs were each three hands long; the joints of his bones were separated, and over the joints there was only skin. 62 His arms and legs were separated, and over the joints there was only skin. 62 His arms and legs were separated, and over the joints there was only skin. 62 His arms and legs were separated, and over the joints there was only skin. 63 The joints had become long, and covered only with skin, and when they saw Prabhu, all were greatly distressed. 64 There was foam and spittle on his mouth, and his eyes were rolled up into his head, and when they saw this, the breath left the bodies of all the *bhaktas*. 65 Svarūpa Gosvāmī raised him up, and together with the *bhaktas*, he spoke the name of Kṛṣṇa into Prabhu's ear. 66 After a long time the name of Kṛṣṇa entered his heart, and shouting "Hari bol!" Prabhu arose. 67 When he became conscious, his bones joined together, and his body resumed its shape as before. 68 This *līlā* of Mahāprabhu, Raghunātha Dāsa has made known in his *Gaurāṅgastavakalpaṇḍita*:

53. *Prakoṣṭhe*: "inner room" of a brick-built house.

60-67. This is a very curious incident. Caitanya is described as "*prabhu paḍi ache dīrgha-hata pañcachaya*," "five or six hands long" (seven or eight feet), and he seems therefore to be considerably greater in length than in his normal state. The question is why. It does not seem to be a question that can be answered in any physiological way, for bones separating does not seem to be a condition usually attendant on epilepsy or any other disease to which he might have been subject. The religious explanation which Rādhāgovinda Nātha gives is in terms of steam in a boiler: the full *bhāva* of Rādhā, especially as a *śakti* of Kṛṣṇa, was more than could be contained in a human body. Thus, when this *bhāva* became too strong, Caitanya's body simply blew apart. There will be in 3.17 an equally curious incident, in which Caitanya draws his arms and legs into himself, like a tortoise. Two explanations can be offered. The first is of course the obvious parallel to the tortoise-*avatāra* of Kṛṣṇa. The second, also offered by Rādhāgovinda Nātha, is similar to that above: when the flood becomes too much, the recourse which the tortoise has is to withdraw himself and let himself drift with the tide. In this case, the flood is the flood of *bhāva*, and Caitanya lets it wash over him until it has receded. Or, perhaps due to the violence of the seizure, it seems to be the observer that the body has literally become unhinged.

Śloka 5. Raghunātha Dāsa Gosvāmī's *Gaurāṅgastavakalpataru* 4:

Once in the house of [Kaśī] Miśra, in fierce agony of separation from the son of Vrajapati, the joints of his beautiful body became loose, and his arms and legs distended, and he fell on the earth and rolled about in great anguish, and in a hoarse and choking voice Śrī Gaurāṅga wept—that [picture], arising in my heart, maddens me.

69 Seeing the lion-gate, Prabhu was astonished, and he asked Svarūpa, "Where am I? What are you doing?" 70 And Svarūpa replied, "Rise up, Prabhu, go back to your own house; there I shall explain it all to you." 71 And so saying he raised Prabhu up and took him home, and he told him all about his condition. 72 When he heard it, Mahāprabhu was greatly amazed; and Prabhu said, "I remember nothing of this. 73 I see my Kṛṣṇa in everything; he appears, and then, like lightning, he disappears." 74 At that time, the conch-shell of Jagannātha sounded, and after he bathed, Mahāprabhu went to have *darśana*. 75 Thus has been told the wonderful transformation of Prabhu, and in the hearing of it people are struck with amazement. 76 Such is not seen in the world, nor heard in the *śāstras*; but such *bhāva* the crest-jewel of *saṁnyāsins* made evident. 77 Those *bhāvas*, which are beyond the ken of the world and the *śāstras* are not believed by those people who are apart [from Caitanya and *bhakti*]. 78 The place of Raghunātha Dāsa was always with Prabhu; I have heard these things from his mouth, and I write them with confidence.

79 One day Mahāprabhu went to the sea, and suddenly he saw the mountain Caṭaka. 80 He became absorbed, and thought it was the mount Govarddhana, and he went running towards the mountain.

Śloka 6. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.21.18:

O women! This mountain is the best of the servants of Hari; for this reason it is delighted at the touch of the feet of [Bala]rāma and Kṛṣṇa, and offers them homage, with cows and cowherds, by its roots and herbs, caves and grass, and water to drink.

81 Reciting this *śloka*, Prabhu ran like the wind, and Govinda ran after him, but could not catch him. 82 He shouted loudly, and a great commotion arose, and everyone around jumped up and went running. 83 Svarūpa and Jagadānanda and Gadādhara Paṇḍita and Rāmāi and Nandāi and Nīlāi and Śaṅkara

Śloka 6. See 2.18.5.

Paṇḍita, 84 and Purī and Bhārati Gosvāmīs ran to the shore of the sea, while Bhagavān Ācārya went slowly, being lame. 85 Ahead of them Prabhu was running like the wind, but [suddenly] on the path he became still as a post, and he had not the power to move. 86 In each pore of his body swellings of flesh appeared, and the hairs rising on top of them were like *kadamba*-flowers. 87 And streams of blood sweating from every pore ran down, and his voice was choked—he could not pronounce a syllable. 88 His two eyes were filled with tears which flowed endlessly, like the streams of the Yamuna and Gaṅgā meeting with the sea. 89 His body was white, like a conch-shell in its pallor; and then he began to tremble, like the waves of the sea. 90 And while quaking, Prabhu fell to the earth. Then Govinda came near to him. 91 He sprinkled his whole body with water from his waterpot, and with his outer garment he fanned his body. 92 Svarūpa and the others then joined him there, and seeing the condition of Prabhu they began to weep. 93 But then they saw on Prabhu's body the eight *sattvika*-signs. And when they saw these wonderful *sattvika* (signs) they were astonished. 94 They sang loud *saṁkīrtana* in the ears of Prabhu, and with cool water they bathed his limbs. 95 And so they repeated this again and again, and suddenly Prabhu rose up shouting "Hari bol!" 96 In delight, all the Vaiṣṇavas cried out, "Hari, Hari!" and the auspicious sound rose up and filled the four directions. 97 Rising up, Prabhu looked this way and that, astonished, but he did not see what he wanted to see. 98 When he saw the Vaiṣṇavas, Prabhu emerged into half-consciousness, and he slowly began to ask Svarūpa Gosvāmī, 99 "Who has brought me here from Govardhana? I had gained the *līlā* of Kṛṣṇa, and now I do not see it. 100 From here today I went to Govardhana, and there I saw Kṛṣṇa grazing the cattle. 101 While climbing up Govardhana, Kṛṣṇa was playing his flute, and all around Govardhana cattle were grazing. 102 When she heard the sound of the flute, Rādhā Ṭhakuraṇī came; her *bhāva* and her beauty, O friends, I cannot describe.

93. See 2.23.31-32 for eight *sattvika* *bhāvas*.

98. *Ardhabhāgya*: half outwardly conscious; see the commentary to v. 52 above.

99-105. [This narration is significant in that Caitanya describes a *līlā* he personally witnessed in heavenly Vṛndāvana. The first-hand involvement—here in his gathering of flowers at the express request of the *sakhīs*—is reminiscent of the activities of a *mañjari*. This *mañjari* figure, who serves Rādhā as a companion and maid, is the preferred form of *siddha-deha* (perfected body) for advanced practitioners among the Gaudīya Vaiṣṇavas of Vraja. Read from this perspective, Caitanya was actually in eternal Vṛndāvana and the devotees did most decidedly pull him back. Cf. the "delay" in v. 19; undoubtedly it was feared that Caitanya would simply not return from one of these forays into heaven. TKS]

103 Taking Rādhā, Kṛṣṇa entered into a glen, and her *sakhīs* told me to pick flowers. 104 And at that time all of you came, making a great uproar, and you dragged me away from there. 105 Why did you bring me away, to give me pain and sorrow? I gained the *līlā* of Kṛṣṇa, but did not get to see it." 106 So saying, Mahāprabhu wept, and seeing his condition the Vaiṣṇavas also wept. 107 At that time arrived Purī and Bhārati, these two; and when he saw the pair, Mahāprabhu was reverent. 108 He became fully conscious, and bowed to them both, and they both embraced Mahāprabhu in *prema*. 109 Prabhu inquired, "Why have you both come so great a distance?" And Purī Gosvāmī replied, "To see your dance." 110 And at the words of Purī, Prabhu became embarrassed; and with all the Vaiṣṇavas he went to the bathing-place at the sea. 111 Having bathed, Mahāprabhu went home, and he ate *mahāprasāda* with them all.

112 Thus has been related the *bhāva* of Prabhu's divine madness; even Brahmā could not describe its power. 113 The *līlā* of going to the Caṭaka-mountain Raghunātha Dāsa has revealed in his *Gaurāṅgastavakalpaṇḍita*:

Sloka 7. Raghunātha Dāsa Gosvāmī's Gaurāṅgastavakalpataru 8:

At the sight of the great mountain Caṭaka near Nīlācala, he said,
"O friends, I am going to see the Lord of Mountains, Govardhana,
in Vraja, in this place," and he ran like mad, and was caught by his
own followers—thus Gaurāṅga appears in my heart and maddens me.

114 Thus Prabhu had so many unworldly *līlas*; who is able to describe this play of Mahāprabhu? 115 I have surveyed them briefly, and those who hear it gain the wealth of the *prema* of Kṛṣṇa.

116 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

109. [*nṛtya*: dance, i.e., *līlā*, or more specifically *divyonmāda*, divine madness. TKS]

Antya Līlā Chapter 15

Sloka 1.

The limits of *prema* on the earth have been shown by Gaura, his mind bobbing up and down in a sea of *prema* for Kṛṣṇa, hard to understand.

1 Glory glory to Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, highest lord; glory to Nityānanda, whose body is full of *ananda*. 2 Glory to Advaitācārya, most beloved of Kṛṣṇa Caitanya; glory glory to Śrīvāsa and the other *bhaktas*.

3 In this way Mahāprabhu passed day and night; he had no consciousness of himself, but he remained absorbed in Kṛṣṇa-*prema*. 4 Sometimes he was sunk in *bhāva*, and sometimes he was half-conscious, and sometimes wholly conscious—these were the three conditions of Prabhu. 5 Because it was the natural habit for his body, he bathed and had *darśana* and ate, like the wheel of a potter, constantly turning. 6 One day Prabhu had *darśana* of Jagannātha, and he saw in Jagannātha the manifest Vrajendranandana. 7 At once the five qualities of Kṛṣṇa agitated Prabhu; by the five qualities his five senses were attracted. 8 His one mind was drawn in five different directions by the five qualities; and with this pulling and tugging Prabhu lost consciousness. 9 At that time the *upalabhoga* of Īśvara was completed, and the *bhaktas* took Mahāprabhu to his house. 10 With Svarūpa and Rāmananda he lamented, holding the two of them by their necks. 11 When separated from Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā's heart was

3. [Āveśa: absorbed or possessed. For more on Caitanya's delirium in *prema*, see text and commentary to 1.7.86-93; 1.17.5; 2.8.135; 2.18.151-74; 2.23.31-32; and 3.14-19. *passim*. TKS]

4. See also 3.18.74-77.

5. The potter spins his wheel once, and it is balanced and oiled so that it continues to turn by itself for a long time.

7. The five qualities referred to are form or beauty, *rasa* or ultimate esthetic pleasure, scent, touch, and sound; these five attracted the eye, ear, nose, tongue, and touch of Caitanya.

disturbed, and she shared with Viśakha the cause of her grief. 12 He recited that *śloka*, expressing the burning of his own heart. Lamenting he explained to the two the meaning of the *śloka*.

Sloka 2. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's *Govindalīlāmṛta* 8.3:

O friend, he who floods the mountains of the minds of women with the waves of the river of the nectar of his beauty, whose words are playful and full of fun and please the ear, whose body is cool like a crore of moons, who floods the whole world with the nectar of his own fragrance, and whose lips are like nectar, that son of Gopendra forcibly draws my five senses.

13 "The touch and form and sound of Kṛṣṇa,
the *rasa* of his lips, so
pleasing, his sweetness cannot be described;
seeing this the five are longing;
my heart is a single horse,
the five ride it in five directions.

14 O friend, hear the cause of my sorrow;
my five senses
are most wicked thieves;
they steal the wealth of others. [refrain]

15 A single horse, but at the same time
the five drive it in five directions.

Which way should one heart go?
when they all drag it at once,
the life of the horse slips away;
such grief cannot be borne.

16 I am not angry at my senses,
it is not their fault,

for Kṛṣṇa's beauty and other [qualities] are most attractive.
These five—his beauty and the others—pull
and the five [senses] of my life depart;
life remains no longer in my body.

16. These five: beauty, taste, fragrance, touch, and the sound of his voice, match the five senses.

- 17 A drop of a wave of that
sea of the nectar of Kṛṣṇa's beauty—
merely one drop drowns the world.
All the women in the three worlds,
their minds are the highest peaks,
and [that ocean] wells upon them and drowns them.
- 18 The honey of the speech of Kṛṣṇa
contains delight and many *rasas*;
its mischief cannot be described.
Into the ears of the women of the world [it enters]
and by its qualities of sweetness it binds and drags them,
and with that dragging departs the life from those ears.
- 19 The body of Kṛṣṇa is very cool;
what shall I say of its power?
Its touch is cooler than sandalwood or a crore of moons.
The women with mountain-breasts,
skilled in the alluring arts,
the hearts of [such] women it attracts.
- 20 The body of Kṛṣṇa is redolent with fragrance,
overpowering the musk of the musk deer,
it defeats the prideful treasure of the blue lotus.
In the nostrils of the women of the world
it takes up residence,
and forcibly draws them.
- 21 The nectar of Kṛṣṇa's lips
mixed with the camphor of his gentle smile,
conquers women's hearts with its own sweetness.
Their hearts abandon other longings,
and are pained should they fail to achieve it—
such is the chief wealth of the women of Vraja.
- 22 Thus saying, Gaurahari
holding the necks of the two
said, "Hear, O Svarūpa and Rāma Rāya:
What shall I do? Where shall I go?
Where can I go to gain Kṛṣṇa?
Tell me the means to that."

23 In this way Gaura Prabhu went on day after day, lamenting with Svarūpa and Rāmananda. 24 And the two consoled him; Svarūpa sang, and Rāya recited *śloka*s. 25 The *Karṇāmṛta*, and Vidyapati, and the *Śrī Gītāgovinda*—by singing the *śloka*s of these did they give Prabhu pleasure.

26 One day Mahāprabhu was going to the seashore, and he suddenly saw a garden of flowers. 27 And he ran and entered into it, mistaking it for Vṛndavana. He wandered about absorbed in *prema*, seeking Kṛṣṇa there. 28 At the *rāsa* dance Kṛṣṇa disappeared, taking Rādhā; and afterwards the *sakhi*s wandered about looking for him: 29 absorbed in that very *bhāva* Prabhu [examined] each tree and creeper. He roamed here and there, searching, all the time reciting these *śloka*s:

Śloka 3. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.30.9:

O *cāta*, O *priyāla*, O *panasa*, O *asana*, O *kovidāra*, O *jambu*, O *arka*,
O *bilva*, O *vakula*, O *amra*, O *kadamba*, O *nṛpa*, all you who dwell on
the banks of the Yamunā, all you whose birth has been to benefit
others; our hearts are empty—tell us where Kṛṣṇa went.

Śloka 4-5. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.30.7-8:

4 O *tulasī*, blessed one, beloved of the feet of Govinda, have you seen
Acyuta, most beloved of you, who supports you with the black bees?

25. The *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta* of Bilvamaṅgala, the *padās* or lyrics of Vidyapati, and Jayadeva's *Gītāgovinda*.

Śloka 3. Cāta, priyāla, etc.: these are the names of various trees and creepers, [all flowering trees or large shrubs. They are identified as follows: *cāta*: mango tree, *Mangifera indica*; *priyāla*: *Buchanania latifolia* (alt. *piāla, piyāla*); *panasa*: breadfruit, *Artocarpus integrifolia*; *asana*: a large timber tree, *Pentaptera tomentosa* or *Terminalia tomentosa* (alt. *āsana, āsnai*); *kovidāra*: said to be one of the trees of paradise, *Bauhinia variegata* (alt. *kovidāra*); *jambu*: rose apple or black plum, *Eugenia jambolana* (alt. *jāmbu*); *arka*: the swallow-wort or sun plant, a large bush whose leaves were used often in Vedic sacrifice, *Calotropis gigantea*; *bilva*: wood-apple or quince, *Aegle marmelos* (alt. *vilva*, commonly "bel"); *vakula*: fifty foot high tree whose blossoms are said to spring forth upon being sprinkled with the saliva of beautiful women, *Mimusops elengi* (alt. *bakula*); *amra*: mango tree, *Mangifera indica* (same as *cāta*); *kadamba*: large tree whose large flowers are orange with white stigmas, *Nauclea cadamba*; *nṛpa*: a species of *Aśoka* tree that produces red flowers, *Ixora bandhuca* (or less possibly an alternative name for *Nauclea cadamba* or *kadamba*). TKS]

Śloka 5. [The four flowers here are all types of jasmine: *mālatī*: Spanish or Catalanian jasmine, *Jasminum grandiflorum*; *mallikā*: Arabian jasmine which produces small white flowers and climbs actively, found in all parts of India, *Jasminum zambac* (or *sambac*); *yāthī*: *Jasminum auriculatum* (alt. *yui, yāthika*); *yāti*: often used to designate a type of *mālatī*, but also three other species: *Barleria cristata* (blue-white blossoms), *Barleria dichotoma* (white blossoms), or *Barleria prionitis* (yellow blossoms; alt. *kānta-yāti*). TKS]

5 O *mālati*, O *mallika*, O *jāti*, O *yāthika*, have you seen him going by causing love to be born in you by the touch of his hand? Have you seen that *Mādhava*?

30 "O *āmra*, *panasa*, *priyāla*, *jambu*, *kobidāra*, all you dwellers in the pilgrim-age-place, who do good to others, 31 did Kṛṣṇa come to your place? Have you seen him? Tell me news of Kṛṣṇa and save my life." 32 And when he got no answer again he reflected, "But these are all males, like the companions of Kṛṣṇa. 33 Why should they tell me news of Kṛṣṇa? But these female creepers, they are like my companions. 34 Certainly they will tell me that they have gained sight of Kṛṣṇa." And thus reflecting he asked the *tulasī* and the others, 35 "O *tulasī*, *mālati*, *yāthi*, *mādhavi*, *mallika*, has your beloved Kṛṣṇa come near you? 36 You are all like my friends; tell me news of Kṛṣṇa and save my life." 37 But getting no reply, again he reflected inwardly, "These are all the serving maids of Kṛṣṇa, and out of fear they do not tell me." 38 And seeing some does standing before him, and getting the scent of Kṛṣṇa's body, he looked at their faces and concluded [that they had seen Kṛṣṇa], so he asked:

Sloka 6. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.30.11:

O friends, wives of the deer, spreading greatest joy to the eyes of all of you by his body with his beloved, has Acyuta come here? In this place the perfume drifts off the garlands of jasmine—colored by the saffron on the breasts by his union with the body of his beloved—of the lord of Gokula.

39 "O deer! Śrī Kṛṣṇa with Rādhā in every way has come to give you happiness, not otherwise. 40 We are the beloved *sakhīs* of Rādhā, not strangers. And we know from a distance the union of their bodies. 41 The breeze is perfumed by the scent of the jasmine-garland of Kṛṣṇa, ornamented with the saffron of her breast, because of union with the body of Rādhā. 42 But Kṛṣṇa has gone, abandoning these, and so they are suffering the agony of separation; how can they give me an answer? They do not even hear my plea." 43 And he saw before

30. They do good to others by bearing fruits and flowers, and by giving shelter.

32. [The gender of those flowering trees and shrubs in v. 30 is masculine, in v. 35 feminine. TKS]

33. "My companions" is the feminine *sakhi*. The word for creeper, *lata*, is also feminine.

38. Getting the scent: possibly the musk aroma, although the following *śloka* and v. 41 would suggest that in that place there just happened to be the aroma of Kṛṣṇa's garland.

him trees, filled with fruits and flowers, so that all their branches were bent to the ground. 44 "All these make obeisance because they have seen Kṛṣṇa"; and deciding this he asked them which way Kṛṣṇa had gone.

Sloka 7. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.30.12:

O trees, surrounded by swarms of black bees, blind, drunken with the *tulasī*, did Rāmānuja, his arm on the shoulder of his beloved, a lotus in his right hand, wandering in this forest, welcome your bow with a look full of love?

45 "To prevent the bees from alighting on the face of his beloved, [perhaps] he was distracted in driving them away with the blue lotus. 46 Did he pay heed to your bow? Or did he not? Tell me truly. 47 These are servants saddened by separation from Kṛṣṇa; how can they answer me? They are senseless." 48 And so saying he went forward to the bank of the Yamunā, and there he saw Kṛṣṇa beneath a *kadamba* tree. 49 With his flute to his lips he charmed a crore of Manmathas; his unparalleled beauty stole the hearts and the eyes of the world. 50 Seeing this beauty, he fell to the earth in a faint. And at that time Svarūpa and the others came to meet him.

51 As before, over the whole body of Prabhu were all the *sattvika* [signs]; in his heart he tasted *ananda*, though outwardly he was agitated. 52 As before they all brought him back to consciousness, and getting up, Prabhu looked in all the four directions. 53 "Where has Kṛṣṇa gone? Just now I caught a sight of him, and my heart and my eyes were conquered by his beauty. 54 Why do I not see him still, with his flute to his lips; my eyes wander, greedy to see him." 55 And as Rādhā spoke a *śloka* to Viśakhā, Mahāprabhu began to recite that *śloka*:

Sloka 8. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's Govindaltamṛta 8.4:

O friend, the lustre of his body is sparkling like the new raincloud, his clothes charming like new lightning, and his face, enhanced by the beauty of the flute, is full of radiance like the autumn moon, his hair ornamented with peacock feathers, and the radiance of his necklace of pearls is like glowing stars; that Enchanter of Madana ever increases the greed of my eyes.

Sloka 7. Rāmānuja: the younger brother (anuja) of [Bala]rama.

49. Manmatha: Kāmadeva.

51. [See 2.23.31-32 for the *sattvika bhāvas*. TKS]

56 "The pleasing color of the new cloud,
smooth as powdered collyrium,
most graceful, shaming the blue lotus,
conquering comparisons,
it steals the minds and eyes of all,
so powerful is the radiance of Kṛṣṇa.

57 O *sakhī*, what shall I do?
Kṛṣṇa is the wonderful new cloud
and my eyes are *cātakas*;
not seeing him they die of thirst. [refrain]

58 His yellow clothing like lightning,
though remaining always still,
his necklace of pearls as fine as a row of herons.
The feathers on his head, the bow of Indra,
can be seen perched above,
another bow—his *vaijayantī* garland.

59 The gentle sound of his flute—
hearing its sweet thunder,
all the peacocks dance in Vṛndāvana.
The stainless full moon
glitters with beauty and radiance, and
over it rises the picturesque moon.

60 Raining the nectar of *līlā*,
he watered the fourteen worlds,
when he appeared like a cloud;
by the winds of my misfortune's storm
the cloud was driven elsewhere;
the *cātakas* died, for they could not drink."

57. *Cataka*: the bird, *Cuculus melanoleucus*, said to live on raindrops; a favorite conceit of Indian poets.

58. The "bow of Indra" is the rainbow. The *vaijayantī* is a special garland made up of flowers and leaves of many kinds and colors.

59. "Thunder" is literal: *garjana*, "roaring"; "sweet roaring" is an odd juxtaposition in English, and it must be remembered that the sound of the flute, like everything else connected with Kṛṣṇa, is cosmic. It is sweet also because it anticipates the welcome and the fertility-bringing rains.

61 And again he said, "Ah, ah,
Read! Read! Rāma Rāya!"
Prabhu spoke in a choking voice.
and Rāmananda read a *śloka*;
hearing it Prabhu was both grieved and pleased,
and Prabhu himself expounded.

Śloka 9. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.29.39:

Seeing your cheeks adorned with earrings and your lips with nectar, and
your face adorned with earlocks and your smiling glance, seeing your
arms like fear-dispelling staffs, and your unequalled shining breast, we
become your slaves.

62 "Kṛṣṇa conquers the moon and lotus,
he has spread the trap of his face,
and the bait is the sweet smile on his lips.
The women of Vraja come,
fall into the snare and become slaves,
leaving their own homes and husbands.

63 O friend, Kṛṣṇa acts like a hunter;
he considers neither justice nor injustice,
he steals the hearts of the women—does,
by a marvelous array of techniques. [refrain]

64 Glittering on his cheeks,
the crocodile-earrings dance,
and by that dance he steals the women.
The arrow of his playful sidelong glance
he strikes into the hearts of all;
he does not fear at all to slay women.

The stainless full moon is Kṛṣṇa's face, and the second picturesque moon rising over it is the *tilaka*, the sandalwood decorative mark on his forehead, [or reading *citra* as variegated or marked, the second moon may be the moon itself which, unlike Kṛṣṇa's face, does bear stains. TKS]

Śloka 9. See 2.24.śl.13.

63. *Dharmadharmā*: "justice nor injustice," as the hunter at the time of the hunt does not stop to consider the right and wrong of what he is doing.

- 65 Most high and broad,
adorned with golden curl,
is the robber-chest of Kṛṣṇa;
the lakhs and lakhs of Vraja-devīs,
the hearts and breasts of them all,
it skillfully turns into slaves of Hari.
- 66 Long and powerful bars
are the two arms of Kṛṣṇa;
they are not arms, but long black-snake bodies.
Coiling through the cleft of the twin mountains
they bite the hearts of women;
in that poison's burning women die.
- 67 The palms of Kṛṣṇa's hands, the soles of his feet,
are cooler than a crore of moons,
cooler than camphor or vetiver or sandalwood.
Who is brushed once by them
is destroyed by Kāma's burning poison,
yet the hearts of women covet their touch."
- 68 Raving in this way
Gaurahari was absorbed in *prema*,
and in this mood he recited a *śloka*.
It was a *śloka* which Rādhā spoke
telling Viśakhā of her sorrow,
and revealing the grief of her heart.

Sloka 10. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's *Govindātmāṇḍita* 8.7:

O *sakhī*, his chest is charming, like a door of sapphires, with his arms like bars he is able to destroy the torment of the hearts of young women afflicted by Smara, his body is soothing like sandalwood, or the blue lotus, or camphor, or the moon—this Enchanter of Madana arouses a longing for his chest.

65. *Lakṣmīśrīvatsa*: "adorned with golden curl." *Śrīvatsa* is actually a curly design made by the chest-hair of Viṣṇu.

66. *Argala*: "bars," used to bar doors and gates. *Kṛṣṇa-sarpa*: the long black snake.

67. [*Venāmūla*: vetiver, the long, fibrous, aromatic roots of the grass *vetiveria zizanioides*, which yields an oil used in perfume. TKS]

Sloka 10. Smara: Kāmadeva, in Kalidāsa; the word is used in the *Atharva Veda* to mean sexual love.

69 Prabhu continued, "Just now I found Kṛṣṇa, but because of my own misfortune I lost him again. 70 By nature Kṛṣṇa is fickle; he does not stay in one place; he shows himself and steals the mind, and again he disappears."

Sloka 11. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.29.48:

Keśava, to subdue the pride of their good fortune, vanished from that place in order to show them favor.

71 To Svarūpa Gosvāmī he said, "Sing a song so that my heart will be consoled."
72 When he heard that, then, [Svarūpa] sweetly sang a *pada* of the *Gītāgovinda*, making Prabhu listen:

Sloka 12. Jayadeva's *Gītāgovinda* 2.2:

He who played in the *rāsa*-dance, laughing and joking with me—my heart remembers that Hari.

73 When Svarūpa Gosvāmī sang this *pada*, Prabhu rose up, absorbed in *prema*, and began to dance. 74 On his body the eight *sattvika* [signs] appeared; *harṣa* and the rest of the *vyabhicārī* [*bhāvas*] all rose up. 75 Rising *bhāvas*, a sea of *bhāvas*, powerful *bhāvas*; there was a great struggle between *bhāva* and *bhāva*, and all were very powerful. 76 He had each *pada* sung again and again, and again and again he tasted it, and his dancing grew [in intensity]. 77 When [Caitanya] had danced in this way for a long time, Svarūpa Gosvāmī stopped the recitation of *padas*. 78 Prabhu said, "*Bol, bol!*" over and over again, but Svarūpa Gosvāmī would not sing, seeing that he was fatigued. 79 Prabhu repeated, "*Bol, bol!*" and the *bhaktas* heard it, and in all directions, all together, they shouted Hari's name. 80 Rāmananda then sat Prabhu down, and fanning him he dispelled Prabhu's fatigue. 81 They all took Prabhu to the shore of the sea, and bathed him there, and again brought him home. 82 They fed Prabhu, and made him lie down, and Rāmananda and the rest all went to their own places.

83 Thus has been related the activities of Prabhu in the garden, where he entered, mistaking it for Vṛndāvana. 84 And this description of his madness and raving, Śrī Rūpa Gosvāmin has made:

Sloka 12. [This is the refrain for the fifth song of *Gītāgovinda* (2.2-9). TKS]

74. [See text and commentary to 2.23.31-32 for *sattvika* signs; see 2.8.135 and commentary for *vyabhicārī bhāvas*. TKS]

75. *Bhāvodaya*, *bhāvasandhi*, *bhāvaśavalya*: for their technical meanings, see 2.2.54, 58, and 60.

Śloka 13. Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Stavamāla*, *caitanyaṣṭaka* 1.6:

Will I ever again see with my eyes that Caitanya, *bhakti-rasika*, his tongue trembling in repeating the name of Kṛṣṇa, controlled by *prema* born from the memory of Vṛndāvana when again he saw all the beautiful forest groves on the shore of the sea?

85 The Caitanya-*līlā* is infinite, and cannot be completely written; so I have given only a survey, an index of it.

86 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

Antya Līlā Chapter 16

Śloka 1.

Who having tasted the nectar of the *bhava* of Kṛṣṇa, caused the *bhaktas* to taste it, teaching them the conservation of *prema*, homage to that Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya.

1 Glory, glory to Gauracandra, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and to the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*.

2 In this way Mahāprabhu remained at Nīlācala, with his *bhaktas* always overcome with love. 3 At the end of the year, all the *bhaktas* of Gauḍa came, and as when they had come before, they met Prabhu. 4 In the company of all of them, Prabhu remained externally conscious, and as before he danced and so on at the Car Festival. 5 With the group came one named Kalidāsa, who spoke nothing other than the name of Kṛṣṇa. 6 He was a great *bhāgavata*, simple and generous; he impelled his daily activities by secretly [pronouncing] the Kṛṣṇa-name. 7 When he for sport would play at dice, he would throw the dice, saying "Hare, Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa!" 8 He was a *jñāti* of Raghunātha Dāsa, the younger brother of his father; and even when he was an old man he used to eat the remainder of the food of Vaiṣṇavas. 9 As many Vaiṣṇavas as there were in the land of Gauḍa, he ate the leftover food of all of them. 10 As many *brahmaṇas* and Vaiṣṇavas as there were, great and small, he would go to their houses, bringing gifts of the finest stuffs. 11 And at their places he would beg and take the remainder of the food on their leaves; and where he did not get it, he would remain hidden, 12 and after they had eaten, and went to throw away their leav-

4. *Cittabāhya*: externally conscious.

6. Secretly, i.e., to himself.

8. *Jñāti*: paternal relative; see Inden and Nicholas, *Kinship in Bengali Culture*, 8-15, 74-80. *Ucchiṣṭa*: remainder, leftovers.

ings, he being hidden would take the leaf and lick the leavings from it. 13 He went to the houses of *śūdra* Vaiṣṇavas, bringing gifts, and in this way he would hide himself and eat their leavings. 14 There was a Vaiṣṇava of *bhāmimali* jāti, named Jhaḍu, and bringing mango-fruits [Kalidāsa] went to his house. 15 He presented him the gift of mangos and bowed at his feet, and greeted his wife. 16 [Jhaḍu] was sitting, together with his wife, and greeted Kalidāsa with great respect. 17 For some time they had pleasant conversation together, and then Jhaḍu Ṭhākura said to him in a gentle voice, 18 "I am of low *jāti*, and you are the highest of all guests; how can I serve you? 19 Give me the command, and I shall bring food from the house of a *brahmaṇa* and give it to you; for then if you take *prasāda*, I shall live." 20 Kalidāsa said, "Ṭhākura, be gracious to me; I am a low and wretched person, and I have come for your *darśana*. 21 I have been purified, for I have gotten *darśana* of you; I have become crowned with success, my life has been fulfilled. 22 I do have one desire, which you, being gracious, can do: give me the dust of your feet; put your feet on my head." 23 Ṭhākura replied, "It is not right for you to say these words; I am of low *jāti*, and you are of high lineage." 24 Then Kalidāsa made him listen to a *śloka* he recited, and when he heard it Jhaḍu Ṭhākura was greatly pleased:

Sloka 2. Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin's Haribhaktivilāsa 10.91:

He who knows the four Vedas but does not have *bhakti* is not beloved of me; a *śvapaca* who is my *bhakta* is beloved of me; you should give to him and accept from him; he is as honorable as I.

Sloka 3. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 7.9.10:

I consider a *śvapaca* whose mind, speech, efforts, wealth, and life are devoted to him to be better than a *brahmaṇa* who, though he possess the twelve qualities, has his face averted from the lotus-footed, lotus-naveled one; such a one purifies his family, but the prideful one does not.

Sloka 4. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 3.33.7:

How wonderful! That *śvapaca* on the tip of whose tongue your name is current is worthy of worship. Those who praise your name are endowed

14. His caste or *jāti* was *bhāmimali*; *mali* is a flower-grower and flower-seller, gardener.

Sloka 2. See 2.19.śl.2; 2.20.śl.3.

Sloka 3. See 2.20.śl.4; 3.4.śl.5.

Sloka 4. See 2.11.śl.14; 2.19.śl.5.

with proper action—they do ascetic deeds, offer sacrifices in the fire, bathe at pilgrimage places, and study the Vedas.

25 When he heard these, Ṭhākura said, "In the *śāstras* this truth is spoken: he is best in whom there is *Kṛṣṇa-bhakti*. 26 But I am low-born, and in me there is no *Kṛṣṇa-bhakti*; there is such in others, but I have no such power." 27 Kalidāsa bowed to him and begged his leave to go, and Jhaḍu Ṭhākura accompanied him a little way. 28 Taking leave of him, Jhaḍu Ṭhākura returned home; then, in those places where his footprints had fallen, 29 Kalidāsa took that dust and smeared it on his whole body, and he remained hidden in a place near there. 30 Jhaḍu Ṭhākura went to this house, and saw the mango-fruit; in his mind he offered them all to Kṛṣṇacandra, 31 and taking the mangoes from the basket of plantain [leaves], his wife gave them to him, and he sucked and ate them. 32 When he had sucked the meat, he threw the pits into a basket; and when he had eaten, his wife ate after him. 33 The basket was filled with husks and pits, and he took it outside and threw it into the pit for refuse. 34 Kalidāsa sucked the shells and husks and pits, and as he sucked he was filled with the delight of *prema*. 35 And in this way at the houses of all the Vaiṣṇavas of the land of Gauḍa, Kalidāsa took the leavings of them all. 36 When that same Kalidāsa came to Nīlācala, Mahāprabhu showed great mercy toward him.

37 Every day, when Prabhu went to have *darśana*, Govinda went with Prabhu, bringing the *karaṅga*-pot for water. 38 To the north of the lion-gate, within the door, beneath the twenty-two steps, there is a low cavity, 39 and in that cavity Prabhu would wash his feet, and when he had done that he would go to have *darśana* of Iśvara. 40 Mahāprabhu instructed Govinda, "See that no one takes the water of my feet." 41 Not even those dearest to him could get that water of his feet; but sometimes an intimate *bhakta* could, by some trick,

35. *Avāśeṣa*: leavings, leftovers. [This episode highlights several recurring themes. First, all Vaiṣṇavas eat only that food which has first been offered to Kṛṣṇa, thereby making it *prasāda*. When this food has been consumed by a superior *bhakta*, or better yet Caitanya, it is even further "charged," hence Kalidāsa's desire (see v. 54 below). Second, in spite of the leveling or equalizing effect of devotion on caste hierarchy, one gets the sense that for Kṛṣṇadāsa, perhaps because of the general emphasis on servitude (*dāsyā*), the inverse is preferred, so the lower the caste, the greater the efficacy of the leavings. Consequently the effect noted above regarding the leavings (*ucchiṣṭa*, *śeṣa*, *avāśeṣa*, *jhuṭa*, *phela*) of a devotee is even greater with the *śvapaca* of the story. Third, Kṛṣṇadāsa constantly reminds his reader of the great benefit which accrues to anyone who shows respect to other Vaiṣṇavas. TKS]

37. *Karaṅga*: the pot used to carry the water with which Caitanya would wash his feet.

manage to get some. 42 One day Prabhu was washing his feet there, and Kalidāsa came and spread out his hands. 43 He drank one handful, two handfuls, three handfuls, and then Mahāprabhu forbade him, 44 "Do not act like this any more; now the desire of your heart has been fulfilled." 45 Caitanya is Śvara, the all-knowing crest-jewel, and he knows the faith of Vaiṣṇavas towards him in his heart. 46 It was for that quality that Prabhu was pleased with him, and so gave him the *prasāda*, so hard to obtain for others.

47 To the south, on the twenty-two steps, there was an image of Nṛsiṃha; while going up, it stood on the left-hand side. 48 Each day Prabhu would make obeisance to it, and making obeisance he would recite this *śloka* again and again:

Śloka 5-6. Nṛsiṃha Purāṇa:

5 The giver of delight to Prahlaḍa, whose nails like swords tore the rock of the vast chest of Hiranyakaśipu, I bow to that Nṛsiṃha. 6 Nṛsiṃha is here, Nṛsiṃha is in other places, wherever I go, Nṛsiṃha is there; Nṛsiṃha is within my heart, Nṛsiṃha is outside it; I take refuge with Nṛsiṃha, the original shelter.

49 Then Prabhu had *darśana* of Jagannātha, and coming home he performed his mid-day ablutions and ate. 50 Kalidāsa was at the outside door, expectantly, and Prabhu knew this and communicated to Govinda by signs. 51 By the signs Mahāprabhu [made], Govinda understood everything, and he gave to Kalidāsa the remnants on the leaf of Prabhu. 52 Such is the greatness of the eating of the remnants of the food of a Vaiṣṇava; Kalidāsa gained the limits of the grace of Prabhu. 53 In that same way, eat the remnants of [the food of] Vaiṣṇavas, abandoning shame and hatred, and by that you will gain all that you desire. 54 The remnants of the food of Kṛṣṇa is called *mahāprasāda*, and the remnants of the food of Vaiṣṇavas is counted as *mahāmahāprasāda*. 55 The dust of the feet of *bhaktas*, and the water used to wash their feet, and the remnants of their food—these three are most powerful. 56 From these three services comes Kṛṣṇa-prema; again and again this is proclaimed in all the *śāstras*. 57 And because of that, again and again I say, Listen, *bhaktas*: with faith perform these three services; 58 from the three is the delight of the *prema* of the name of Kṛṣṇa. And to the grace of Kṛṣṇa because of them, Kalidāsa is a witness.

54. *Mahāprasāda*, "great *prasāda*"; the reason for this given in the *Bhaktamālā* is that Kṛṣṇa himself tastes *rasa* from his *bhaktas*.

59 In this way Mahāprabhu remained at Nīlācala, and unknown to others granted his great grace to Kalidāsa. 60 That year Śivānanda came with his wife, and they brought with them their youngest son Purīdāsa. 61 Bringing the boy with them, they came to the place of Prabhu, and they had the boy bow to Prabhu's feet. 62 Prabhu said again and again to him, "Say 'Kṛṣṇa,'" but the boy did not pronounce the Kṛṣṇa-name. 63 Śivānanda attempted with great care to make him [say it], and still the boy did not say the name of Kṛṣṇa. 64 Prabhu said, "I have caused the world to take the name; even unmoving things have been caused to speak the name of Kṛṣṇa. 65 I cannot make him say Kṛṣṇa's name." And when he heard this, Svarūpa Gosvāmī began to laugh, 66 "You have given him the name of Kṛṣṇa as *mantra*, and when he has gotten the *mantra*, he cannot reveal it before anyone. 67 He repeats it in his mind, but does not utter it with his mouth. Let us respect the matters of his heart."

68 And on another day Prabhu said, "Recite, O Purīdāsa." And he composed a *śloka* and recited it:

Śloka 7. Kavikarṇapūra's Āryaśataka 1:

He who is the blue lotus on the ears of the women of Vṛndāvana, the kohl on their eyes, the garland of sapphires on their breasts, who is all the ornaments of their bodies—let there be glory to that Hari.

69 A seven year old boy, who had had no instruction, extemporizing such a *śloka*, astonished the people. 70 This is the greatness of the mercy of Caitanya Prabhu, and Brahmā and the other *devas* do not gain the limit of it. 71 And so the *bhaktas* remained with Prabhu for the four months, and Prabhu gave them instructions, and all returned to the land of Gauḍa. 72 In the company of them all, Prabhu was conscious of the external world; but when they left, his madness again became powerful. 73 Day and night he throbbed with the *rasa* and the perfume and the beauty of Kṛṣṇa; it was as if he experienced the manifest touch of Kṛṣṇa.

74 One day Prabhu went to have *darśana* of Jagannātha, and the guard at the lion-gate came and bowed down to him. 75 And he said to him, "Where is Kṛṣṇa, the lord of my heart?" and saying "Show me Kṛṣṇa," he seized his hand.

60. [Purīdāsa is Paramānanda, i.e., Kavikarṇapūra. TKS]

Śloka 7. [This is the *śloka* that prompted Caitanya to give the "Ear Ornament of Poets," Kavikarṇapūra, to the young Paramānanda Sena. Also found in Kavikarṇapūra's *Alaṅkāra-kaustubha* 8.77 (*rūpakabheda* of *arthalaṅkāra*). TKS]

72. *Bahya-jñāna*: externally conscious; *unmāda*: madness.

76 And he responded, "Vrajendranandana is here; come with me, and we shall see him." 77 "You are my friend; show me where the lord of my heart is." And so saying, [Caitanya] went, holding his hand, to the *jagamohana*. 78 [The guard] said, "See here Śrī Puruṣottama; filling your eyes, have *darśana*." 79 Staying behind Garuḍa, he had *darśana*, and he saw Jagannātha with a flute to his lips. 80 This *līla* Raghunātha Dāsa has revealed in his own book *Gaurāṅgastava-kalpavṛkṣa*:

Śloka 8. Raghunātha Dāsa Gosvāmin's *Gaurāṅgastavakalpataru* 7:

"O friend, where is my beloved Kṛṣṇa; quickly show Kṛṣṇa to me here!" He spoke thus madly to the door-keeper, who answered, "Quickly go to have *darśana* of your beloved"; and he took his hand. That *Gaurāṅga* is arising in my heart, he maddens me.

81 At that time the *Gopālavallabha-bhoga* was offered, and *arati* began, with conches and bells ringing. 82 When the *bhoga* was finished, the servants of Jagannātha took *prasāda* and came to Prabhu. 83 They put a garland on him and put *prasāda* into his hand. Apart from its taste, its fragrance enchanted the heart. 84 The articles were *prasāda* of great price, the best, and the servants urged him to taste a little of it. 85 So Mahāprabhu put a little of it on his tongue, and the rest Govinda tied into his *āñcala*. 86 When he experienced that taste, a crore of times sweeter than nectar, Prabhu was astonished, and his whole body trembled, and streams of tears flowed from his eyes. 87 "Where did these things come from, with such a taste? These are pervaded with the nectar of the lips of Kṛṣṇa." 88 And in this thought, Mahāprabhu was overcome with *prema*; but seeing the servants of Jagannātha, he restrained himself. 89 "A bit of the remainder of this food can be gotten by good deeds," he said again and again. And the servants of Īśvara asked, "Prabhu, what do you mean by this?" 90 And Prabhu said, "What you have given me is the nectar of the lips of Kṛṣṇa; it is hard to get for Brahmā and the rest, it puts the nectar of immortality to shame. 91 That which remains of Kṛṣṇa's food is called '*phela*,' and he who gets a

76. The guard, the gatekeeper, speaks.

77. The *jagamohana*, says Rādhāgovinda Nātha, is the ante-room situated in front of the image of Jagannātha.

81. *Gopālavallabha-bhoga*: a particular food-offering; for its contents, see below, vv. 101-102.

85. *Āñcala*: the end of his dhoti used in the manner of a pocket by tying it.

88. *Āveśa*: overcome, possessed; *saṁvaraṇa*: restrained, covered over.

91. *Phela*: lit., that which is thrown out or discarded, i.e., leftovers.

particle of it is fortunate. 92 It is not gained because of ordinary fortune, but it is gained by him who has the full mercy of Kṛṣṇa. 93 The word '*sukṛti*' means 'merits because of the grace of Kṛṣṇa,' and he who has them, that blessed one gains '*phela*.'" 94 So saying, Prabhu bade farewell to them all, and after watching the *upala-bhoga*, he came to his own place.

95 Having performed his midday rituals, [Prabhu] managed to eat, but always in his heart was the nectar of Kṛṣṇa's lips. 96 Outwardly he went through the motions of his duties, but his heart was seething with *prema*. With difficulty he checked the tumult of his passions. 97 He did the evening rituals, again with his own people, and then sat alone, in the pleasure of various thoughts of Kṛṣṇa. 98 At a sign from Prabhu, Govinda brought *prasāda*, and Prabhu sent some to Purī and Bhāratī. 99 To Rāmananda, Sārvabhauma, Svārūpa, to all he sent *prasāda*, dividing it up. 100 And when they tasted the sweetness and the fragrance of the *prasāda*, by that unworldly taste the hearts of all were astonished. 101 Prabhu said, "All these are material things—sugarcane, camphor, chili, cardamom, cloves, and curd, 102 *rasavāsa*, cinnamon and the rest, and have the taste of material things, as all have experienced. 103 But the taste of these particular items, and their fragrance, is apart from the world; taste them and see—it will be understood by all. 104 And their taste apart, their fragrance charms the mind, and causes one to forget all other sweetness apart from their own. 105 These things have been touched by the lips of Kṛṣṇa, and the qualities of his lips permeate them all. 106 The unworldly scent and taste make one forget all else; the qualities of Kṛṣṇa's lips are greatly intoxicating. 107 Because of many good deeds have these been gained; all of you taste them, with great devotion." 108 So all tasted them, making the sound of the name of Hari; and at the taste, the hearts of them all became drunk with *prema*.

109 When Mahāprabhu, absorbed in *prema*, gave the command, Rāmananda Raya began to recite a *śloka*:

Śloka 9. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.31.14:

O hero, give us the nectar of your lips, beautifully kissed by the played flute which destroys attachment to all other things, of all people, destroys grief, and increases love.

110 When he heard the *śloka*, Mahāprabhu was greatly pleased, and he began to recite a *śloka* of the restlessness of Rādhā:

96. See commentary to v. 88 above.

Śloka 10. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's Govindalīlāmṛta 8.8:

He who steals the thirst for other *rasas* of the incomparable women of Vraja, the nectar of whose lips is radiant, the morsel of the remnant of whose food is to be obtained by good works, whose chewed *tāmbūla* is sweeter than nectar, O friend, that Enchanter of Madana arouses the desire of my tongue.

111 So saying, Gaura Prabhu was possessed of *bhava*, and he expounded the meaning of the two *ślokas*.

112 "Mind and body yearn,
and longing for love relationship grows,
destroying sorrow and joy and the other *bhāvas*.
They make us forget other *rasas*,
they bring the world under their control,
and destroy shame, and *dharma*, and steadiness.

113 O *nāgara*! Listen to the way your lips act.
They intoxicate the hearts of women,
they attract their tongues,
and in thinking of them everything is inverse. [refrain]

114 Let the nature of women be aside;
there is shame in saying it,
your lips are lords of audacity, for
they attract men as well—
you want to cause them to drink,
and to forget all other *rasas*.

115 Let that which is conscious remain aside,
you make the unconscious conscious—
your lips are great magicians.

Śloka 10. Tāmbūla: betel quid.

112. *Vaśa*: control; see text and commentary to 1.4.216; 1.7.138; 1.17.71, *śl.* 5; and 2.23.26.

113. *Viparīta*: inverse, the opposite of what it should be.

115. "And further, it is not wholly strange for those who are conscious beings to be attracted, but the flute is an unconscious thing, a stick of wood, and you transform that into a conscious thing." The *rasa* of the lips is both the *rasa* itself, and the sound of the flute. [This is a pun on "*rasa*," for it also means quite literally "sap," and the flute—a piece of cut and bored bamboo—is brought back to life, i.e., infused with sap, by the touch of Kṛṣṇa's lips. TKS]

Your flute is a dry stick of wood,
but is reborn with heart and senses;
and made to drink incessantly.

116 Your flute is an audacious male—
it drinks and drinks from the lips of a man,
and lets the *gopīs* know that it is doing so:
'Ah, hear, O *gopīs*.

By my strength I have drunk your wealth,
and if pride remains in you,

117 Then be angry at me;
give up shame and fear and *dharma*,
and I shall leave it and let you drink.
If not, I shall drink without end;
I have no fear of you,
and I consider others straw.'

118 The nectar of his lips, in its tune
spreads out with strength,
and draws the people of the three worlds.
We have fear of *dharma*;
if we remain, staying steadfast,
we are afflicted with distress.

119 Before *gurus*, it loosens our waistbands,
it makes us abandon shame and *dharma*,
and pulls us, as if by the hair.
Dragging us, it makes us slaves,
and when they hear of it, people laugh;
in this way it makes women dance.

120 A piece of dried bamboo
insults us so:
it is to this state we have been brought, O Gosvāmī.
We cannot bear it. How can we?
But we remain silent.

Like mothers of thieves, we can neither shout nor weep.

116. It lets the *gopīs* know by its intoxicating sound.

117. The flute says that if the *gopīs* abandon shame and fear, then it will cease playing, cease drinking of the nectar of Kṛṣṇa's lips, and give the *gopīs* their chance.

119. *Gurus*: elders.

- 121 Such is the conduct of those lips;
and hear another of their evil ways:
whatever is touched by those lips,
that food or *bhojya* or drink
becomes like nectar,
and its name is *Kṛṣṇa-phela*.
- 122 One morsel of that *phela*
all the *devas* do not gain;
who can believe the arrogance of that?
Gaining merit through many births,
one has the name *sukṛti*,
and that *sukṛti* gains a piece of it.
- 123 The *tambula* which *Kṛṣṇa* eats
is called priceless,
and in that is additional audacity.
That part of it which is spit out
is called the essence of nectar;
he makes the mouths of the *gopīs* a spittoon.
- 124 "These are all your tricks—
give up this sort of thing;
why do you take our lives with your flute?
For the sake of your own joke
would you indulge in murdering women?
Let us sip the nectar of your own lips."

125 While he was speaking, the *bhāva* of Prabhu was reversed; the anger-part abated, and anxiety grew. 126 "This nectar of the lips of *Kṛṣṇa* is most hard to gain, and he who gets it, his life is fulfilled. 127 He who is fit, and does not drink of it, even though he be without shame, his life is fruitless. 128 Some are unfit, and drink of it incessantly; yet the worthy man does not get it, but only dies in yearning. 129 Perhaps in them there is the strength of some asceticism which gives to that unworthy one the fruits of the nectar of the lips of

121. *Bhojya*: whatever is offered to *Kṛṣṇa* by way of things to eat or drink or be chewed.

122. See vv. 91-93 for *phela* and *sukṛti*.

127. In the *tripadi*, the flute has said that the *gopīs*, if they are without fear and shame, will be able to taste the nectar of *Kṛṣṇa*'s lips; Caitanya now despairs of even that, saying that the nectar is so hard to gain that even abandoning fear and shame will not gain it for the *bhakta*.

128. The "unfit," unworthy, probably refers to the flute.

Kṛṣṇa. 130 Speak, O Rāma Rāya. I want to hear a little." And knowing his *bhāva*, Rāya recited the words of the *gopikas*:

Śloka 11. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.21.9:

O *gopīs*, what wonderful merit has this flute earned? For what reason does it enjoy itself the nectar of the lips of Dāmodara, which should be enjoyed by the *gopīs*; the joyous trees, their bark as gooseflesh, shed tears of sap like the ancient ones.

131 Listening to this *śloka*, Prabhu was overwhelmed with *bhāva*, and in a voice choked with emotion he expounded its meaning:

132 "O Vrajendranandana,
some girls of Vraja
you will certainly wed.
And because of this the *gopīs*
consider him their own wealth,
that nectar which is not to be gained by others.

133 O *gopīs*, all of you decide and tell me:
what asceticism in what pilgrimage places,
the muttering of what *siddha-mantra*,
did this flute do in other births? [refrain]

134 Of such nectar of the lips of *Kṛṣṇa*,
which makes nectar worthless,
and in the hope of which the *gopīs* live,
this flute is most unworthy;
for one it is of *sthāvara* and male *jāti*
and it constantly drinks that nectar.

135 Whose wealth it is does not matter—
it takes it by force and drinks,
and by drinking calls and lets them know.
See the fruit of its asceticism,

134. I.e., it is at the same time an unconscious or unmoving being (*sthāvara*) and masculine; for both these reasons it is unfit to drink the *rasa*.

- and the power of its luck;
for great ones drink of its leavings.
- 136 Mānasa-gaṅgā and Kalindī,
these purified rivers of the earth,
when Kṛṣṇa bathes in them,
the *rasa* left by his lips on the flute,
conquered by desire for it,
drink happily then.
- 137 And these two women aside,
all the trees on their banks
perform asceticism for the good of others.
They get the *rasa* left over by the rivers,
attracting it by their roots;
why they drink it I do not understand.
- 138 Thrilled they put forth shoots,
they bloom and smile with flowers,
and as honey flow their streams of tears.
They honor the flute as their own *jāti*,
as when a son or grandson of a respectable man
becomes a Vaiṣṇava, [he] is transformed in joy.
- 139 When I learn the asceticism of that flute,
then I shall perform that same asceticism;
for he is unworthy, while we are worthy women.
We do not gain it, and die in grief;
but it is drunk by one unworthy—this we cannot bear.
Because of that, let us learn those ascetic practices.”
- 140 Thus lamenting
Gaurahari, absorbed in *prema*,
remained together with Svarūpa and Rāma Rāya.
Sometimes he danced, sometimes he sang,
and fainted, possessed of *bhava*—
and in this way passed the night, and the day.

137. The two rivers, Mānasa-gaṅgā and Kalindī, are feminine. The trees on the banks are the great ones, the great ascetics; and since they are great ascetics, why should they bother with leavings, not only leavings of the flute, but leavings of the rivers.

138. The flute is of the *jāti* of the trees, and therefore they are happy that it tastes the *rasa* of Kṛṣṇa, just as a man, when his son or grandson becomes a Vaiṣṇava, is happy.

- 141 Svarūpa's, Rūpa's, Sanātana's, and
Raghunātha's most holy feet
I hold upon my head, and place my hope in them;
the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*
sweeter than any other nectar,
sings low and humble Kṛṣṇadāsa.

Antya Līlā Chapter 17

Sloka 1.

Thus is written what has been heard from the lips of those who witnessed the strivings of divine madness, most wonderful and unworldly, of Gaurendu.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and to the hosts of Gaura-bhaktas.

2 In this way Mahāprabhu passed day and night, raving in the strivings of madness, absorbed in *prema*. 3 One day Prabhu with Svarūpa and Rāmananda passed half the night in the delight of talk of Kṛṣṇa. 4 And when a certain *bhāva* arose in Prabhu, Svarūpa Mahāśaya sang a song appropriate to that *bhāva*. 5 From Vidyāpati, Caṇḍidāsa, and the Śrī Gītāgovinda—Rāya Rāmananda recited śloka according to that *bhāva*. 6 And from time to time Prabhu himself, reciting a śloka, would in delirium give the meaning of that śloka. 7 In this way in various *bhāvas*, half the night passed; then the two made Gosvāmī lie down, and they went to their homes. 8 Govinda lay down in the door of the *gambhīra*, and the whole night long Prabhu sang *kīrtana* loudly. 9 Suddenly Prabhu heard the song of Kṛṣṇa's flute, and absorbed in his *bhāva*, he left that place. 10 Though the three doors were barred, absorbed in *bhāva*, Prabhu went outside. 11 To the south of the lion-gate, some Teleṅga cows stayed, and going to that place, Prabhu fell unconscious. 12 And now Govinda, not hearing a sound from Mahāprabhu, summoned Svarūpa and opened the doors. 13 Then Svarūpa

Sloka 1. Gaurendu: "the golden" (*gaura*) "moon" (*indu*).

2. *Unmāda*: madness; *aveśa*: absorbed, possessed.

10. Viśvanātha comments that there was probably an opening above the door; Caitanya climbed through this onto the roof, and from there jumped down into the street.

Gosvāmī, taking the *bhaktas* with him, lit a lamp and searched for Prabhu. 14 Searching here and there, they went eventually to the lion-gate, where they found Prabhu among the cows. 15 His hands and feet were pulled into his stomach; he had the shape of a tortoise. There was froth on his lips, his whole body trembled, and there were tears in his eyes. 16 Fallen unconscious, he was like a *kuṣmāṇḍa* fruit; externally he was stiff and rigid; inwardly he was overwhelmed with *ānanda*. 17 All around him the cows were sniffing his body, and they could not be driven off, staying in the company of Mahāprabhu. 18 Many tried hard, but he remained unconscious. The *bhaktas* raised Prabhu up and brought him home. 19 Loudly in his ear they sang Kṛṣṇa-*saṅkīrtana*, and after a long time Mahāprabhu regained consciousness. 20 When he came back to consciousness, his hands and feet came out again, and his body was as it had been before. 21 Getting up, Prabhu sat down and looked this way and that, and said to Svarūpa, "Where have you brought me? 22 I heard the sound of the flute and I went to Vṛndāvana, and I saw in the pasture Vrajendranandana playing his flute. 23 By the sound of the flute, he secretly brought Rādhā to the *kuñja*-bower, and Kṛṣṇa went to the *kuñja* to play there. 24 I followed after him, and my ears were conquered by the sound of his ornaments. 25 There he sported with the *gopīs*, laughing and joking, and hearing the sound of his voice, my ears were thrilled. 26 Then you all came, making a great uproar, and took me away by force. 27 I heard but did not gain that flute like nectar; I heard but did not reach the sound of his flute and his ornaments." 28 Overcome with *bhāva*, he said to Svarūpa in a choked voice, "Kill the thirst of my ears; read a śloka that will satisfy me, and let me hear."

29 Svarūpa Gosvāmī, knowing the *bhāva* of Prabhu, sweetly recited a śloka of the *Bhāgavata*:

Sloka 2. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.29.40:

Āṅga, is there any woman in the three worlds, who, infatuated by the soft and warbling song of your flute, and having seen this form of yours which is the lustre of the three worlds, and by which cows, birds, trees, and beasts of the forests are thrilled, does not depart from proper action?

15. *Peṭera bhitare hastapada*: "his hands . . . stomach." See 3.14.63; "pulled in" or "within" (*bhitare*) is probably figurative; he must have been curled up with his arms and legs tucked under him.

16. *Kuṣmāṇḍa*: a gourd like a pumpkin.

23. *Kṛīḍa karibāre*: playing.

Sloka 2. See 2.24.śl.16.

30 Hearing this, Prabhu was overcome by the *gopī-bhāva*, and he began to expound the meaning of the *Bhāgavata śloka*.

31 "Overcome with *gopī-bhāva*,
he entered the *rāsa*-dance,
and hearing slighting words from Kṛṣṇa,
sweet joking words from Kṛṣṇa,
being abandoned, he considered them as earnest,
and in anger gave Kṛṣṇa a rebuke.

32 'Nāgara! Tell [me] truly,
filling these three worlds,
as many worthy women as there are,
where is one not attracted by your flute? [refrain]

33 The many sounds of your flute
are *yoginīs* versed in *siddha-mantras*,
and messengers charming the hearts of women.
They cause great longing to grow,
and cause abandonment of respectable ways;
they bring us, and we offer ourselves to you.

34 Because of that flute, *dharma* is abandoned;
the Kāma-arrows of your glance strike home,
and modesty and fear are all abandoned.
And now you are angry at me,
saying that leaving one's husband is a fault;
you are a *dhārmika*, to teach the rules of *dharma*.

35 One thing in your words, another at heart,
outwardly still a different action:

32. Nāgara: see commentary to v. 54 below.

33. *Yoginī*: lit., female yogin, who knows the *mantras* by which the ultimate perfected state (*siddhi*) is gained; [*yoginī* has the connotation, however, of demoness who uses all available ploys to subvert good intention, etc., which here is very appropriate. TKS]

34. The reference is to *BhP* 10.29.24-26, in which Kṛṣṇa instructs the *gopīs* to the effect that the proper *dharma* of a woman is service of her husband. This, says Rādhā here through Caitanya, is a bit hypocritical: "You, having caused me to break this *dharma*, are a fine one to instruct me in proprieties!"

these are all characteristics of rogues.
You know jokes and laughter,
and women are totally destroyed;
give up all this mischief and hypocrisy.

36 The sound of your flute is nectar,
your deceitful speech is nectar,
your ornaments sprinkle nectar,
and these three nectars charm the ears,
and charm the heart and charm the breath—
how can a woman retain her sanity?"

37 So saying, controlled by anger,
he floated on a wave of *bhāva*,
his heart drowned in a sea of longing.
The words of Rādhā's longing,
reciting and himself explaining,
he tasted the sweetness of Kṛṣṇa.

Śloka 3. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's *Govindalīlāmṛta* 8.5:

O *sakhī*, the sound of whose voice is the rumbling of a cloud, the sweet sound of his ornaments attracts the ears, whose joking words are sweet-sounding and of hidden meanings, the sound of whose flute steals the hearts of beautiful women, Rādhā and the rest, that Enchanter of Madana arouses the longing of my ears.

38 "The deep sound of his voice
conquers the thunder of the new cloud,
by its qualities the nightingale is shamed.
One touch of the sound of it
drowns the ears of the world,
and the ear does not turn away again.

39 O *sakhī*, what can I do?
By the qualities of Kṛṣṇa's sounds
are my ears stolen;
when they do not hear them, they die of thirst. [refrain]

- 40 The sound of his ankle and waist-bells
shame the swan and crane,
and the sound of his bracelet shames the *caṭaka*.
He who hears them once—
and they remain permeating his ears—
his ears hear no other sound.
- 41 Ornaments of that lovely mouth,
more nectar-like than nectar,
and mingled with them the camphor of a playful smile,
have two powers—*śabda* and *artha*,
and manifest several *rasas*;
each syllable is ornamented with jest.
- 42 One touch of that nectar
is the life of the ears which are *cākoras*,
and the ear-*cākoras* live in hope of it.
As fate wills it, some gain it;
unfortunate ones never gain it,
and when they do not they die of thirst.
- 43 The gentle sound of that flute
heard but once,
maddens the minds of these women of the world.
It loosens the waistband, which falls;
without price they become slaves,
and maddened run to Kṛṣṇa's side.
- 44 Even Lakṣmī Ṭhakurāṇī,
when she hears its soft sound,
comes to Kṛṣṇa's side in hope of it.
But not gaining Kṛṣṇa's company,
waves of thirst grow,
though she performs asceticism, she fails to gain it.

40. *Nāpura*: anklets; *kiṅkiṇī*: a string of bells worn around the waist; *caṭaka*: the cuckoo.

41. The image is from poetics: *śabda* (prosodic) and *artha* (semantic) are the two types of poetic ornamentation (*alaṅkāra*); the "ornaments of his mouth" are his words, which are both clever and meaningful; the two types of *alaṅkāra* go together to give the listener the experience of poetic *rasa* and *bhakti-rasa* in its various forms, e.g. *śṛṅgāra*. The *rasa* to which it is not inappropriate, moreover, can be strengthened with *hāsyā*, or laughter.

42. The conceit is that *cākora* birds drink the nectar of the moon in moonbeams; when they are deprived of that, their only nourishment, they die.

- 45 These four are nectar-sounds;
and whose good fortune is great,
his ears drink them in.
He who does not hear them,
why are his ears made?
Those ears are like broken cowries."
- 46 And raving in this way,
the *bhava* of agitation welled up,
there was no refuge for his mind.
His mind was anxious and dejected;
eagerness, fear, firmness, remembering—
there was a mixture of all these *bhāvas*.
- 47 The speech of Rādhā in *śavalya-bhava*
burst forth in Līlāsuka,
and in this *bhava* he recited a *śloka*.
From the strength of his madness
he expounded the meaning of that *śloka*;
that meaning not everyone understands.

Śloka 4. Līlāsuka Bilvamaṅgala's *Kṛṣṇakarmāmṛta* 1.42:

What shall I do in this affair? Whom can I tell what has been done because of my longing? Ah, he rests in my heart, smiling his sweet sweet smile, giving delight to my eyes and my heart; and my thirst for that Kṛṣṇa, that miserable source of my anxiety, has been growing for a long time.

- 48 "In this *viraha* for Kṛṣṇa,
in my yearning, my mind is not still
but I can not think how to gain him.

45. These four: the sound of Kṛṣṇa's voice, the words of his mouth, the sound of the *nāpura* and *kiṅkiṇī*, and the sound of his flute. "Broken" is literally "one-eyed," *kaṇakaḍi*. When the cowrie-shell is broken, it is no longer good for exchange.

46. "Remembering" the beauty, qualities, etc., of the beloved, and times of union in the past.

47. *Śavalya-bhava*: the condition in which various *bhāvas* war for supremacy, and one or another gains it for a time, to be replaced by another; thus, Caitanya is now depressed by separation, now delighted by memory of past union, now fearful of additional separation, etc. Līlāsuka: Kavi Bilvamaṅgala, who was as skilled as Suka in describing the *Vṛndāvana-līlā*, in the *Kṛṣṇakarmāmṛta*.

You who are my friends,
in grief my mind goes mad;
whom shall I ask? Who can tell me the way?

49 Ah, ah, my friend, what can I do?
Where shall I go? What shall I do?
Where shall I find Kṛṣṇa?
For without Kṛṣṇa, my life departs. [refrain]

50 Would my mind be still a moment,
I could reflect on it."
And while he was speaking, the *mati-bhāva* arose.
Remembering the words of Piṅgala
forced the *mati-bhāva* to arise,
and from that he determined the meaning.

51 "I see this way:
let me give up hope of Kṛṣṇa;
if I abandon hope my heart will be soothed.
So leave this accursed talk of Kṛṣṇa;
speak other, auspicious things,
in which Kṛṣṇa is forgotten."
52 While speaking he remembered,
and in his mind Kṛṣṇa bloomed,
and she said in astonishment to her friend,
'Why do I want to abandon him?
he is lying in my consciousness;
by no means am I able to abandon him.'

50. *Mati-bhāva*: *mati* refers to the mind; this *bhāva*, then, is one in which the mind is not totally submerged. In this *bhāva* one can rationally piece out a course of action, as Caitanya is about to do. Piṅgala was the prostitute who, as the story is told in *BhP* 11.8, used to pass her life thinking that the next man passing by would give her money and satisfaction, and then when he did not, thinking that the next one would. Finally she began to realize that her life was passing away in such meaningless hopes, and she decided to give them up and dedicate herself to God. Like her, Rādhā through Caitanya realizes that constantly thinking that Kṛṣṇa will come soon brings unnecessary agitation and pain.

52. He, his: as there is no grammatical gender in Bengali, it is often difficult to discern who is speaking; here, for example, is it Caitanya or Rādhā? On the other hand, this sort of ambiguity is desirable in terms of the doctrine, for of course the two are one.

53 For the nature of the *Radha-bhāva* is other,
it causes awareness of *kāma* to Kṛṣṇa,
and in awareness of *kāma*, fear is aroused in the mind.
'He who strikes the world
has entered into my heart,
and that weapon does not allow me to forget.'

54 By the power of anxiety
it conquers an army of other *bhāvas*
and establishes its own kingdom in the heart.
Yearnings arose in her heart,
she was unable to control herself,
and in grief she censured herself in her mind,
55 'My heart is miserable and contrary,
like a fish out of water,
without Kṛṣṇa for a moment and it dies.

The sweet smile on his face
is a balm to my eyes and heart,
and my longing for Kṛṣṇa doubles.
56 Ah, ah, Kṛṣṇa is the wealth of my heart;
ah, ah, lotus-eyed one,
ah, that ocean of pure divine qualities.
Ah, beautiful Śyāma,
ah, wearer of the yellow cloth,
ah, *nāgara* of the *rāsa-vilāsa*.
57 Where can I go to find you?
Tell me and I shall go there."
And so saying he began to run.
Svarūpa got up and took him in his arms,

53. The *Radha-bhāva* does not allow the thought of Kṛṣṇa to be driven from the mind. *Kāma* here might be passionate desire, but the line can also be read "it causes awareness of Kṛṣṇa as *Kāma*," meaning *Kāma*-deva the god of love; this second reading would be supported by the following line, for "he who strikes the world" with his flower-arrows is *Kāmadeva*. The fear which is engendered by *kāma* or *Kāma* is presumably fear of separation.

54. The *bhāva* "fear," supplemented by the *bhāva* "anxiety" gains supremacy in the struggle among the *bhāvas*.

55. *Vama*: "contrary," lit., "left" or "left-leaning," meaning "opposed" or "antagonistic," presumably to her own welfare and best interests.

56. *Nāgara*: Kṛṣṇa as dramatic hero of the *rāsa-līlā*, or one who is skilled in the ways of pleasure and the good life.

and he held Prabhu and brought him
and sat him down in his own place.

- 58 In a moment Prabhu's consciousness returned,
and he ordered Svarūpa,
"Svarūpa, sing a sweet song."
And Svarūpa sang Vidyapati,
and songs of the *Gitagovinda*,
and listening, Prabhu's ears were soothed.

59 Mahāprabhu was this way every day and night, his raving manifesting madness. 60 In a single day so many *bhāvas* were brought out that if they were described with a thousand mouths, the other shore of them could not be reached. 61 How can a miserable *jīva* describe them? I have only suggested them, like a moon seen through the trees. 62 And the ears and hearts of those who hear these are soothed, and knowledge is manifest of this profound and unworldly *prema*. 63 Wonderful and deep is the greatness of the sweetness of *prema*, and tasting it in himself, Prabhu demonstrated its limits. 64 Caitanya is full of wonderful mercy, and is the giver of wonderful things; I have not heard of another in the world so merciful and generous. 65 So, O people, worship in all *bhāvas* the feet of Caitanya, and from that you will gain the wealth of the nectar of the *prema* of Kṛṣṇa. 66 Thus has been told the appearance of the tortoise-shape, and the manifestations of madness, with delirious lamenting. 67 This *līla* Raghunātha Dāsa has described in his own book, the *Gaurāṅgastavakalpaṇḍaka*:

Sloka 5. Raghunātha Dāsa Gosvāmin's *Gaurāṅgastavakalpataru* 5:

Without unlocking the three doors, and by scaling the three lofty walls,
he fell among the Kaliṅga cows, and because of his *viraha* for Kṛṣṇa his
body appeared contracted, and seemed like a tortoise. Thus Gaurāṅga,
appearing in my heart, maddens me.

68 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha,
tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

64. *Dayālu*: merciful.

Sloka 5. Kaliṅga = Telenḡa (ante, v. 11).

Antya Līla Chapter 18

Sloka 1.

Who at the sight of the sea in the bright moonlight of autumn, ran
towards it, mistaking it for the Yamunā, and was immersed in it as in the
burning of *viraha* for Hari, fainting remained the whole night long in the
water; and in the morning was found by his own people—may that
Śacīnandana protect us.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and
to the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*.

2 In this way Mahāprabhu remained at Nīlacala, and day and night he
floated on the sea of separation from Kṛṣṇa. 3 In the autumn nights, by the
glow of the autumn moon, Prabhu would wander all night long with his *bhaktas*.
4 From garden to garden he wandered, looking with pleasure, and listening to
and reciting the songs and *ślokas* of the *rāsa-līla*. 5 Sometimes absorbed in
prema he danced and sang, and sometimes, absorbed in a *bhāva* he imitated the
rāsa-līla. 6 And sometimes, mad with *bhāva*, Prabhu would run this way and
that, and sometimes he would fall fainting on the ground, and roll about.
7 When he recited or heard a *śloka* of the *rāsa-līla*, as before he would expound
upon its meaning. 8 And in this way, he explained all the *ślokas* relating to the
rāsa-līla, and Prabhu gained both happiness and grief. 9 The discussion re-
quired to describe all the meanings of all those *ślokas* would greatly expand the
book. 10 It is a fear that the vast numbers of those *līlas* which took place at
every moment for twelve years, were too numerous to record in the book.

5. [This passage is suggestive of the role that acting plays for the later devotees, for many of
the ritual practices involve dramatic acting—physically and mentally—as a means to salvation. TKS]

11. *Vikāra*: "change," transformation from his usual or normal state.

11 Previously I provided a survey, so in that way you know the descriptive outline of his delirium and his change. 12 Even if Ananta were to speak with his thousand mouths, he could not reach the limit of the *līlas* of a single day. 13 And even if Gaṇeśa were to write for a crore of *yugas*, he could not reach the end of the *līlas* of a single day. 14 Kṛṣṇa was astonished when he saw the transformations in *prema* of his *bhakta*; and when Kṛṣṇa does not find the end, what of a worthless creature? 15 All the conditions of the *prema* of his *bhakta*, manifested in succession, so many transformations of so much sorrow and so much joy, 16 even Kṛṣṇa is not able to know these entirely. So he accepted the *bhāva* of a *bhakta* to taste them. 17 *Prema* causes Kṛṣṇa to dance, it causes the *bhakta* to dance, and itself dances—these three dance in one place together. 18 He who wishes to describe the transformations of *prema* is like the dwarf who wants to catch the moon. 19 As the wind steals one drop of the ocean's water, so the touch of the *jīva* does to a particle of Kṛṣṇa-*prema*. 20 There constantly rise up vast waves of *prema*; how can a miserable *jīva* find the end of it? 21 Among all people, only those among Svarūpa's group know that which Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya tasted. 22 But that *jīva* who describes it can but touch a corner of it, to purify himself.

23 In this way he recited all the *śloka*s of the *rāsa*, and finally he began to recite the *śloka*s of the water-play.

Sloka 2. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.33.22:

Accompanied by the women, like an elephant king by cows, he, being tired himself, broke the dam and entered the water to dispel the weariness of her whose garland was crushed by body contact and was reddened by the saffron on her breast.

24 In this way Mahāprabhu wandered and wandered, and suddenly he saw the sea from a garden. 25 And the waves glittered and rose in the brightness of the

13. Gaṇeśa, elephant-headed son of Śiva, is particularly skilled at writing.

14. "His *bhakta*" is Caitanya, who is both Kṛṣṇa and Kṛṣṇa-*bhakta*.

16. The primary reason for the Caitanya *avatāra*: Kṛṣṇa became Rādhā in the person of Caitanya in order to know the taste of *bhakti*. See 1.4.89-178.

19. As evaporation or spray does not really diminish the ocean, the taste of Kṛṣṇa-*prema* by a *jīva* does not really diminish Kṛṣṇa-*prema*.

21. Svarūpādi: "that group or series that begins with Svarūpa."

Sloka 2. Broke the dam: Rādhāgovinda Nātha defines this dam as a metaphor of the criticism of the world, of respect for Vedic and social *dharma*.

moon, and flickered like the waters of the Yamuna. 26 Mistaking it for the Yamuna, Prabhu ran towards it; unseen he ran and jumped into the water of the sea. 27 When he fell, he fainted and knew nothing at all, and sometimes he sank into and sometimes he floated on the waves. 28 The waves carried him about like a dry stick; who can understand this play of Caitanya? 29 The waves carried Prabhu toward Koṇārka, and sometimes they kept him under, and sometimes they floated him on top. 30 "Kṛṣṇa plays in the water with the *gopīs* in the Yamuna"—Mahāprabhu was immersed in this delight.

31 When Svarūpa and the others failed to locate Prabhu, they were astonished and said, "Where has Prabhu gone?" 32 For Prabhu had gone with the swiftness of thought, and they could not see him, and when they did not see him, they grew concerned. 33 "Perhaps he has gone to the temple to see Jagannātha? Perhaps he has fallen in delirium in some garden? 34 Perhaps he went to Narendra, to the *guṇḍicā-mandira*? Perhaps he has gone to Mount Caṭaka or to Koṇārka?" 35 And so saying they all wandered about looking for Prabhu, and with many people [Svarūpa] came to the shore of the sea. 36 They wandered about looking for him until it was the end of the night, and they were certain that Prabhu had disappeared. 37 And in their sorrow in separation from Prabhu there was scarcely breath in their bodies, and there were no thoughts in their minds apart from those of fear and evil.

Sloka 3. Abhijñānaśakuntalā Nāṭaka 4:

In the hearts of friends arises fear that evil has befallen.

38 So coming together on the shore of the sea, they took counsel, and some of them went toward the mountain Cīrāyā. 39 And Svarūpa took some people and went to the east, and they searched for Prabhu in the water and on the shore of the sea. 40 All were overcome with grief, and they could not think, and they wandered in search of Prabhu, in *prema* for Prabhu. 41 They saw a fisherman coming with a net on his shoulder, and he was laughing and weeping and dancing and singing, and saying "Hari, Hari!" 42 Seeing these actions of the fisherman, they all were amazed, and Svarūpa Gosvāmī asked him for news, 43 "Tell me, O fisherman, have you seen anyone in this direction? Why are you in this

28. "Play" in the sense here of drama, *nāṭa*.

29. Koṇārka: Konarak, the place of the famous temple of Sūrya the god of the sun, the so-called "Black Pagoda." At this time it is likely that the temple was on the shore, although at the present day the beach has so built up that the temple is a good way inland.

condition? Tell me the cause of it." 44 And the fisherman said, "I have seen no man here; while I was casting my net, a corpse came into it. 45 I thought it was a big fish, and I brought it in carefully, and when I saw it was a corpse I was very much afraid. 46 I had to touch the body, to free the net, and at my mere touch the spirit entered my heart. 47 In fear I trembled, and water flowed from my eyes, my voice was choked, and I trembled all over. 48 I cannot tell whether it was a *brahma-daitya* or a *bhūta*; on sight it entered a human body. 49 The body was tall—five or seven hands, and its arms and legs were three hands each. 50 The joints of the bones were loose and the skin was dangling, and when I saw it no life remained in the body. 51 As a dead body, he remained with his eyes rolled upwards, but sometimes he groaned, and sometimes remained unconscious. 52 I saw this before my very eyes; that *bhūta* has seized me, and if I die how will my wife and sons live? 53 That *bhūta* should not be spoken about; I am going to an *ojhā*, that he might drive that *bhūta* out. 54 Each night I wander alone and catch fish, and no *bhūta* or *preta* touches me, as I remember Nṛsiṃha. 55 But at the name of Nṛsiṃha this *bhūta* presses me twice as hard, and seeing his shape, fear strikes at my heart. 56 So do not go there; I forbid it. If you go there that *bhūta* will grab you all!"

57 When he heard this, Svarūpa Gosvāmī understood everything, and he said to the fisherman in very gentle words, 58 "I am a great *ojhā*; I know how to exorcise *bhūtas*." And he recited a *mantra* and put his holy hand on his head, 59 and slapping him three times he said, "The *bhūta* has fled." And saying, "Fear no more," he calmed him. 60 In him was *prema*, and added to that was fear, so he was doubly agitated; the fear-part had dissipated, and he calmed down a little.

61 Svarūpa said, "He whom you consider to be a *bhūta* is not a *bhūta*—he is Kṛṣṇa Caitanya Bhagavān. 62 Under the control of *prema* he fell into the waters of the sea, and you brought him out in your own net. 63 At his touch,

46. *Bhūta*: spirit, ghost of the dead, which seeks to enter a new living body.

48. *Brahma-daitya*: another kind of spirit. "On sight" is rather unclear; he seems to mean that he only looked at the corpse, and through that mere look he was entered by the spirit, though in v. 46 he says it was because of touch; the senses (*indriya*) are considered to be active, however, so the two may well be considered equivalent, i.e., looking as a form of visual touching.

49. A hand is about eighteen inches.

51. I.e., the eyes were rolled up and he was obviously dead, but still he, or the *bhūta* which was in him, would occasionally groan.

53. *Ojhā*: a magician to exorcise the *bhūta*.

54. *Preta*: a ghost or spirit of dead person.

prema for Kṛṣṇa arose in you, and believing him to be a *bhūta* or *preta*, you were filled with fear. 64 But now your fear is gone, and your mind is calm. Where did you fish him out? Show me the place." 65 The fisherman said, "I have seen Prabhu again and again, and that is not he. This one has a greatly distorted body." 66 Svarūpa replied, "He is transformed because of *prema*; the joints of his bones separate, and his body becomes very long." 67 When he heard this, the fisherman was most glad, and he took them all and showed them Mahāprabhu.

68 Prabhu was lying there upon the ground, and his body had lengthened; his body was white from the water, and covered with sand. 69 His body was long and inert, and his skin was loose. The way was long, and they could not raise him up and carry him to his house. 70 So they took off his wet loin cloth, and put a dry one on him, and they laid him on an upper cloth and brushed the sand from him. 71 And all together they loudly sang *saṅkīrtana*, and loudly recited the name of Kṛṣṇa into Prabhu's ear. 72 After a time the sound penetrated the ear of Prabhu, and Prabhu sat up there shouting aloud. 73 And as he arose his bones returned to their natural places, and half-conscious he looked this way and that. 74 In three states Mahāprabhu remained all the time: wholly internal, wholly external, and half-externally conscious. 75 When the internalized condition is half impervious and half externally conscious, the *bhaktas* call that condition "half-conscious." 76 In this semi-consciousness, Prabhu spoke words of lamentation; he spoke to the sky, and all the *bhaktas* listened. 77 "I went to Vṛndāvana and I saw the Kalindī, and I saw that Vrajendranandana was playing in the water. 78 He was together with Rādhikā and the other *gopīs*, and they were playing with great sport in the waters of the Yamunā. 79 I remained on the bank and I watched them with the *sakhīs*, and one of the *sakhīs* showed me all that fun.

80 Their silken garments and ornaments
they presented to their friends
and donned fine pure cloth.

74-75. [*Antarddaśa*: wholly internal, i.e., unconscious to the outside world; *bahyadaśa*: wholly external, i.e., conscious to the outside world; and *ardhabāhya*: half-external, i.e., half or semi-conscious to the outside world, or in modern psychological terms, the equivalent of dissociative. It is in this last state of *ardhabāhya* that most of the physical manifestations of *prema*, Caitanya's divine madness, occur. See also 3.15.4. TKS]

Kṛṣṇa with his loved ones
bathed in the water
and played beautiful water-games.

81 O *sakhī*, see the delight of Kṛṣṇa's water-sport!
Kṛṣṇa the mad rut-elephant,
his hands the restless tips of the trunk,
with the *gopīs*, the cow-elephants. [refrain]

82 They begin the water-play,
throwing water at one another,
and in the scuffle showers of water rain down.
All conquer and are conquered,
nothing is certain,
and the water-fight escalates endlessly.

83 Like steady lightning in the rain;
Śyāma the new cloud rains down;
the cloud rains on the lightning.
The eyes of the *sakhīs*
are delighted *cātakas*,
drinking nectar in happiness.

84 At first the fight was throwing water,
then it became hand to hand warfare,
and then mouth to mouth.
Then the war went breast to breast,
then tooth to tooth,
then the war shifted to nail to nail.

85 A thousand hands splashed water,
and the *gopīs* saw with a thousand eyes,
and approached with a thousand feet.
They kissed him with a thousand lips,
embraced him with a thousand bodies,
and listened to his jokes with a thousand ears.

82. "All . . . endlessly": like the growth of *prema* itself.

83. The *gopīs* are frequently described as fixed lightning, because of their grace of body as well as color; Śyāma, Kṛṣṇa, is the color of the first dark clouds of the monsoon; the *cātaka* birds only drink rain water directly from the clouds.

85. [Perhaps an allusion to the opening verses of the *puruṣa-sūkta*, *Rg Veda* 10.90. TKS]

86 Kṛṣṇa took Radhā forcefully
and went neck-deep into the water,
and released her there where the water was deep.
There she hung on the neck of Kṛṣṇa
and floated on the water

like a lotus uprooted by an elephant.
87 As many beautiful *gopīs* as there were,
Kṛṣṇa took that many forms,
and stole the clothes of all of them.
The water of the Yamunā was clear,
and their glittering limbs

Kṛṣṇa watched in great delight.
88 All the *sakhīs*, like lotus-creepers,
gave them help,
and with hands like waves presented them with leaves.
Some with strands of loosened hair
covered their lower parts,
and covered their breasts with their hands.

89 Kṛṣṇa did battle with Radhā,
and the *gopīs* there
went to hide in the forest of golden lotuses.
They immersed their bodies up to the neck in water,
only showing their faces,
and no one could tell the faces from the lotuses.

90 Now Kṛṣṇa with Radhā
did that which was in his mind,
and went to search for the *gopīs*,
and Radhā who was of subtle mind,
knowing where the *sakhīs* were,
came and mingled with them.

91 So many golden lotuses floating in the water,
so many blue lotuses beside them,
they came and met together.

88. The leaves were to cover their bodies.

91. The blue lotuses are the face and hands of Kṛṣṇa. "Fought . . . them": Kṛṣṇa, as in the *rāsa* dance, has made himself from one into many, so that there was one Kṛṣṇa for each of the *gopīs*.

- Blue lotuses touched golden ones,
and fought with each of them,
and from the bank the *sakhīs* watched with delight.
- 92 *Maṇḍalas* like *cakravāka* birds
resting on each in pairs,
emerged from the water;
and there arose the blue lotus-*maṇḍala*,
and resting on each in pairs,
covered over those *cakravākas*.
- 93 And many red lotuses arose,
in pairs on each and every one
and blocked the blue lotuses.
The blue lotuses desired to loot,
the lilies strove to prevent them,
and both battled for the *cakravākas*.
- 94 The red and blue lotuses are unconscious,
while the *cakravākas* are conscious,
yet the lotuses covered the *cakravākas*.
This is the inverse condition for both,
their *dharma*s are reversed,
for in the kingdom of Kṛṣṇa such is proper.
- 95 Friends of friends live together,
and yet they came and plundered the *cakravākas*;
such is the way in the kingdom of Kṛṣṇa.

92. The image here is involved. *Maṇḍala* is something round or orb-like, and *cakravāka* birds always go in pairs; the *cakravāka-maṇḍala* then refers to the breasts of the *gopīs*. *Maṇḍala* also refers to the round shape of the lotus, and, as before, Kṛṣṇa's hands are blue lotuses; so all of the images combined describe Kṛṣṇa's hands, coming out of the water to rest on the breasts of each of the *gopīs*.

93. To complicate the figure, the red lotuses are the hands of the *gopīs*, so-called because of the red cosmetic used to paint the palms of the hands and soles of the feet; these hands also came out of the water and held the hands of Kṛṣṇa, the blue lotuses, from their breasts.

94. The "inverse (*ulāṭa*) condition" is that the lotuses are the inert things, yet they actively came and covered the breasts of the *gopīs*. "Inverse" also means that even though they wanted to feel the touch of Kṛṣṇa's hands, the *gopīs* struggled to keep them away. And it also means that the *cakravāka* birds usually perch on lotuses, not the other way around.

95. The image here is also complicated, and depends on a pun; "friend" is *mītra*, which is also "sun"; the sun is friend to the day-blooming lotus; so "friend of friend" is therefore the *cakravāka*, which is friend to the sun, which is friend to the lotus. Furthermore, in the second part of the *tripadī*, the *cakravāka* is called a stranger to the blue lotus, not only because the breasts of the *gopīs* are virgin territory, but because the blue lotus blooms at night; it is therefore stranger to the sun and to

- The stranger is friend of the enemy,
for the lotus protects it—this is a wonder,
this is a great conflict of *alamkāras*;
- 96 'Atiśayokti' and 'virodhabhāsa'—
displaying these two *alamkāras*,
Kṛṣṇa showed them openly,
and having tasted them,
my mind is overjoyed;
it has soothed my eyes and ears.
- 97 Having played such games,
Śrī Hari came to the bank,
and took with him all the lovely women.
Anointing them with scented oil
and putting *āmalakī* on their bodies,
the *sakhīs* served them on the bank.
- 98 Again they bathed,
and donned dry clothing,
and came to the jeweled temple.
Collected by Vṛndā
those scented flowers and ornaments
they wore, in the dress of the forest.
- 99 The trees and creepers of Vṛndāvana
are wonderful to describe;
all year they bear fruits and flowers;
And the *devīs* of Vṛndāvana,
all servants of the bowers,
gathered fruits and brought them all to them.

the sun's friend, because the *cakravāka* is a day bird. And finally, the *cakravāka* is a friend of the enemy of the blue lotus, and therefore its own enemy; for the blue lotus closes with the rising of the sun. But even though the *cakravāka* and the blue lotus are enemies, the hands of Kṛṣṇa and the breasts of the *gopīs* strangers, the hands protect and cover those breasts. *Virodha alamkāra*: conflict of *alamkāras*, is a technical term meaning not real but seeming paradox in poetic ornamentation.

96. *Atiśayokti*: hyperbole; *virodhabhāsa*: *virodhalamkāra*, i.e., seeming but not real contradiction and paradox in poetic figures. Kṛṣṇa showed them openly: in this system of thought there is no distinction between poetic ornament and reality, so it is possible to say that Kṛṣṇa actually demonstrated these poetic figures in his water-play with the *gopīs*.

97. *Āmalakī*: a kind of cleansing unguent.

98. *Vṛndā*: the presiding goddess of Vṛndāvana.

- 100 Preparing them most carefully,
they filled huge platters
on the *piṇḍa* of the jeweled temple,
and arranged them for eating,
placing them in rows,
and in front of them seats to sit upon.
- 101 Many kinds of coconuts
and many kinds of mangoes,
and of plantains and jujube,
and jackfruit, dates, oranges,
nāraṅga citrus, *jāma* berries, *śamatāra*,
and grapes, and nuts and pistachio—all the kinds there are.
- 102 And *kharamujā* melons, cucumber, *tala*,
water chestnuts, *pāṇṭphala*, lotus stalks,
bel-fruit, *pīlu*, and pomegranate and the rest.
Famed in any country,
all are found in Vṛndāvana,
a thousand kinds; how many can be written of?
- 103 *Gaṅgājala* and *amṛtakeli*
plyūṣagranthi and *karpūrakeli*,
sarapāpi, *amṛta-padma-cini*,
and *vṛkṣas* of *khaṇḍa-khīrīśara*—
having prepared many edibles at home,
Rādhā brought them there for Kṛṣṇa.
- 104 Seeing the arrangements for the meal,
Kṛṣṇa was most delighted,
and sat down to the forest-feast.
With her companions
Rādhā then ate,
and the pair lay down in the temple.

100. *Thālī*: large platter on which food is arranged.

101. *Koli*: jujube; *panasa*: jackfruit; *kharijura*: dates; *kamala*: orange; *nāraṅga*: a kind of citrus fruit; *jāma*: berries; *śamatāra*: a fruit; *drākṣa*: grapes; *meoṇa*: pistachio nuts.

102. *Kharamujā*: a kind of melon; *khīrīṇṭ*: a kind of cucumber; *tala*: possibly, says Rādhāgovinda Nātha, the pulp of young palm trees; *keśara*: water-chestnuts; *pāṇṭphala*: a water-grown fruit; *mṛnāla*: lotus stalks; *bilva*: *bel*-fruit; *pīlu*: see ante, 3.13.74 and commentary; *dāḍimba*: pomegranate.

103. These are various kinds of sweets. For other food lists that include many of these same items, see 2.14.21-32; 2.15.205-19; 3.6. passim; and 3.10.14-38 and selections from the remainder of that chapter.

- 105 Some fanned them
and some massaged their feet
and some fed them *tambāla*;
Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa slept,
and the *sakṁis* lay down,
and watching this my heart was pleased.
- 106 And then, seizing me,
making a great uproar,
you all came here.
Where is the Yamunā and Vṛndāvana?
Where are Kṛṣṇa and the *gopīs*?
You have broken that happiness of mine!"

107 While he was speaking so, Prabhu became fully conscious, and seeing Svarūpa Gosvāmī he asked him, 108 "Why did all of you come here for me?" And then Svarūpa Gosvāmī began to speak, 109 "You mistook the sea for the Yamunā and fell into it, and you drifted all this way in the waves of the sea. 110 This fisherman pulled you out in his net, and at your touch he became mad with *prema*. 111 All night long we have all been wandering about searching for you, and when we heard this tale from the fisherman, we came here and found you. 112 Deceived by your unconsciousness, all our hearts were filled with fear. 113 While we were taking Kṛṣṇa's name, your consciousness half returned; and in that state you were raving, and we heard it." 114 And Prabhu said, "I saw a dream, in Vṛndāvana, and I saw Kṛṣṇa in the *rāsa-līlā* with the *gopīs*. 115 They were playing games in the water, and feasting in the forest. And seeing this I raved, for it took my mind." 116 Then Svarūpa Gosvāmī made him bathe, and taking Prabhu he went home, in joy. 117 Thus has been narrated the story of Prabhu's falling into the sea, and he who hears it gains the feet of Caitanya.

118 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

Antya Līlā Chapter 19

Sloka 1.

I bow down to that Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, crest-jewel of those devoted to their mothers, who, raving, smashed his face and sported in the garden in the springtime.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and to the hosts of Gaura-bhaktas.

2 In this way Mahāprabhu was absorbed in *prema* for Kṛṣṇa, and day and night he raved like a madman. 3 Paṇḍita Jagadānanda was dearly beloved by Prabhu, and Prabhu got great delight by his actions. 4 And every year Prabhu sent him to Nadiyā to console his mother, knowing that she was sorrowed by their separation. 5 "Go to Nadiyā, make obeisance to my mother, and in my name hold her lotus-feet. 6 Tell her, 'You remember; and I come always to bow to your feet. 7 On that day when you want to feed me, I will on that day certainly come to eat. 8 I abandoned the service of you and took *saṁnyāsa*; I was mad, and destroyed *dharma*. 9 Do not take this as an offence of mine. I am subservient to you; I am your son. 10 I am at Nīlācala at your command, and as long as I live I will never be able to abandon you.'" 11 A piece of *prasāda*-cloth which he had gotten at the *gopā-līlā* he sent to his mother there at the word of Purī. 12 And he had brought, with great care, the best *prasāda* of

6. *Smaraṇa*: remember, meditate on me; the first person is used because Caitanya is speaking through Jagadānanda.

8. *Batula*: mad.

11. The "*gopā-līlā*" is the celebration of Kṛṣṇa's birthday, when Caitanya would dress as one of the cowherd boys of Vṛndāvana. Paramānanda Purī instructed him to do these things.

12. Separately: i.e., he sent some to his mother and some to the *bhaktas*.

Jagannātha, and he sent it separately to his mother and to the *bhaktas*. 13 So Prabhu was the crest-jewel of those devoted to their mothers, and even though he had taken *saṁnyāsa*, he always served his mother.

14 Jagadānanda went to Nadiyā and met the mother there, and told her the whole entreaty of Prabhu. 15 And he met the Ācārya and the rest of the *bhaktas*, giving them *prasāda*; and coming to the place of the Mother, he stayed there for a month. 16 And then he went to the Ācārya and begged his leave, and Ācārya Gosvāmī sent word to Prabhu. 17 The Ācārya spoke in riddles that were cryptic and mysterious; only Prabhu could understand them, no one else. 18 "Give Prabhu a crore of obeisances from me, and lay this entreaty of mine at his feet: 19 Tell the madman that people have become mad; tell the madman they do not sell rice in the market; 20 tell the madman there is no anxiety about the work; and tell the madman this is what the madman has said." 21 When he heard this, Jagadānanda began to smile, and when he came to Nīlācala he told it to Prabhu. 22 And when he heard the riddle Mahāprabhu smiled enigmatically, and saying "Whatever is his wish," he remained silent. 23 Svarūpa Gosvāmī asked Prabhu to explain it, saying "We do not understand the meaning of this riddle." 24 And Prabhu said, "The Ācārya is a most powerful *pājaka*, and is skilled in the injunctions and methods of the *āgama-śāstras*. 25 For *upāsana* he invokes the *deva*, and during *pāja* he keeps him there for

15. Ācārya: Advaita Ācārya.

19-20. The riddle can be interpreted this way. "The madman," *batula*, is Caitanya, mad with *prema*; "that the people have become mad" also means that the whole world is mad with *prema* for Kṛṣṇa. "Rice" is *prema*; when people have sufficient rice there is no need to buy and sell. "Anxiety" is *ānā* (anxiety); there is no need to worry further about spreading *prema*, for all people now are immersed in it. The second madman is of course Advaita himself. Caitanya is about to die, and Kṛṣṇadāsa has Advaita send him this message to assure him that his work is done. He sends it in a kind of code possibly because he knows of Caitanya's impending death, but does not want others to know.

24-27. [The obvious interpretation is Advaita's control over Caitanya. It was Advaita who was responsible for invoking the deity previously, which resulted in the appearance of Caitanya (1.13.61-69). Just as a *pājārī* controls the presence of a deity during the course of a *pāja*—actually making the deity present—Advaita has been orchestrating the events of Caitanya's life, and has now apparently determined that Caitanya's mission is fulfilled; so he is dismissing Caitanya—*visarjāna* (the immersion of the image in the river following *pāja*, which leads to its disintegration)—to leave earth and return to the heavens. While it may be that Kṛṣṇadāsa is suggesting something more arcane, perhaps *tāntrika* in nature, involving the use of *sandha-bhāṣā* (twilight language), by his use of the riddle and the specific terms "*mahāyogeśvara*" (v. 27), "*āgama-śāstra*" (v. 24), and the substitution of "*upāsana*" (v. 25) for *pāja*, there seems to be little need for such an interpretation, especially given the general use of such terms. TKs]

some time. 26 And when the *pūjā* is over, afterwards he dismisses him. I do not know the meaning of the riddle, or what was in his mind. 27 The Ācārya is a *mahāyogeśvara* and is skilled at riddles. I cannot understand the meaning of the riddle." 28 When they heard this all the *bhaktas* were astonished, and Svarūpa Gosvāmī was a little put out.

29 From that day the condition of Prabhu intensified, his condition of separation from Kṛṣṇa doubled. 30 Day and night he displayed mad ravings, and incessantly his *viraha* grew, under the control of *Radha-bhāva*. 31 Suddenly the journey of Kṛṣṇa to Mathurā would come to him, and the signs of madness appeared, a condition of disorientation. 32 He raved, clinging to the neck of Rāmananda, and he asked Svarūpa questions, believing him to be a *sakhī*. 33 As formerly Rādhikā asked Viśakhā, he began to rave like that, reciting this *śloka*.

Śloka 2. Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Lalitāmādhava* 3.25:

O friend, where is that moon of the family of Nanda? Where is he, adorned with the feathers of the peacock? Where is he, who plays deep sounds on his flute? Where is he, whose lustre is like that of the sapphire jewel? Where is he, the dancer of the *rasa* of the *rasa-līlā*? Where is he, who is the medicine which saves my life? Alas, O friend, where is that priceless jewel, dear to my heart? Ah, a curse on fate!

34 "The family of Vrajendra is a sea of milk and Kṛṣṇa is the full moon over it, by his birth illumining the world. Who drink the nectar of his effulgence live eternally drinking—the eyes of the people of Vraja, the *cakoras*.

35 O *sakhī*, where can you enable me to see Kṛṣṇa? Whose face, if for an instant I do not see, my heart bursts. Show him to me quickly; or my life is lost! [refrain]

27. *Mahāyogeśvara*: a great *yogin*, who is able to accomplish extraordinary things by his power; and capable of choosing the time of his death, see 3.11.56. "Riddles" is *tarjā*, which means "enigma."
29. *Daśa*: "condition" of delirium because of *viraha*; knowing that his work was over, he longed increasingly to return to the *svarūpa* of the eternal *līlā*.

36 These beautiful women of Vraja are lotuses scorched by the sun of *kāma*; giving the gift of the nectar of his own hands he makes them bloom; where is that moon of mine? Show him to me, O *sakhī*. Save my life.

37 Where is that crest, with waving peacock feathers, like the bow of Indra on the new cloud? With yellow cloth like a streak of lightning, and his necklace of pearls, a row of herons, his dark body shaming the new cloud.

38 Whose eyes he strikes once, he is forever awake in his heart, his dark body like the gum of the mango; he enters into the hearts of women and even with exertion cannot be dislodged; it is not a body, it is a *seyakula* thorn.

39 Shaming the lustre of the *tamāla* tree, a lustre like the sapphire, his radiance intoxicates the world. In it is kneaded *śṛṅgāra-rasa*, mixed with the light of the moon—Vidhātā knows the secrets of creating.

40 Where is the sound of that flute, shaming the rumble of the new cloud, hearing which the world is drawn? The people of Vraja arise and run like thirsty *cātaka* birds, and come to drink the stream of his nectar-radiance.

37. The "crest" is the crown which Kṛṣṇa wears on his head, made up of peacock feathers.
38. The gum or sap of the mango is very adhesive; once Kṛṣṇa is within the heart, it is difficult to dislodge him. The *seyakula* tree has thorns which are barbed, and once lodged in the body they are very difficult and painful to dislodge.

39. The *tamāla*, *Xanthochymus pictorius*, has brilliant white blossoms that, in the moon's light, seem to shimmer and dance against the utter darkness of its bark. *Indranīla*: sapphire, but also emerald. That shining brilliance is mixed together with passion personified (*śṛṅgāra-rasa*) and the light of the moon.

- 41 That moon of mine,
the great life-preserving medicine,
O friend, he is most dear to my heart.
My body lives without him,
O fie on this life;
the god of destiny is mocking me.
- 42 Who does not want to live,
why does he make her live?
Sorrow and anger arise against Vidhata."
Thus he reproached Vidhata
and reproached Kṛṣṇa, out of love,
and recited a śloka from the Bhāgavata.

Śloka 3. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.39.19:

O Vidhata, you show no mercy at all, for you tie us *jīvas* with friendship and with love, but before they are fulfilled you cut us away. You act like a child, [your actions] devoid of meaning.

- 43 "You do not know the *dharma* of *prema*
and your efforts are vain;
you act like a child.
If I could catch you
I would give you a lesson,
and then you would not act like this.
- 44 O Vidhi, you are very cruel.
People who are inaccessible to one another
you cause to meet in *prema*;
why do you separate them with unfulfilled desire? [refrain]

41. There is a pun on the word "moon" (*kalānidhi*), which can also mean "one who is most skilled in the arts (*kalā*) of dance, song, etc."

42. "Her" is a liberty; Caitanya is speaking, but as there is no grammatical gender in the language, there is ambiguity.

43. Vidhata, the creator god, is addressed; "vain" means fruitless have been his efforts at proper creation.

44. *Durlabha*: inaccessible or hard to gain, as Rādhā was hard for Kṛṣṇa to meet because of fear of reproach and social custom.

- 45 O Vidhi, compassionless one,
having shown me Kṛṣṇa's face,
you made my heart and eyes desire.
While for one brief moment I drank of it,
you took it to another place;
you did wrong, in taking what was once given.
- 46 'Akrūra has done this wrong to you,
why are you angry with me?'—
if you say this it is wrong.
You hold the image of Akrūra,
and you have stolen Kṛṣṇa away,
no other could act like this.
- 47 It is the fault of my own *karma*:
why am I angry at you?
Your relation to me is very distant.
He who is the lord of my life,
with whom I live together,
it is that Kṛṣṇa who is cruel.
- 48 I abandoned all for him, I worship him,
and he kills me with his own hands;
Kṛṣṇa has no fear of killing women.
I die for him,
yet he does not turn to look;
in an instant he broke the bonds of love.
- 49 But why am I angry at Kṛṣṇa?
It is the fault of my own ill fate;
the fruit of my *pāpa* has ripened.
That Kṛṣṇa who was subservient to my love,
you have made indifferent;
that is the power of my misfortune."

46. Akrūra: an uncle of Kṛṣṇa. The name Akrūra means "one without cruelty"; he therefore could not have done this; "so it is you, Vidhata, who have taken the form of Akrūra and taken him away to Mathurā in your chariot."

47. The relation is distant because Vidhata merely assigns the results of one's own *karma*; the *karma* itself is the individual's responsibility.

49. *Pāpa*: bad or evil action which leads one away from Kṛṣṇa; occasionally understood as "sin" but only in the sense of *adharma*.

- 50 In this way Gaura Rāya
lamented in his misery.
"Ah, Kṛṣṇa, where did you go?"
The *gopī-bhāva* in his heart
he raved in these words, [saying]
"Govinda, Dāmodara, Madhava."
51 Then Svarūpa and Rāma Rāya
tried many ways
to reassure Mahāprabhu.
They sang songs of the union
and brought the mind of Prabhu back,
and his heart became a little calm.

52 In this way half the night passed in lamentation, and in the deep of the night Svarūpa Gosvāmī made Prabhu lie down. 53 Svarūpa and Govinda lay down in the door of the *gambhīra*, and when they had made Prabhu lie down, Rāmananda went to his own house. 54 Mahāprabhu's mind was whirling, under the control of *prema*, and he sat awake, making *nāma-saṅkīrtana*. 55 Anguish of *viraha* and anxiety rose up in Prabhu, and he began to hit his face on the walls of the *gambhīra*. 56 His mouth and cheeks and nose were cut and bruised all over, but absorbed in *bhāva* Prabhu did not feel the streams of blood trickling down. 57 The whole night, in his *bhāva*, he wounded his face, and then Svarūpa heard him groaning. 58 Lighting a lamp he entered the room and saw Prabhu's face, and Svarūpa and Govinda both were dismayed. 59 Bringing Prabhu to the cot, they calmed him down, and Svarūpa asked him, "Why have you done this?" 60 And Prabhu replied, "I was anxious, and I could not stay in the room; so I wandered about looking for the door, so that I could go quickly outside. 61 I could not find the door, and I hit my face on the four walls. It was bruised and the blood fell, and I could not find the way to go." 62 In his maddened state, Prabhu's mind was not still, and what he did and what he said, in all these were the signs of madness. 63 Svarūpa Gosvāmī was deeply concerned in his heart, and the next day he consulted with the *bhaktas*. 64 All the *bhaktas* together pleaded with Prabhu, and they had Śaṅkara Paṇḍita

50. According to *BhP* 10.39.31, it was by calling out the many names of Kṛṣṇa that the *gopīs* raved when Akrūra took Kṛṣṇa to Mathurā.
62. *Unmada*: mad, madness.

lie with him. 65 Śaṅkara would rest at the feet of Prabhu, and Prabhu rested his feet on him. 66 And thus his name became "the pillow of the feet of Prabhu," as formerly Śrī Śuka described Vidura.

Śloka 4. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 3.13.5:

To Vidura who had just spoken, the humble foot-pillow of Sahasraśrīṣa, the hermit, thrilled at the story of Kṛṣṇa and affectionate, replied.

67 Śaṅkara massaged the feet of Prabhu, and when he had fallen asleep, then [Śaṅkara] lay down. 68 Śaṅkara fell asleep with his body uncovered, and Prabhu got up and spread his own cloth over him. 69 All the time [Caitanya] was asleep, Śaṅkara was quick to wake; and sometimes he sat awake the whole night long, massaging his feet. 70 So out of concern for him, Prabhu was not able to go outside, and in fear of him he was unable to hit his lotus-face on the walls. 71 This *līla* of Mahāprabhu Raghunātha Dāsa has revealed in his *Gaurāṅgastava-kalpavṛkṣa*.

Śloka 5. Raghunātha Dāsa Gosvāmī's *Gaurāṅgastavakalpataru* 6:

Maddened by *viraha* from his *goṣṭha*, which was like a crore of his own lives, he raved incessantly, and in his confusion he struck his face on the walls and the blood flowed incessantly from the wounds on his moon-like face; that Gaurāṅga has entered my heart and makes me mad.

72 Mahāprabhu was this way day and night, immersed in a sea of *prema*, sometimes sinking and sometimes floating. 73 Once, on the day of the full moon of Vaiśākha, in the night Prabhu went into a garden. 74 It was a vast garden, Jagannātha-vallabha by name, and Prabhu entered it with his *bhaktas*. 75 The trees and creepers were in bloom, and it was like *Vṇḍāvana*; the parrots and parakeets, and the nightingales and bees were singing, 76 and the *malaya*-wind blew, redolent with the scent of the flowers, like a *guru* teaching the creepers and the trees to dance. 77 The light of the full moon was very bright, and the trees and creepers glistened in the moonlight. 78 Spring is the chief among the six seasons; and when he saw all this, Gaura Bhagavān was

Śloka 5. *Goṣṭha*: *Vṇḍāvana* and its inhabitants.

76. *Malaya*-wind: the south wind, named after the mountains of the Western Ghats (*malaya*).

delighted. 79 He asked that the *pada* "lalita-lavaṅgalata" be sung, and Prabhu went forward dancing with his own people. 80 He wandered to each tree and creeper there, and suddenly he saw Kṛṣṇa under an *aśoka* tree. 81 When he saw Kṛṣṇa, Mahāprabhu went running there; seeing him before him he laughed; then Kṛṣṇa disappeared. 82 He had found Kṛṣṇa before him, and again had lost him—Prabhu fell fainting on the ground. 83 The garden was permeated with the perfume of the holy body of Kṛṣṇa, and when he smelled that perfume, Prabhu became unconscious. 84 The scent of Kṛṣṇa always entered his nostrils, and when he tasted the scent, Prabhu became mad. 85 Drunken with the fragrance of Kṛṣṇa, as Rādhā spoke to her *sakhīs*, so Prabhu recited and expanded on that *śloka*.

Śloka 6. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's Govindāṣṭam 8.6:

O friend, he who by the waves of fragrance of his body which is more intoxicating than musk attracts the women [of Vraja] and who with the eight lotuses of his body spreads the scent of lotuses mixed with camphor, and who anoints his own body with sweet-smelling things like musk, and camphor, sandalwood and *kṛṣṇāguru*, that Enchanter of Madana makes my nostrils yearn.

- 86 "Blue lotuses mixed with musk—
the perfume of that,
the fragrance of the body of Kṛṣṇa, conquers.
It pervades the fourteen worlds,

79. This is the opening expression of verse 27 of the first part of the *Gītāgovinda* of Jayadeva, and is a good example of the clever and entertaining alliteration and other *śabda-ālaṅkāra*s typical of Jayadeva:

*lalitalavaṅgalatāpariṣīlanakomalamalayasamtre /
madhukaranikarakarambitakokilakūjitakuñjakuttre /
viharati harirīha sarasavasante /*

nṛtyati yuvatijanena samam sakhi virahijanasya durante //

Barbara Stoler Miller (Love Song of the Dark Lord [New York: Columbia University Press, 1977], v. 27, p. 74) translates:

Soft sandal mountain winds caress quivering vines of clove.
Forest huts hum with droning bees and crying cuckoos.

When spring's mood is rich, Hari roams here
To dance with young women, friend—

A cruel time for deserted lovers.

84. *Pāgala*: mad.

Śloka 6. Kṛṣṇāguru: a dark colored kind of sandalwood.

and draws everything,
and blinds the eyes of women.

- 87 O *sakhi*, the fragrance of Kṛṣṇa intoxicates the world.
It enters the nostrils of women,
and lingers there for all time,
and they are drawn to Kṛṣṇa's side. [refrain]

- 88 Eyes and navel and face,
and his two hands and feet,
are eight lotuses on the body of Kṛṣṇa.
A lotus anointed with camphor—
the perfume of that

- is the fragrance found on those eight lotuses.
89 Sandalwood bound with gold—
having rubbed that,
and with it aloe wood, saffron, and musk,
and with camphor anointing the body—
together with the fragrance of his body before that—
all these combine to steal like thieves.
90 They steal the hearts and bodies of women,
and whirl in the nostrils
and untie the waist-knot, and loosen bound hair.

- First making them madwomen,
it causes the women of the world to dance;
such is the plundering of the fragrance of the body of Kṛṣṇa.
91 The nostrils are controlled by the scent—
they always hope for it;
sometimes they find it and sometimes not.
When they get it, they drink their fill
and still say "Let me drink!"
if they do not find it they die of thirst.
92 The dance of Madanamohana,
shopkeeper of the market of fragrances,

89. In order to make the cooling and sweet-smelling sandalwood paste, the wood itself is rubbed on a stone; to grip the piece of wood, often a handle is provided, it is that handle which is described here.

makes the buyers—the women of the world—yearn.
He gives them priceless fragrance,
and giving it he blinds them,
and they cannot find the path to their homes.”

- 93 In this way Gaurahari,
his mind stolen by the perfume,
like a bee ran this way and that.
He went to the side of trees and creepers
in hope of finding Kṛṣṇa there;
he found no Kṛṣṇa; he only picked up the scent.
- 94 Svarūpa and Raghunātha sang,
and Prabhu danced in happiness,
and in this way morning came.
Svarūpa and Rāmananda Rāya
tried many means,
until Mahāprabhu's consciousness returned.
- 95 His delirium and devotion to his mother,
and wounding his face on the walls,
and the divine dance because of Kṛṣṇa's fragrance—
these four separate *līlās*
have been sung in this chapter,
by Kṛṣṇadāsa, the servant of Rūpa Gosvāmī.

96 In this way, Mahāprabhu regained consciousness, and having bathed he went to have *darśana* of Jagannātha. 97 The *līlās* of Kṛṣṇa are unworldly: they have divine power and cannot be ascertained by logic. 98 In whose heart this *prema* is always awakened, even wise and learned men cannot understand the way of it.

Sloka 7. Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [pārva-vibhāga, premabhakti-laharī]
1.4.17:

In whose mind this new *prema* arises, that fortunate man's gestures even
wise men will find difficult fully to understand.

Sloka 7. See 2.23.śl.19.

99 Hearing the unworldly ravings and actions of Prabhu, do not discuss them rationally, but hear them with faith. 100 The proof of the truth of them is in the *Śrī Bhāgavata*, in the *Bhramara Gītā*, in the *prema*-lamentations of Śrī Rādhā. 101 Like the song of the queens at the end of the tenth book, even learned and wise men do not understand the special significance of these. 102 It is through the pair, Nityānanda and Mahāprabhu, and the servants of their servants, that grace is granted, and through whom comes faith. 103 So hear and believe, and while listening you will gain great happiness, and you will cut away the misery of *adhyātmika* and the rest, and of false logic. 104 The nectar of the acts of Caitanya is eternally renewed, and while listening to it the ears and the heart are soothed.

105 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

100. In *BhP* 10.47 the *gopīs* vent to Uddhava the frustration of their longing for Kṛṣṇa by heaping abuse on bees, whom they liken to Kṛṣṇa in their fickle flirting with different flowers, stopping only momentarily to drink the nectar before abandoning the open blossom and moving on. They show Uddhava that his message from Kṛṣṇa—that he is always with them—is so much vedāntic sophistry, and he reluctantly concurs. These famous lamentations are called the *Bhramara Gītā*.

101. Also in the tenth chapter of the tenth book of the *BhP* there are songs of lament sung because of the agony of separation (*viraha*) by the queens of Kṛṣṇa at Dvārakā.

103. *Adhyātmika* and the rest: the three types of miseries (*duḥkha*); see text and commentary to 2.20.96.

Antya Līlā Chapter 20

Sloka 1.

Delight, spite, anxiety, humility, and grief, all born of *prema*, are mixed together, and are heard by fortunate people in the raving words of Gaurāṅga.

1 Glory, glory to Gauracandra, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and to the hosts of Gaura-bhaktas.

2 In this way Mahāprabhu remained at Nīlācala, day and night in anguish because of *viraha* from Kṛṣṇa. 3 With the same two, Svarūpa and Rāmananda, day and night he tasted *śloka*s and songs of *rasa*. 4 Various *bhāvas* rose up in Prabhu, delight and grief and anger, humility, anxiety, distress, misery, and joy. 5 And according to those *bhāvas* he himself recited *śloka*s, and with his two friends he savored the meanings of the *śloka*s. 6 On one of those days he recited *śloka*s in a particular *bhāva*, and he stayed awake the whole night, to taste those *śloka*s. 7 In delight Prabhu said, "Listen, O Svarūpa and Rāma Raya, the best religious means in the Kali age is *nāma-saṁkīrtana*. 8 By the sacrifice of the *saṁkīrtana* Kṛṣṇa is worshiped, and by that alone, wise man, are the feet of Kṛṣṇa gained.

Sloka 2. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 11.5.32:

Good and wise people indeed worship [him] by sacrifice, [namely] chiefly *saṁkīrtana*, together with his followers and weapons of *aṅga* and *upāṅga*, black-colored yet light-colored in his glory.

7. Upāya: religious means, i.e., ritual act.

Sloka 2. See 1.3.śl.10; 2.6.śl.4; 2.11.śl.10; 2.20.śl.53.

9 By *nāma-saṁkīrtana* all that is meaningless is destroyed, and in the delight of Kṛṣṇa-*prema* arises all that is auspicious.

Sloka 3. Rūpa Gosvāmin's Padyāvalī 22 [quoting Kṛṣṇa Caitanya]:

That which polishes the mirror of the mind, which extinguishes the forest-fire of the heat of worldly life, which spreads the radiance of the moonlight of auspiciousness, which is the soul of the bride of knowledge, which expands the ocean of joy, which on the first day of waxing gives nectar of the full moon, bathing the souls of all, that Kṛṣṇa-*nāma-saṁkīrtana* conquers all with its excellence.

10 From *saṁkīrtana* comes the destruction of *papa* and of the purification of the mind, and the sprouting of all *sādhana-bhakti*. 11 [In it] is the sprouting of Kṛṣṇa-*prema*, the taste of the nectar of *prema*, the attainment of Kṛṣṇa, immersion in the ocean of the nectar of service."

12 And there rose up dejection and misery as he recited a *śloka*, and when they heard the interpretation of it, all were plunged into unhappiness and grief.

Sloka 4. Rūpa Gosvāmin's Padyāvalī 31 [quoting Kṛṣṇa Caitanya]:

You have propagated your many names; by them you have delegated all your own power; you have established no time for the remembering of them. O Bhagavān, such is your mercy. But such is my misfortune that there has not been born in me any profound attachment to them.

13 "The desires of many people are of many kinds, and in his mercy he has propagated many names. 14 One takes a name at any time, while eating or while lying down; there is no fixed time nor place, for it is the perfection of all. 15 He

Sloka 3. The moon waxes because it is slowly filling with nectar. This and the following seven *śloka*s together make up the "*śikṣāṣṭaka*," the eight verses of instruction which are traditionally said to be the only pieces of writing left by Caitanya himself, and recorded by Rūpa in his Padyāvalī. [Each stanza is signed "Śrībhagavataḥ." The numbering refers to S. K. De's edition of Rūpa's Padyāvalī. The "*śikṣāṣṭaka*" have been published together as a separate work, usually with lengthy commentaries, as a devotee's guide to *bhakti* and proper conduct in the world (see bibliography). It is perhaps significant that Rūpa does not collate the stanzas within the Padyāvalī compilation; Kṛṣṇadāsa appears to be the first to present them as a coherent unit in the traditional eight-stanza form of the *aṣṭaka*. TKS]

10. *Papa*: bad or evil action which results in the individual turning away from Kṛṣṇa.

15. I.e., each of the many names is infused with the full power of the deity. *Anurāga*: profound love.

had divided all his power among the names, and such is my misfortune that I possess none of that profound love in the names. 16 But if you take the name, how *prema* is born, hear the signs of that, O Svarūpa and Rāma Rāya.

Sloka 5. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Padyāvalī* 32 [quoting Kṛṣṇa Caitanya]:

He who knows himself as humbler than the grass, who is more forbearing than a tree, who feels no pride but gives honor to other men, he should practice always the *Hari-kīrtana*.

17 He is best who considers himself as lower than grass, and like the tree his forbearance is of two kinds. 18 As the tree says nothing when it is cut, and even if it dies, shrivelling up, it does not beg for water. 19 To anyone who asks, it gives to him its own wealth; it bears the heat and the rain, protecting others. 20 So that Vaiṣṇava is best, who is without pride; he will honor *jīvas*, knowing them to be abodes of Kṛṣṇa. 21 Like this is he who takes the name of Kṛṣṇa, and in such a one, at the feet of Kṛṣṇa, is *prema* born."

22 While he was speaking in this way, the humility of Prabhu grew, and he began to beg Kṛṣṇa for pure *bhakti*. 23 For this is the nature of *prema*, that he who is immersed in *prema* considers, "I have not a hint of *prema* for Kṛṣṇa."

Sloka 6. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Padyāvalī* 94 [quoting Kṛṣṇa Caitanya]:

O Jagadīśa, I do not desire wealth, or offspring, or a beautiful woman, nor poetic genius, but that from birth to birth spontaneous *bhakti* be in me toward you.

24 "I do not beg wealth or children, nor poetry nor beautiful women; but give me, O Kṛṣṇa, pure *bhakti*, and be merciful." 25 And in his deep humility again he begged the gift of *dāsyā-bhakti*, considering himself as a *jīva* in the world.

Sloka 7. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Padyāvalī* 71 [quoting Kṛṣṇa Caitanya]:

O son of Nanda, be merciful to me, your servant, fallen into the sea of this vicious world, and consider me as the dust on your lotus feet.

26 "I am your eternal slave, and have forgotten you, and trapped by *māyā* I have fallen into the sea of the world. 27 Be merciful and treat me as the dust on your feet; I am your servant, and I serve you."

Sloka 5. See 1.17.śl.4; 3.6.śl.3.

Sloka 6. Jagadīśa: "Lord (īśa) of the world (*jagat*)."

28 And again great anxiety and humility arose, and he begged of Kṛṣṇa the *nāma-saṅkīrtana* with *prema*.

Sloka 8. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Padyāvalī* 93 [quoting Kṛṣṇa Caitanya]:

When, in taking your name, will the streams of tears from my eyes wet my cheeks, and my voice choke, and my body be thrilled?

29 "Without the wealth of *prema* life is miserable and meaningless; make me your servant, and give me wages of the wealth of *prema*!" 30 His heart absorbed in *rasa*, [the emotion of] separation burst forth, and in grief and anguish and misery he raved.

Sloka 9. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Padyāvalī* 324 [quoting Kṛṣṇa Caitanya]:

In *viraha* for Govinda an instant is for me an age, and my eyes are rainclouds, and the whole world is empty.

31 "In my misery the days do not pass, and an instant becomes an age, and my eyes like rainclouds shed tears. 32 In *viraha* for Govinda, the three worlds are empty; life does not pass, but burns like a grass-fire."

33 "Kṛṣṇa is indifferent"; "it must be examined"; "and all the *sakhīs* say, 'so ignore Kṛṣṇa'" — 34 And while thinking thus, Rādhā's heart became pure, and the nature of her, naturally *prema*, arose [again]. 35 Spite and anxiety and grief and eagerness and humility, all these *bhāvas* arose at one time. 36 And in such *bhāvas* the heart of Rādhā was unsteady, and before her *sakhīs* she recited a *śloka*, and while pronouncing it he himself became that same way.

Sloka 10. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Padyāvalī* 337 [quoting Kṛṣṇa Caitanya]:

He may crush my breasts in embracing me, a slave to his feet, he may destroy my heart by not appearing to me, he may be a libertine wherever he wants, but still he is the lord of my heart, and there is no other.

38 "This *śloka* has most vast meanings; let me explain in brief, for I do not find the end of it.

33. "It must be examined": if it is examined, it will soon be clear that Kṛṣṇa is indifferent; and all Rādhā's friends were telling her to face the fact, and ignore him in turn.

38. Caitanya is speaking; the explanation ends at v. 51.

39 I am a slave to the feet of Kṛṣṇa
and he is a fountain of joy and *rasa*;
embracing me he crushes me.
Sometimes he does not show himself,
and burns my body and my heart;
still, he is the lord of my life.

40 O *sakhi*, hear the secrets of my heart.
Whether he loves me,
or kills me with grief,
Kṛṣṇa is the lord of my life, there is no other. [refrain]

41 Leaving other women,
he controls my body and my heart,
displaying my glory.
He gives distress to all of them,
for he sports with me,
and shows those other women.

42 If he is a libertine—
deceitful, shameless, crafty—
and keeps company with other women,
giving anguish to my heart
sporting in front of me,
still, he is the lord of my life.

43 I do not count my own sorrow,
but always desire his happiness;
his happiness is my intent.
If he gives me pain,
and that gives him great pleasure,
then that pain is my chief happiness.

44 Whatever woman Kṛṣṇa wants,
thirsty for her beauty,
not getting her why should he be unhappy?
I fall at her feet,

41. *Mora saubhāgya prakāṣa kariya*: displaying my glory; Rādhāgovinda Nātha interprets "*mora*" as an accusative, and reads the line "displaying glory to me."

and go and take her by the hand,
make her sport with him, make him happy.
45 When a beautiful woman is angry at him,
Kṛṣṇa is delighted,
adoring her chastisement and rebukes.
Her *māna* is appropriate,
and from that Kṛṣṇa gets pleasure,
for abandonment of *māna* means negligible *sādhana*.

46 Why does that woman cling to life,
knowing the inner pain of Kṛṣṇa,
still having deep anger for him?
She considers that in *māna* is her own happiness;
let a thunderbolt fall on her head,
she still wants only the happiness of Kṛṣṇa.

47 That *gopī* who envies me
makes Kṛṣṇa happy,
and Kṛṣṇa desires her.
I go to her house
and serve her like a slave,
and that to me is a sea of great delight.

48 The wife of the leper *brāhmaṇa*,
crest-jewel of chaste women,
for her husband's sake served a courtesan.
She stopped the sun in its course,

45. *Māna*, which is the anger and pique—often feigned—of lovers, springs from deep love; therefore if one has *māna* toward him, she loves him, and that gives pleasure to Kṛṣṇa. If she leaves her *māna*, however, it means that her love for him is fading, and that means that *sādhana*, striving to attain him, is lessened.

48. The story told by Rādhāgovinda Nātha in his commentary, is a charming one. Once there was a poor *brāhmaṇa* who had been afflicted with leprosy. His wife was a woman true to her vows (*pativrata*), and desired nothing in life but her husband's happiness. It happened that one day her husband caught sight of a beautiful courtesan, and fell madly in love with her. But he had neither the strength, being wasted by disease, nor the money to go to her. His wife, knowing what was in his heart making him unhappy, went to serve the courtesan, and pleased her so much by her service that the courtesan agreed to see her husband. But she insisted that he come to her house. The wife could not carry her husband there during the day, but when night came she carried him toward the courtesan's house. On the way, however, they passed the great sage Mārkaṇḍa, who was sitting in meditation. Accidentally the husband touched the sage, whose meditation was broken, and in a rage he cursed the leper that when the sun came up he would die. The wife, distraught at hear-

- and brought her dead husband back to life,
and satisfied the three chief *devas*.
- 49 Kṛṣṇa is my life,
Kṛṣṇa is the wealth of my heart,
Kṛṣṇa is the heart of my heart.
I shall hold him in my heart,
and serving him shall make him happy—
this remains my sole and constant meditation.
- 50 My happiness is in service;
Kṛṣṇa's happiness is in union;
so I give him the gift of my body.
Kṛṣṇa calls me 'beloved,'
and says 'you are the goddess of my heart';
I consider myself as slave.
- 51 Service of the beloved fulfills happiness,
still more sweet than union;
of that Lakṣmī Ṭhakuraṇī is witness.
Her place is in the heart of Nārāyaṇa,
her heart in the service of his feet;
she serves, proud to be his slave."
- 52 These words of Rādhā,
signs of pure *prema*,
Śrī Gaura Rāya tasted.
In *bhāva* his heart was unsteady,
the *sattvika* [signs] spread over his body,
he could not control body or mind.
- 53 The *prema* of Vraja is pure,
like the gold of the Jambu river;

ing the curse, then vowed, "If I have been true to my vows, let the sun not arise." And when the time came for the sun to rise, darkness remained, for truth can conquer all. Brahmā, Śiva, and Viṣṇu then, realizing that something was amiss, went to the *pativrata* and asked her to remove her word, so that the sun could rise and things return to normal. She replied that she would do so if the curse were annulled. The three gods said that they could not do that, but they granted her that her husband, after dying, would again be restored to life. Satisfied, the woman removed her word, the sun rose, the husband died, and was again restored to life, and in a pure and healthy body.

49. *Dhyāna*: meditation, intense concentration in the higher stages of *yoga*, here to bring a thing to pass.

52. For the *sattvika* signs, see 2.8.135 and 2.23.31-32.

53. See commentary to 2.2.38.

it has no hint of satisfaction of the self.
To make people know that *prema*
Prabhu made that *śloka*,
and attached this poem of its meaning.

54 In this way Prabhu, absorbed in this *bhāva* and that, raved, reciting these various *ślokas*. 55 Previously he composed eight *ślokas*, and through them he taught the people, and he himself tasted the meaning of those eight *ślokas*. 56 In him who recites or listens to the "*śikṣāṣṭaka*" *ślokas* of Prabhu, day by day Kṛṣṇa-*prema*-*bhakti* grows. 57 Still, Prabhu, profound as a crore of seas, swelled in many *bhāvas* as at the rising of the moon. 58 Those *ślokas* in Jayadeva and in the *Bhāgavata*, and in the drama of Rāya and in the *Karṇāmṛta*— 59 reciting *ślokas* of all those various *bhāvas*, controlled by those *bhāvas* he tasted them. 60 Thus he lived day and night for twelve years, tasting Kṛṣṇa-*rasa* with his two friends. 61 The *rasa* of all those *līlās* is such that Ananta himself, speaking with a thousand mouths, could not reach the end of it. 62 A *jīva* is of small wisdom; how can he describe it; he touches a corner of it, to purify himself.

63 All [of Caitanya's] actions, all his ravings, there is no end to them; if they were all described, the book would become much too vast. 64 Vṛndāvana Dāsa first described some of the *līlās*, and of all those *līlās* I have given only condensed *sūtras*. 65 I have spoken briefly of some omitted by him at the end [of Caitanya's life]; and still, because of the vast number of the *līlās*, the book has grown huge. 66 So I cannot describe all the *līlās*; I have completed [the book], and I make obeisance to the *līlās*. 67 Should one follow out that little which has been mentioned in this survey, much more will be tasted. 68 I cannot fathom the profound *līlās* of Prabhu; they do not penetrate my intelligence, so I cannot properly describe them. 69 Bowing to the feet of all Vaiṣṇavas who listen, the description of the actions of Caitanya is completed. 70 The sky is infinite, and in it there are birds. Who has sufficient power ascends there. 71 So with the *līlā* of Mahāprabhu: there is no end to it; what *jīva* can describe it fully? 72 As much as my mind can comprehend, so much have I described, like touching a drop of water in the sea. 73 Vṛndāvana Dāsa was the vessel of the grace of Nityānanda, and he is the original Vyāsa of the Caitanya-*līlā*. 74 And

57. I.e., *bhāvas* rose and fell in him, as the tides rise and fall with the pull of the moon.

58. [I.e., Jayadeva's *Gītāgovinda*, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Rāmananda Rāya's *Jagannāthavallabha Nāṭaka*, and Līlāśuka Bīlvaṃśala's *Kṛṣṇakarnāmṛta*. TKS]

74. I.e., Nityānanda, whose disciple Vṛndāvana Dāsa was, knew about all the *līlās*, and even though he was available as a source to Vṛndāvana Dāsa, he did not describe them all in full.

even though before him was the storehouse of all the *līlas*, he described but a little bit of them, and left out much more. 75 "What little has been described but a little bit of them, and left out much more."—in his book he has written so. 76 In various places in his *Caitanya Maṅgala* he has written so, and listen to these words, for these are the highest proof of it: 77 "I have written in brief, and did not expand on it; for Veda Vyāsa will provide a detailed description." 78 This he has written in various places in his *Caitanya Maṅgala*, and he speaks truly: The Vyāsa who will come will describe it. 79 The ocean of the nectar of the Caitanya-*līla* is like the sea of milk. According to his thirst he filled a pot and drank it. 80 That little nectar which was left in the pot he gave to me; but that filled my belly, and my thirst was quenched. 81 I am a most insignificant *jīva*, a tiny *raṅgaṭuni* bird, and as it in its thirst drinks the water of the sea, 82 so I have touched only a drop of the *līla*. By this example you know how vast are the *līlas* of Prabhu. 83 I write, and I consider this false pride; my body is like a wooden doll. 84 "I am old and worn out, and deaf and blind; my hand trembles, and my mind is not steady. 85 I am devoured by disease; I can neither sit nor move, and day and night I suffer the pains of the five diseases." 86 I spoke of all this in the previous book. And still I have written: hear the reason why. 87 Śrī Govinda, Śrī Caitanya, Śrī Nityānanda, Śrī Advaita, Śrī *bhaktas*, and revered hosts of listeners, 88 Śrī Svarūpa, Śrī Rūpa, Śrī Sanātana, Śrī Raghunātha [who is] Śrī Guru, and Śrī Jīva—the feet [of these]: 89 by the mercy of the feet of all of these I was made to write. And there is another, who

75. Cf. 1.8.42-44 above. [Kṛṣṇadāsa's *payāra* does not appear to be a direct quote from CBh, but a paraphrase; Vṛndāvana Dāsa's statement appears periodically throughout the text. TKS]

76. *Caitanya Maṅgala*: *Caitanya Bhāgavata*. (CBh)

77. [The verse in question may be CBh 1.1.161. TKS]

78. Kṛṣṇadāsa, with his great humility, is not claiming that he is the Vyāsa who Vṛndāvana said would come; instead, he is giving the reason why he himself has been incomplete in his descriptions: he is not Vyāsa, and it would take a great sage like Vyāsa to do the job adequately.

79. Vṛndāvana Dāsa filled a waterpot and drank from it; what little remained he gave to Kṛṣṇadāsa.

81. *Raṅgaṭuni*: by its name, a small reddish bird, otherwise unidentified.

83. Wooden doll: a puppet, whose movements are directed by someone else; but the meaning is also that his body is old and inert.

85. The five diseases are ignorance, egotism, anger, malice, and instinctive clinging to the things of the body.

86. The previous book is the "*madhya līla*."

has been most gracious: 90 Śrī Madanagopāla commanded me and made me write. It is not right to speak of this, but I cannot contain it. 91 If I did not tell of it, it would be a *kṛtaghnata-doṣa* against me. So even though it is arrogant, I speak. O listeners, do not be angry with me. 92 I bow to the dust of the feet of all of you, and because of that I have written this little of the *līla* of Caitanya.

93 Now let me summarize the final *līlas*, for when I summarize them I get the taste of the *līlas*. 94 In the first chapter there was the second meeting with Rūpa, and within that the hearing of the arrangement of the two dramas. 95 And within it too is the dog who came with Śivānanda, and how Prabhu released him, causing him to say "Kṛṣṇa." 96 In the second is the lesson given to Choṭa Haridāsa, and within it the wonderful vision of Śivānanda. 97 In the third is the vast greatness of Śrī Haridāsa, and how Dāmodara Paṇḍita rebuked Prabhu. 98 And how with the name, Prabhu freed the Brahmā-worlds. And Haridāsa established the greatness of the name. 99 In the fourth is the second meeting with Sanātana, and how he was saved from suicide. 100 In the heat of the month of Jyāiṣṭha he tested him, and infusing him with *śakti*, he sent him to Vṛndāvana. 101 In the fifth Prabhu was gracious to Pradyumna Miśra, and by means of Rāya he caused him to hear stories of Kṛṣṇa. 102 And within that also is the slight of the drama of the Bengali poet, and how Svarūpa Gosvāmī established the greatness of the *vigraha*. 103 In the eighth, Raghunātha Dāsa met Prabhu, and at the command of Nityānanda made the *ciḍa-mahotsava*. 104 And he dedicated him to Svarūpa Dāmodara, and he gave to him the *guṇja* garland and the Govarddhana-*śīla*. 105 In the seventh chapter is the meeting with Vallabha Bhaṭṭa, and how in various ways he broke his pride. 106 In the eighth is the coming of Rāmacandra Purī, and how in fear of him Prabhu re-

90. See also 1.8.73-74 above; Kṛṣṇadāsa went to the temple of Madanagopāla, and there the permission of that deity was signified by his garland dropping onto Kṛṣṇadāsa's neck. Kṛṣṇadāsa does not feel right about telling all this, presumably because the use of the first person indicates a lack of humility.

91. *Kṛtaghnata-doṣa*: the fault of not acknowledging assistance which has been given.

93. The final *līlas* compose the last section of the book "*antya līla*."

94. [*Nāṭaka*: drama, i.e., Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Vidaghamādhava* and *Lalitāmādhava*. TKS]

100. Jyāiṣṭha: May-June.

103. *Ciḍa*: rice which has been soaked, parched, and flattened.

104. *Guṇja*: flowers from the bowers of Vṛndāvana; Govarddhana-*śīla*: sacred rock from Mt. Govarddhana in Vraja.

duced his food. 107 In the ninth is the release of Gopinātha Paṭṭanāyaka, and how the people of the three worlds gain *darśana* of Prabhu. 108 In the tenth he tastes the gifts of his *bhaktas*, and the *jhalis* there prepared by Raghava Paṇḍita. 109 And here too is the examination of Govinda, and the description of the Parimūḍa dance. 110 In the eleventh is the death of Haridāsa Ṭhakura, where Gaura Bhagavān shows his affection for his *bhakta*. 111 In the twelfth is the breaking of the oil jar by Jagadānanda, and the rebuke of Śivananda by Nityānanda. 112 In the thirteenth Jagadānanda goes to Mathura, and Mahāprabhu hears the song of the *devadāsī*. 113 And there is his meeting with Raghunātha Bhaṭṭācārya, and how Prabhu, being gracious to him, sent him to Vṛndāvana. 114 In the fourteenth the description of the divine madness begins, and how Prabhu's body was here, but his mind in Vṛndāvana; 115 and within it is the falling of Prabhu at the lion-gate, and the experience of the appearance of separation of the joints of his bones, 116 and how Prabhu ran, when he saw the Caṭaka mountain, and within that too a little description of the delirium of Prabhu. 117 In the fifteenth chapter is his *vilāsa* in the garden, and how he entered it, mistaking it for Vṛndāvana. 118 In it also is the attraction of the five senses of Prabhu, and how he searched for Kṛṣṇa at the *rāsa*-dance. 119 In the sixteenth Prabhu is gracious to Kalidāsa, and he shows the fruit of taking the remnants of a Vaiṣṇava's food; 120 he makes the son of Śivananda recite a *śloka*. [There too] the gate-keeper of the lion-gate shows Kṛṣṇa to Prabhu. 121 And there is described the greatness of *mahāprasāda*, and how all tasted *ślokas* of the nectar of the lips of Kṛṣṇa. 122 In the seventeenth Prabhu falls among the cows, and there he assumed the shape of a tortoise. 123 The heart of Prabhu is drawn by the qualities of the sound of Kṛṣṇa, and he is overcome by the meaning of the "*kāstryaṅgate*" *śloka*. 124 And again he raves, overcome with *bhāva*, and expands upon the meaning of the *Karṇāmṛta-śloka*. 125 In the eighteenth chapter he falls into the sea, and has *darśana* of the water-games of Kṛṣṇa and the *gopīs*. 126 And there he sees the forest-feast of Kṛṣṇa, and the fisherman pulls him out, and Prabhu goes to his own house.

108. *Jhali*: a special bag in which Raghava brought food prepared for Caitanya.

109. *Parimūḍa* dance: the dance at the time of the waving of lights before the image of Jagannātha.

112. *Devadāsī*: a female servant of the temple image, who is married to that lord.

117. *Vilāsa*: activity or play, synonymous here with *līla*.

123. The *śloka* is 3.17.śl.2; also found at 2.24.śl.16.

124. The *śloka* is 3.17.śl.4.

127 In the nineteenth, Prabhu wounds his face on the wall, and there is a description of his delirium in the blossoming of his *viraha* from Kṛṣṇa. 128 And here on a spring night is his wandering in the flower-garden, and the description of the meaning of the *śloka* on the fragrance of Kṛṣṇa. 129 And in the twentieth chapter is the recitation of his own "Teaching in Eight Verses," and how tasting the meaning of them he was absorbed in *prema*. 130 To teach the *bhaktas* he gradually composed that *aṣṭaka*, and the meaning of the *aṣṭaka ślokas* he tasted again. 131 Thus have been summarized the chief parts of the *līla*, and from that summary one can recall the contents of the book. 132 There are many events in each of the chapters; only the very chief ones have been recounted, and while listening to them you will fathom their endlessness.

133 Śrī Madanamohana with Śrī Rādhā, Śrī Govindacaraṇa with Śrī Rādhā, 134 Śrī Gopinātha with Śrī Rādhā, these three *ṭhakuras* are the lords of all the Gauḍīyas. 135 Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, Śrīyuta Nityānanda, Śrī Advaita Ācārya, and the hosts of the Śrī Gaura-*bhaktas*, 136 Śrī Svarūpa, Śrī Rūpa, Śrī Sanātana, Śrī Guru, Śrī Raghunātha, Śrī Jīva— 137 I take the feet of all of these on my own head, from which all that is desired is fulfilled. 138 The grace of the feet of them all is *guru* and *upādhyāy*; my speech is their pupil, and they make it dance. 139 Seeing the fatigue of his pupil, the *guru* has stopped the dance; mercy made it stop dancing, and speech remained at rest. 140 Speech is not skilled, and does not know how to dance by itself. It danced as much as it was made to dance, and then rested. 141 I bow to the feet of all who listen; the mercy of the feet of all of them prompts auspiciousness. 142 Who listens to the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' I drink the water with which I wash his feet. 143 The dust of the feet of listeners I take as ornament upon my head, and if you drink that nectar, my labor is fulfilled.

144 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

END OF ANT-YA-LĪLĀ

129. *Śikṣāṣṭaka*; see commentary to *śloka* 3 above.

133-34. *Ṭhakura*: deity or image. These three deities were those served by the Bengali Vaiṣṇavas in Vṛndāvana.

138. *Upādhyāy*: teacher or instructor.

139. Kṛṣṇadāsa is old and ill, and his inspiration has been exhausted.

Upasamhāra

Sloka 1.

He, who tastes with faith the nectar of the acts of Śrīla Caitanya Viṣṇu, which gives auspiciousness and destroys inauspiciousness, is a bee on his stainless lotus feet, and he tastes in highest form the *rasa*, full of the honey of *prema*.

Sloka 2.

May this book, the 'Nectar of the Acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*, offered to Caitanya, be a source of satisfaction to Śrī Govindadeva and Śrī Madanagopāla.

Sloka 3.

Does any *rasika-bhakta* wish to abandon those lotus feet of Giridhara, which scent the whole world with their fragrance and where the bees which know *rasa* are maddened by their *rasa*?

Sloka 4.

In *śaka* fifteen hundred and thirty seven, on Sunday in the month of *Jyaiṣṭha*, on *kṛṣṇa-pañcamī*, in Vṛndāvana, this book has been completed.

END OF THE CAITANYA CARITĀMṚTA

Sloka 2. See 2.25.48.

Sloka 4. 1537 *śaka* is 1615 AD. *Jyaiṣṭha*: May-June; *kṛṣṇa-pañcamī*: fifth day of the dark lunar fortnight.

PART THREE

Glossaries

Glossary

abhimāna - vide *māna*.

ācārya - a person of impeccable conduct, a teacher. The most famous *ācārya* in the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava tradition is Advaitācārya.

acintya bheda - *bheda* (separation) and *abheda* (non-separation) are the terms used to describe the essential philosophical position of the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas: the relationship between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, between creator and creation, and between the devotee and God, are all thought of as being simultaneously immanent and transcendent. Because this constitutes a paradox to the human mind (though not in reality or to the mind of God), Jīva Gosvāmin termed it *acintya* ("inconceivable logically," aside from reason).

advaita - "not" (*a-*) "two" (*dvi*), the term refers to the monistic system of thought propounded by Śaṅkara and others, usually called Vedānta (q.v.). Among its tenets are the essential unity of the individual self and the monistic principle that underlies the universe, and the deceptive quality (*māya*, q.v.) of that which is visible and considered to be reality. Both these tenets are anathema to the Vaiṣṇavas, who consider that a doctrine of unity negates worship in devotion (*bhakti*, q.v.), which requires dualism (*dvaita*, q.v.), and that as the material universe is an emanation of Kṛṣṇa himself it is real. Advaita is also the name of one of Caitanya's early followers (vide *ācārya*).

aiśvarya - vide *bhagavān* and *īśvara*.

amṛta - "nectar," that which is not (*a-*) mortal (*mṛta*), the drink of immortality, over which gods and demons contended in the Vedic story of the churning of the ocean of milk. *Amṛta* carries with it the undertone of "essence" or "eternal quality," which can be seen in the title of Kṛṣṇadāsa's book, the "nectar" (*amṛta*) of the "acts" (*carita*) of Caitanya, *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

aṁśa - from the root *aṁś-*, "to divide"; a portion or part of God (*bhagavān*, q.v.) that is detached to perform some cosmic function, e.g., *avatāra* (q.v.).

ānanda - one of three fundamental qualities (*guṇa*, q.v.) of the godhead and of the self (*ātman*, q.v.), generally translated as "bliss"; pure happiness or enjoyment; from the root *nand-*, meaning to rejoice or be delighted. Vide *sat* and *cit*.

aṅga - a "limb" or extension of God (*bhagavān*, q.v.) or of the central figure of a social group, e.g., the followers (*aṅga*) of Caitanya.

anubhāva - the ensuing emotion, including the physical effects, of the experience of *bhāva* (q.v.), which can take a number of forms, eight of which are primary: stupor, perspiration, thrill or horripilation, break in the voice, trembling, changes in color, weeping, and loss of consciousness. These eight are recognizable from lists as far back as Bharata's *Nāṭya Śāstra* and seem to serve, in this Vaiṣṇava context, to validate the presence of genuine *prema* (q.v.) or possession by the godhead (*āveśa*, q.v.). The reader should also check the index for *sañcari bhāva*, *vyabhicāri bhāva*, and *sāttvika bhāva* for a more complete and technical breakdown of the concept.

anurāga - the renewal or increase of "passion," a technical step in the progression of love; for its precise location and meaning in this hierarchy, vide *prema*.

āśrama - from the root *śram-*, to exert oneself or overcome; a hermitage or abode of ascetics. In the *varṇāśrama dharma* (q.v.), *āśrama* designates the four progressive divisions of an individual's life: studentship (*brahmacharya*); householding (*grhasthya*); dwelling in the forest (*vānaprasthya*); and renunciation (*saṁnyāsa*, q.v.).

āśraya - from the root *śri-*, to seek refuge in or depend on; a receptacle, place of refuge, the person in whom a special quality is inherent. In the devotional esthetic developed by Rūpa Gosvāmin, *āśraya* refers to the individual who becomes the vessel of love for Kṛṣṇa—the ultimate object (*viśaya*) of such emotion—according to generic categories of human experience (*bhāva*, q.v.).

ātman - "self," "individual"; often seen misleadingly translated as "soul." In Vedānta (q.v.) the *ātman* possesses the same basic qualities (*guṇa*, q.v.) as *brahman* (q.v.), and is identified with it. As such the *ātman* is the true, unchanging reality that is imprisoned within the body in the rounds of rebirth (*saṁsāra*, q.v.) and which one strives to liberate (*mukti*, *mokṣa*, q.v.). For Vaiṣṇavas the *ātman* is only a part (*aṁśa*, q.v.) of the godhead, locatable within the *jīva śakti* (q.v.).

avadhūta - the "pure" or "cleansed" one (root *dhav-*, "wash"); a renunciate, one who has turned his back on the material world and taken ascetic vows. Nityānanda is described throughout the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* text as *avadhūta*.

avatāra - usually translated as "incarnation," but literally meaning "descent," as a deity to earth. The literal meaning is more appropriate in the present context, for there is no question of the deity's taking on "flesh" (carn-); the form of the deity is substantial but the substance is not made up of the material qualities (*guṇa*, q.v.).

avatāri, *avatārin* - the container or source of all the *avatāras* (q.v.), Kṛṣṇa or Caitanya as *svayaṁ bhagavān* (q.v.).

aveśa, *aviṣṭa* - possession, absorption; the state in which the devotee is possessed by deity and which results in an often uncontrollable behavior. This state is often popularly considered as, but should be contrasted with, the condition of *bhāva* (q.v.), which operates in the opposite direction: *bhāva* is an emotional state that wells up from within the individual and is not a result of being possessed from without. The signs of *aveśa* are often seen to be identical with the *anubhāvas* (q.v.).

bhagavān - can be translated as "God," but is more literally "He who possesses" (*vān*) "the shares of fortune or wealth" (*bhaga*, from the root *bhaj-*; vide *bhakti*), i.e., Kṛṣṇa. It is in *bhagavān* that all *bhaktas* (q.v.) participate. In this text, *bhagavān* is often used to denote Kṛṣṇa and Caitanya. *Svayaṁ bhagavān* is the complete innate Godhead, who is self-dependent (*svatantra*, q.v.), not a descent (*avatāra*, q.v.), not an extension (*aṅga*, q.v.), not a portion (*aṁśa*, q.v.), but the whole itself. For Kṛṣṇadāsa, the nature of *bhagavān* is essentially twofold: that part which is sovereign, majestic, lordly, and fearfully awesome (*aiśvarya*, vide *īśvara*), and that which is loving, sweet, and erotically playful (*mādhurya*), the latter holding a much greater appeal for Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas than the former.

bhagavat - vide *bhagavān*.

bhāgavata - "devotee" or "*bhakta*," as it is used by Kṛṣṇadāsa. The term has a technical generalized meaning, however, i.e., a follower of the Pāñcarātra tradition, which served as the foundation for the popular Śrī Vaiṣṇavism of South India. Kṛṣṇadāsa and his teachers exhibit more than a passing knowledge of that tradition, and their use of the term suggests an orientation to the world along those of the Pāñcarātra, albeit with an emphasis on the *mādhurya* (q.v.) dimension of the godhead.

bhakta - a devotee; etymologically, one who shares in or is devoted to God (*bhagavān*, q.v.). In this text it refers almost exclusively to devotees of Kṛṣṇa. Vide *bhakti*.

bhakti - usually translated "devotion," the term is a derivative of the Vedic root *bhaj-*, "divide, distribute, share with," and this etymological meaning is in fact

closer to what the Vaiṣṇavas mean by the term than is the usual translation; in the Vaiṣṇava system *ānanda* (q.v.) or "bliss" is shared by the worshiper and the deity, each providing the other the experience by means of *hlādinī-śakti* (within the *svatāpa-śakti*, q.v.). Vide *bhakta* and *bhagavān*.

bhaṇita - the signature line of the popular lyric poem called *pada* (q.v.). The author concludes his composition with a personal statement that often leads the reader or listener to a new interpretation of the poem. By adept devotees, the *bhaṇita* is used to insert the author into the action of the poem, which suggests that the poem is a new revelation of God's activities (*hīla*, q.v.) in which the author has participated.

bhāva - the term is a very loaded one in Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava thought and practice. It is based on the usage in esthetic theory, where the reference is to one of several basic emotional states based on particular experience (e.g., love), which can be refined by poetic skill to convey a related but abstracted experience in the same mode to an audience. In the religious scheme, based on the esthetic propounded by Rūpa Gosvāmin and his student Kṛṣṇadāsa, types of relationships between the devotee and Kṛṣṇa are basically five: *śānta* (q.v.), "peace"; *dāsyā* (q.v.), "servant-like"; *sakhya* (q.v.), "like a friend"; *vātsalya* (q.v.), "like a parent"; and *mādhurya* (q.v.), "sweetly, like a lover." *Mādhurya* is also called *śṛṅgāra*. In esthetic theory, and in Rūpa's (and Kṛṣṇadāsa's) theological gloss on it, *bhāva* is also used to describe manifestations of these conditions (e.g., "dizziness" is apt to be one of the states related to love), and the use of description of the manifestation is a poetic device used to suggest the presence of the condition. Vide *anubhāva* and *āveśa*.

bhedābheda - vide *acintya bhedābheda*.

bija - "seed," usually referring to a one-syllabled *mantra* (q.v.), often without cognitive significance; examples are *klīm*, *hrīm*, *haṁ*, etc. *Bija* is the starting point, the seed from which the tree grows (the seed is in the tree, as the tree is in the seed), the point which is the source of creation.

Brahma - name of a deity, one of the so-called "Hindu trinity" of Śiva the destroyer, Viṣṇu the preserver, and Brahmā the creator of the universe. The universes of his creation are known as Brahmā-eggs (*brahmāṇḍa*), often translated in the text as Brahmā-worlds. Attested by mythology, Brahmā is only rarely found as a functional deity in contemporary India.

brahma, *brahman* - the basic neuter monistic principle of the universe, with which the *ātman* (q.v.) is considered to be one, this reality being hidden by *māyā* (q.v.): this is the view of the Vedānta (q.v.). It is considered by the Vaiṣṇavas lowest

in a three-tiered hierarchy of reality, the highest reality of course being Kṛṣṇa.

brāhmaṇa - the highest of the four *varṇas* (q.v.); *brāhmaṇas* are traditionally considered to be priests and ritual functionaries generally, and learned in the scriptures. One of the interesting social teachings of the Vaiṣṇavas, and of *bhakti* generally, is that the privileged social position of *brāhmaṇa* is not bestowed by birth but by merit (i.e., he who has devotion is a *brāhmaṇa*, not necessarily he who has a *brāhmaṇa* father).

cit - one of the three fundamental qualities (*guṇa*, q.v.) of the Godhead and of the self (*ātman*, q.v.), usually translated as "thought," "intellect," or "spirit." In Kṛṣṇa's divine personality this *śakti* (q.v.) is identified with the *svatāpa* (q.v.), Kṛṣṇa's intrinsic nature, the highest form of which is *hlādinī śakti*, identified as the bliss-bestowing Rādhā. Vide *sat* and *ānanda*. From *cit* comes *cetana*, "conscious" or "sentient" from which Kṛṣṇa Caitanya received his own name, "He who makes the world conscious (*caitanya*) of Kṛṣṇa."

daṇḍa - a measure of time, the sixtieth part of a day; twenty-four minutes. Vide *prahāra*. *Daṇḍa* is also a staff, an emblem of power and an instrument of punishment, often associated with kings and ascetics.

darśana - seeing, looking at, showing, perceiving, knowing, from the root *drś-*, "to see." This most often refers to the act of viewing or getting a glimpse of the deity, usually through an icon in a temple, or of some holy personage, and the reciprocal granting of this act. The most central act of temple worship (*pūja*, q.v.), *darśana* is an intimate exchange between devotee and deity, perhaps best described as visual touching. The senses, as for example of sight and touch, are more intimately related and interchangeable than in the western concept. One can say in English "touched by the sight of" something, but in India the physical quality of the relationship is more powerful. A sideways glance can be insulting, or erotic (or both) in a way that is not familiar to a westerner. *Darśana* also refers to the traditional six schools of philosophy, or philosophical "perspectives."

dāsa - "servant," often a part of religious names take by Vaiṣṇavas upon initiation (*dīkṣā*, q.v.). The initiate will relinquish his given name and patronymic and become, by his *guru*'s instruction, something like Kṛṣṇadāsa, "servant of Kṛṣṇa," or Jagannāthadāsa, "servant of the Lord of the Universe." The term implies humility, a prime Vaiṣṇava trait, and designates one of the five *bhāvas* (q.v.).

dāsyā - servitude, one of the five *bhāvas* (q.v.) or basic states of relationship of the worshiper to Kṛṣṇa: one who looks on Kṛṣṇa as master and himself as servant (vide *dāsa*).

deva, devatā, devī - deity, from the old Vedic root *div-*, "heaven, the sky," later "shining," which is the etymology Kṛṣṇadāsa uses for *devī*, "goddess." The Vedic is cognate with the Latin, which yields the English "divine" (Skt. *deva*, Latin *deus*, "god").

dhāma - the physical and social "environment" of Kṛṣṇa, the primary *dhāma* being his heavenly domain of Vaikuṇṭha (q.v.), with Goloka (q.v.) the most intimate portion therein. The eternal servant of Kṛṣṇa, Ananta-Śeṣa, conjures this realm, which is composed of the physical setting and Kṛṣṇa's entourage, and which accompanies Kṛṣṇa wherever he journeys throughout the cosmos in time or space. Consequently the *dhāma* embraces that which is manifest (*prakāṣa*), and so includes earthly Vṛndāvana (q.v.), as well as the unmanifest (*aprakāṣa*) or innate, i.e., the timeless realms of Vaikuṇṭha. This ancient concept justifies the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava theological position that all of Caitanya's followers were a part of his *avatāra* as eternal attendants of Kṛṣṇa; the *pañca tattva* doctrine (q.v.) formalizes the belief. Kavikarṇapūra's *Gaurāṅgodeśadīpikā* identifies over one hundred eighty of these historical followers of Caitanya with their heavenly counterparts.

dharma - usually translated "righteousness," "propriety," or "law," the term signifies a complex relationship between individual action and the cosmic order: proper performance of social duty and observation of conventional regulation assures the continued turning of the cosmic wheel. In one place in the text of the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* (1.17.167) the term Hindu-dharma is used, and seems to mean the specifically Hindu view of this social ordering, rather than "religion" per se. Vide *varṇa* for *varṇāśrama dharma*.

dikṣā - "consecration," "dedication to a god," "anointing," the term in the Vaiṣṇava context means specifically to take initiation as a Vaiṣṇava, or into a monastic order (Caitanya became a *saṁnyāsin* [q.v.] in an order of Advaitin *saṁnyāsins*). At the initiation the *dikṣā mantra* (q.v.), the personal formula containing a name of God is given to the initiate by the *dikṣā guru* (in Caitanya's case this was Keśava Bhāratī), and it is this *mantra* which the initiate will repeat and meditate upon for the rest of his life.

dikṣā-guru - vide *guru* (q.v.) and *dikṣā* (q.v.).

doṣa - "fault" or "flaw," either moral or physical, or, in poetic theory, a problem with the composition that hinders the reader or listener's appreciation and experience of *rasa* (q.v.).

daṭṭi - female messenger or go-between. These intermediaries carry messages and arrange the meetings of the lovers, Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. They can take many forms,

but the most common as described in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and Vaiṣṇava lyrics (*pada*, q.v.) are female companions, young and old, of Rādhā.

dvaita - "twoness" or dualism, the name of the doctrine which insists on absolute division between human and divine; it is opposed to *advaita* (q.v.). The primary *guru* of the doctrine is Madhva, a twelfth century philosopher among whose followers was the eighteenth century influential Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava theologian Baladeva Vidyabhūṣaṇa. Some partisans have tried to trace direct influence of pure dualism on the Gosvāmins (q.v.), but it seems clear that the basic Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava doctrine of *acintya bheda-bheda* (q.v.) is neither *dvaita* nor *advaita* in its conception.

Gauḍa - roughly the central portion of West Bengal, including Navadvīpa and other Vaiṣṇava centers, such as Śāntipura and Śrīkhaṇḍa; often translated simply as "Bengal." This region lends its name to the style of Vaiṣṇavism practiced by Caitanya and his followers, the only religion to be named after geographic region, hence Gauḍīya.

Gauḍīya - vide Gauḍa.

Gayā - a pilgrimage town in the modern-day state of Bihar, where devout Bengali Vaiṣṇavas go to perform obsequies (*śrāddha*) for departed fathers usually according to the *piṇḍa-dāna* or rice-ball offering, which sustains the ancestors for seven generations. It was here, when he was performing the rites for his father, Jagannātha Miśra, that Caitanya met Īśvara Purī and was initiated into the *bhakti* of Kṛṣṇa. From this point he returns to Bengal to lead the devotional community.

Goloka - the "realm" or "sphere" (*loka*) of the "cow" (*go*), it is generally synonymous with Vṛndāvana. Goloka takes two forms: manifest (*prakāṣa*) and unmanifest (*aprakāṣa*), the former found in the Vraja region of north India, the latter being the innermost realm of the Vaikuṇṭha (q.v.) heavens, where Kṛṣṇa eternally plays (*līlā*, q.v.) with the *gopīs* and *gopas* (q.v.). Vide *dhāma*.

gopa (m.), *gopī* (f.) - designation of male and female members of a cowherding group to which Kṛṣṇa belonged and who lived around pastoral Vṛndāvana. A popular name of Kṛṣṇa is Gopāla or "cow" (*go-*) "protector" (*pālā*). The most well-known *gopī* is of course Rādhā.

Gosvāmī, Gosvāmin - "lord" (*svāmī*) of "cows" (*go-*), an honorific title among Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas, due to the intimate connection of Kṛṣṇa and cow-herding people (vide *gopa*, *gopī*). Specifically, the term is applied to the six philosophers and theologians, five of whom were personally deputed by Caitanya to establish a "school" at Vṛndāvana (q.v.) and who wrote the basic texts defining the Gauḍīya

Vaiṣṇava positions. The six were Rūpa and Sanātana, two brothers who had been high officials at the Muslim court, their nephew Jīva, perhaps the greatest theologian of them all, Raghunātha Dāsa and Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa, great devotees, and Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, the ritual specialist.

guṇa - the term that is most usually translated "quality," in the sense that the qualities of a thing define that thing and set it apart from everything else. The material qualities (*sattva* or purity and truth, *rajas* or passion, and *tamas* or darkness) are present in all material beings, but in such relations or proportions as to define each being as an individual. Corresponding to these three are the three "immaterial" qualities, *sat* (q.v.), *cit* (q.v.), and *ānanda* (q.v.), which make up the divine being.

guṇḍīcā - vide *rathayātra*.

guru - teacher, spiritual preceptor. The text routinely distinguishes two: *dikṣā*- (q.v.) "initiatory" guide who bestows the *mantra* (q.v.) for purification and future meditation, and *śikṣā*- (q.v.) "instructional" guide who teaches the *śāstras* appropriate to the particular tradition. Among Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas, a devotee can have but one *dikṣā-gurus*, but several *śikṣā-gurus*.

īśvara - lord or God, from the root *īś-*, to be powerful or capable, often used by Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas as a synonym for *bhagavān* (q.v.), but suggestive of a cosmic sovereignty (*aiśvarya*) of the older Pāñcarātra forms of divinity, as opposed to a more approachable gentleness (*mādhurya*). In non-Vaiṣṇava texts, the term generally refers to Śiva.

Jagannātha - "lord of the world"; name of the image in the temple at Puri, considered to be a form of Kṛṣṇa. Caitanya was often called the "animated" or "mobile" (*sacala*) Jagannātha in contrast to the image in the temple which was fixed (*acala*).

Jagannāthakṣetra - the "land" (*kṣetra*) of "Jagannātha," an alternate name for the city of Puri (q.v.).

japa - quietly muttering or silently repeating the name or names of God. Vide *kīrtana* and *mantra*.

jāti - from the root *jā-*, "to be born," its derivatives seem to function in much the same way as derivatives of the Latin root *nat-* (as in native, national), i.e., to indicate a group born with or from something, often a common ancestor. The term *jāti* is usually translated as "caste" or "subcaste" in the sociological literature particularly, but the Bengali meaning is much broader: *strī-jāti*, "women as a type of person"; *yavana-jāti* (q.v.), "foreigners (usually referring to Muslims) as a group." Vide *varṇa*.

jīva - living beings; technically that *śakti* (q.v.) which is physical matter (*māyā*, q.v.) suffused with life or sentience (*cit*, q.v.), called *taṭastha* (on the border, i.e., suspended between the two categories). As *jīvas* human beings are parts of Kṛṣṇa.

jñāna - intellectual knowledge or knowledge acquired by study. It is one of the paths to religious realization discussed by the *Bhagavad Gītā*, and one much valued by the more philosophically oriented of the *brāhmaṇas* (q.v.). To the Vaiṣṇavas it is not a highly valued pursuit, since they consider intellectual endeavor not only valueless but an obstacle to *bhakti* (q.v.); to the Vaiṣṇavas true knowledge is that received by association with Kṛṣṇa and the things related to him. In some other texts (e.g., the *Manasa Maṅgala*) *jñāna* means "esoteric knowledge," "knowledge of the occult," which suggests its association with the extremes of yogic practice and magic.

jñānin - the religious practitioner who pursues the path of knowledge (*jñāna*, q.v.). In the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*, often refers more specifically to followers of Śaṅkara, Vedāntins (q.v.) or Māyāvādins (q.v.; vide also *-vādī*, *-vādin*).

Kāma, *kāma* - the name of the god of love (also called Kāmadeva, Kandarpa, Madana, Anaṅga, etc.), who carries, like Eros, a bow from which he shoots enchanting flower-arrows. In the Vaiṣṇava context the term, while used in poetic passages referring to the god, more usually means "lust" or "physical desire," and by extension "desire for the satisfaction of the self" in opposition to *prema* (q.v.), which is love that seeks the satisfaction of others. While not a condition appropriate for a devotee, *kāma* is not thoroughly to be scorned, for it is a basic experience which suggests, in its quality of joy, the ultimate religious relationship.

karma - from the root *kar-/kṛ-*, "to do," the term signifies action; in an extended and commonly understood meaning, *karma* is action that results in certain consequences, either in this birth or in future ones; also implied is that one's present condition is the result of actions performed in a past life. The Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava position vis-à-vis this ancient Hindu doctrine is ambivalent: there is frequent reference to actions leading to consequences, but there is also the frequent statement that "*karma* is not for Vaiṣṇavas," for *bhakti* (q.v.) frees the *bhakta* (q.v.) from the necessity of action and from its fruits. Vide *vāsana*.

kāvya - "wisdom from a sage or poet (*kavī*)," the term comes to denote the literary genre as opposed to the philosophical, and to mean "poetry" much as that term is understood in English. *Mahākāvya*, or "great poetry," is extended literature, as an epic or long narrative, in verse. In Bengali, the term *maṅgala kāvya* (q.v.) refers to an even more narrow semi-epic genre.

kīrtana - "praise," from the root *kīrt-*, in the present context a specific type of hymn-singing in glorification of Kṛṣṇa; the foremost among enjoined ritual practices, it can take the form of a mere singing of Kṛṣṇa's names (*nāma-saṁkīrtana*), or it can be the singing of the full cycle of hymns describing Kṛṣṇa's *līla* (q.v.) in the world, specifically his love affair with Rādhā and the *gopīs* (q.v.). *Samkīrtana* is technically the collective or public form of this singing, but the term is often used interchangeably with *kīrtana*. Closely associated with these musical forms is the practice of privately chanting the names of God, called *japa* (q.v.).

kṣatriya - vide *varṇa*.

Kṣetra - an alternate name for the city of Puri (q.v.); vide Jagannāthakṣetra.

līla - usually translated "play," but the etymology is complex and obscure, related perhaps to the licking of flames and suggestive of often unpredictable actions, usually of God, which seem to be performed or take place simply for their own sake. The actions of Kṛṣṇa and Caitanya on earth are styled *līla*, as are the love-making activities of Rādhā and the *gopīs* with Kṛṣṇa. In the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*, *līla* is often synonymous with *vilāsa* (q.v.). For Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas, the *līla* of Kṛṣṇa is of two kinds: manifest (*prakaṭa*) or unmanifest (*aprakaṭa*), the former being associated with his appearances on earth and conditioned by time, the latter being eternal and timeless and which can simultaneously permeate the manifest. Vide *dhama*.

madhura, *mādhurya* - also called *śṛṅgāra*, one of the five basic emotional states of relationship between the devotee and Kṛṣṇa. This *bhāva* (q.v.) is the highest of the set, being emotionally the most rich; it is the condition of the *gopīs* (q.v.) in passionate love with Kṛṣṇa. It is described as "fullest," containing as it does the types of love which characterize the other four *bhāvas*, thus the most to be desired and striven for by the *bhakta* (q.v.). *Mādhurya* also signifies that half of *bhagavān*'s (q.v.) personality, i.e., his sweet, loving nature, in contrast with his martial sovereignty (*aiśvarya*, q.v.).

mahābhāva - the highest form of love which is selfless and pure, embodied best by Rādhā. For its technical use, vide *prema*.

mahāprasāda - vide *prasāda*.

mahaśaya - literally "great receptacle" or "ocean," the term refers to a man of noble disposition and high-mindedness; it is used as a respectful form of address, "sir." In context it becomes an unofficial title designating great accomplishment in *bhakti* (q.v.).

mahiṣī - the wives of Kṛṣṇa when he ruled as king in the city of Dvāraka in western India. According to this part of the Kṛṣṇa myth, the wives numbered sixteen thousand (*Mahābhārata*, *sabhāparvan*).

māna - "pique" or "annoyance": the condition of Rādhā when she discovers that Kṛṣṇa has been dallying with other *gopīs* (q.v.), thus the title of the section of the poetic cycle dealing with Rādhā in this condition. The term has a more subtle psychological connotation as well: hurt feigned in order to bring the "offender" around to a position of humility—a condition often referred to also as *abhimāna*. Vide *prema*.

mandira - temple, habitation, waiting place; in this text almost always the abode of a deity.

maṅgala - auspiciousness, felicity, welfare, bliss; the term also denotes a blessing, benediction, or words of praise or glorification, hence its use in the titles of several of the Caitanya biographies and the entire genre of texts in praise of the various goddesses and gods of Bengal called *maṅgala kāvyā* (vide *kāvyā*).

mantra - an "instrument of thought" (*man*), a formula which can be a single syllable (*bija*, q.v.) or an extended utterance (as the Vedic *gāyatrī*, a hymn of praise recited each morning to the rising sun), to glorify a deity or to focus the concentration of the worshiper in his meditation. The formula is sometimes superior or sub-cognitive, i.e., without overt meaning, as in magic, and sometimes, in poetic form, it names and thus calls down the gods or natural powers to participate in human activities. The simplest Vaiṣṇava *mantra* consists of one or two names of Kṛṣṇa, the most popular form of which is the sixteen name *mahamantra*: Hare Kṛṣṇa Hare Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Hare Hare/ Hare Rāma Hare Rāma Rāma Rāma Hare Hare//.

-maya (m), *mayī* (f) - suffix meaning "full of" or "consisting of"; at the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* stage of the Bengali language, the suffix was a very productive one, used largely in epithets of god or goddess, e.g., *karuṇā*, "compassion," *karuṇā-mayī*, "she who is compassionate," or *māyā* (q.v.), *māyāmayī*, "she who consists of *māyā*."

māyā - the term that is usually translated "illusion," especially in the context of the Vedānta (q.v.), in which the visible universe is considered to be an artificial mental construct. The term also means "magic," as in the extraordinary powers of god to bring about miracles and to disrupt the ordinary course of events. This is closer to its meaning in the present context, where "*yogamāyā*" is the power of Kṛṣṇa to deceive himself, as when, in order to insure the normality of his reactions as

a human being, he hides his true divine nature from himself. Kṛṣṇadāsa also uses the term *mayāvādī* (vide *vādī*) to refer to the *advaitin* followers of Śaṅkara, i.e., "those who propound the doctrine of *māyā*," for the Vaiṣṇavas do not consider that the material universe is false. The *māyā śakti* (vide *śakti*) of Kṛṣṇa, by which he creates and relates himself to the material world, is a power of Kṛṣṇa and therefore real.

Mayāvādin - vide Vedāntin and -vādī.

mleccha - from the root *mlech-*, "to speak indistinctly," referring to anyone who does not know Sanskrit and is, therefore, a barbarian; the term is used generally to mean foreigner, occasionally outcaste or wicked person, and anyone who is ritually unclean and does not honor the usual Hindu institutions. In this text the term is often synonymous with *yavana* (q.v.).

mokṣa, *mukti* - from the root *muc-*, "to liberate"; liberation, release, setting free, technically used to designate the release of the *ātman* (q.v.) from the cycle of rebirth (*saṁsāra*, q.v.) in Vedānta (q.v.) and schools of *yoga*. The term is often used in the devotional context more generally to mean "salvation," with the same overtones of escaping the rounds of existence, but without the obliteration of those distinctions that serve to define the individual in contrast to God (*bhagavān*, q.v.). In Hindu religious thought this is opposed to both life and death, i.e., life and death are in a continuum, while *mokṣa* breaks or transcends that continuum.

mūrti - that which has a shape, or limits; that which is made up of material substance. The latter definition is perhaps not entirely appropriate here, for as in *avatāra* (q.v.) of the deity, the deity's form, while substantial, is not material, being made up of *guṇas* (q.v.) but not the material ones. A *mūrti* then is an image of a deity, defining and making visible that deity, but not coterminous with that deity's true nature. A *mūrti* defines a deity in space and time, but does not necessarily represent that deity's form a moment before or a moment after the *mūrti* in question; it is the deity, but is not the deity's only or final form.

Nadīya - an alternate name for the city of Navadvīpa (q.v.); the name of the modern-day administrative district in which Navadvīpa lies.

nāma - "name," the name of Kṛṣṇa, which through repetition is the vehicle and key to religious salvation in the Kali Age; vide *japa*, *kīrtana*, and *śabda*.

nāmasaṁkīrtana - vide *kīrtana*.

namaskāra - obeisance, a word or gesture of greeting, which, in modern times and probably at the time of the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*, was often—though not always—

a formal gesture like a salute. It is usually accompanied by a bow, either a nod or a slight bow from the waist, with palms pressed together and raised to the forehead.

Navadvīpa - place of the "nine" (*nava*) "islands" (*dvīpa*), the city of Caitanya's birth and youth, about seventy miles north of modern-day Calcutta in the Nadīya district of West Bengal. The city remains the active center of Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava piety along with Vṛndāvana (q.v.) in modern Uttar Pradesh and Puri (q.v.) in Orissa. The city was, in Caitanya's time, a center of learning, especially in the Navya-nyāya system of philosophy, and students from all over India congregated there.

Nīlācala - "Blue Mountain," an alternate name for the city of Puri (q.v.).

pada, *pāda* - "foot," as in metrics; the term also comes to mean the type of lyric poem highly developed by the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas, usually a short song of twelve or fourteen lines in *payāra* (q.v.) or *tripadī* (q.v.) meter. These lyrics, which comprise the content of *kīrtana* (q.v.), describe and glorify either Caitanya (as a group such songs are called *gauracandrika*) or the childhood, youth, and especially the love-play of Kṛṣṇa. Among the most accomplished of the early writers (called *padakartās*) of these lyrics, Vidyapati, Caṇḍīdāsa, Govindadāsa, and Jñānadāsa can be named. The composition usually concludes with a signature line (*bhaṇita*, q.v.) by the author.

pañca tattva - theory of Caitanya's descent that identifies him and four of his chief disciples as representing the five essential elements or principles (vide *tattva*) necessary to generate *bhakti* toward Kṛṣṇa on this earth. Caitanya is understood to be Kṛṣṇa (*svayaṁ bhakta rāpa*); Nityānanda is Kṛṣṇa's brother Balarāma (*bhakta svarūpa*); Advaitācārya is Sadaśiva (*bhaktāvatāra rāpa*); Śrīvāsa represents the ranks of devotees (*bhakta*); and Gadādhara represents the *gopīs* (*bhakti śakti*) or more specifically, Rādhā. The theory is attributed to Svarūpa Damodara and elaborated in *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* 1.1-8 and in summary in Kavikarṇapūra's *Gaurāṅgodaśadīpikā*. The latter text extends the theory to match all of Caitanya's earthly devotees with those in Kṛṣṇa's eternal realm (*dhāma*, q.v.).

paṣaṇḍa, *paṣaṇḍī* - one who is heretical, impious, often applied by Hindu texts to Jains or Buddhists because of their atheism.

payāra - in Bengali metrics, a term used to denote a couplet form, usually of fourteen syllables with caesura after the first eight, with rhyme scheme a-a, b-b, etc. The number of syllables can vary, and each line of the couplet can be broken into three feet instead of two: in such cases, usually for lyrical passages, the form is called *tripadī* (q.v.). The *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* is composed, except for San-

skrit passages, in one of the several varieties of this form. In this text the *payāras* have been translated as prose, while the *tripadī* sections have been translated as three-part lines to preserve a sense of the versification.

prahara - a measurement of time; the eighth part of a day; a watch (three hours). Vide *daṇḍa*.

prakṛti - the primal nature, the original producer of the phenomenal world, which is feminine, especially when in opposition to the inactive masculine spirit (*puruṣa*, q.v.); from the root *kṛ-*, meaning to fashion, achieve, accomplish. *Prakṛti* when personified is associated generically with the goddess. Vide *śakti*.

praṇāma - from the root *nam-*, "go down" or "descend"; *praṇāma* is a bending down, an obeisance. The gesture, one of reverence and submission as well as simple salutation, can vary from a bow from the waist to a full-length prostration, in the case of a god, saint, or very honored person.

praṇaya - vide *prema*.

prasāda - etymologically meaning "favor," *prasāda* is God's grace in the substantial form of food that has first been offered to the presiding deity of a temple and then distributed to worshipers. Just as the ingestion of this physical form of grace transforms the very being of the eater, so too the special attention (*prasāda*, usually with some form of the root *kṛ-*, "to do" or "to make") that Caitanya (or any *guru* [q.v.] within the tradition) proffers to a favored or deserving disciple, which constitutes the term's second use. *Mahāprasāda* is technically that food distributed from the temple of Jagannātha in Puri.

prema - in general usage, "love" or "affection." More specific to its use in the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* and Vaiṣṇava esthetics, *prema* refers to the highest form of love which is the distillation of a succession of experiences, the purest love for Kṛṣṇa embodied best by Rādhā. Love (*rati*, q.v.) moves through a hierarchy of stages from lowest to highest: *sneha* (q.v.), the condition of young love when the mind is affected and separation from the object of that affection cannot be borne; *māna* (q.v.), a feigned anger or irritation deployed to increase the pleasure of the love affair; *praṇaya* (q.v.), the emergence of faith in the beloved; *rāga* (q.v.), the passion that emerges upon the realization that it might actually be possible to gain Kṛṣṇa, so that any experience connected with him is considered joyous, even sadness or pain; *anurāga* (q.v.), the ever-increasing renewal of *rāga* that enables one to experience this love in new and different ways; *bhāva* (q.v.), the stabilizing of the experience when the heart is completely controlled by this love; *mahābhāva*, the increase of *bhāva* to the point of nothing else existing for

the experiencer, Rādhā being considered the only one to perfect this love. *Mahābhāva* is often synonymous with *prema*.

pāja - honor, worship, respect, reverence, or veneration; *pāja* is the ritual form of worship that signifies the devotional submission of the *bhakta* (q.v.) to the deity. The ritual consists of a formal viewing of the deity (vide *darśana*) and various offerings of foods and flowers, accompanied by incense, the waving of lights, blowing of the conch, etc., and is generally conducted in a temple or private shrine. *Pāja* often concludes for the individual with the receipt of *prasāda* (q.v.).

purāṇa - a class of texts narrating the ancient histories of the sectarian Hindu traditions, the source of much of the mythology of Kṛṣṇa and other deities; from the root *pur-*, meaning to precede or go before, i.e., that which belongs to ancient times. For Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* is the most revered source of revelation for the life of Kṛṣṇa, containing as it does the stories of Kṛṣṇa's childhood and youth. In a false etymology, the stem *pār-*, "filling" or "completing" is invoked and the *Bhāgavata* becomes the "fulfillment" of the Vedas (q.v.).

Puri - city of Jagannātha (q.v.), lying on the coast of modern-day Orissa. Puri was the center of Vaiṣṇava piety and pilgrimage in eastern India during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The Jagannātha temple was the last major temple in eastern India under the protection of independent Hindu kings, the Gajapati dynasty which ruled to 1559 AD; in 1568 the temple was ransacked by Muslims and the image temporarily removed. It was in Puri that Caitanya passed the last eighteen years of his life, and where he died. Former names of the city include Nīlācala (the most popular designation in the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*), Jagannāthakṣetra, and Kṣetra.

puruṣa - "man" or "person": either specifically the male gender or the total primordial Man, from whom the created universe comes (*Rg Veda* 10.90). The term comes also to indicate a philosophical principle, especially in Sāṃkhya, where *puruṣa* is an inactive spirit, in opposition to *prakṛti* (q.v.), primal nature or the female.

puruṣārtha - the four values (*artha*) of humankind (*puruṣa*): propriety (*dharma*, q.v.), prosperity and power (*artha*); pleasure (*kāma*), and release from all of the above (*mokṣa*, q.v.). Vide *varṇa* for *varṇāśrama dharma*.

rāga - the feeling of passion, especially love, that embraces desire, joy, and delight, most often in the Vaiṣṇava context signifying the love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa and of the devotees for God. In other contexts it is often erotic in its motivation,

while the Vaiṣṇavas generally see it as pure, selfless, and spontaneous in contrast to lower forms of physical lust (*kāma*, q.v.) which are self-satisfying. For its technical usage as a stage in the development of pure love, vide *prema*.

rāgānuga - "a following after" (*anuga*) "of passion" (*rāga*, q.v.); that specifically Vaiṣṇava form of ritual striving (*sādhana*, q.v.) that by virtue of the practitioner's depth of love, allows him spontaneously to participate in the eternal activities (*līla*, q.v.) of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. For its use in this context, vide *sādhana*; cf., *vidhi*.

rasa - literally "juice," "sap," or "flavor," the term is used in esthetic theory to signify the abstracted joy that the appreciator of art (*sahṛdaya*, "the man with heart") experiences; it is connected to, but not identical with, immediate sensation or condition (*bhāva*, q.v.). The Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas, and especially Rūpa Gosvāmin in his *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* and *Ujjvalānīlamanī*, applied the concept to *bhakti* (q.v.), and in this way experience of absorption in God (*bhagavān*, q.v.) is described.

rāsa - the circular dance performed by Kṛṣṇa and the *gopīs* (q.v.), in which Kṛṣṇa appears between each pair of *gopīs* and simultaneously in the center of the circle. Vide *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.29.42-48.

rathayātrā - the "chariot journey" or, as it is more normally called, the "car festival"; specifically the annual festival taking place on the second lunar day of the bright fortnight of Āṣāḍha (June-July) in which the image of Jagannātha (q.v.) is taken out of his temple. The prototypical festival is at Puri, and is literally a vacation for the god, as he goes, with his brother and sister, to reside for a few days at another temple, the *guṇḍicā*. For devotees of Jagannātha it is a time of great rejoicing, not only because of the opportunity for the *darśana* (q.v.) of the god, but for the demonstration of devotion—the pulling of the massive car, the sweeping of the streets before it (traditionally done by the *mahārāja* of Puri), cleaning the *guṇḍicā mandira*, etc.

rati - from the root *ram-*, to delight in, to enjoy carnally; love and the pleasure and delight in it, especially the erotic. In the text of the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*, *rati* is often synonymous with *prema* (q.v.), but more technically the term refers to the gamut of love experiences that culminates in *prema*.

rūpa - "beauty" of form; also and usually in Vaiṣṇava texts, the form which the deity takes. Kṛṣṇa's infinite power and his nature as containing infinite qualities allow him to take all forms at all times, any form at any time, or anything in between; the *rūpa* is that definable shape, with particular characteristics, that Kṛṣṇa holds at any point in time and space. Thus one of Kṛṣṇa's *rūpas* is the

four-armed Viṣṇu which matches his personality as martial sovereign (*aiśvarya*, q.v.); another is the two-armed Kṛṣṇa, which is identical with the *svarūpa* (q.v.), and which matches his gentle and loving nature (*mādhurya*, q.v.).

śabda - "word," both the grammatically defined linguistic word, and, in linguistic philosophy, the ultimate principle (e.g., *śabdabrahman* is the creative force). In Vaiṣṇava literature the term is most often used to refer to the "word" of revelation, i.e., the Vaiṣṇava *śāstras* (q.v.), and in particular the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.

sādhana - the act of mastering or subduing (e.g., the senses); striving (e.g., for perfection); personal ritual practices. According to Rūpa's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu*, *sādhana*s are of two kinds: those performed according to injunction (*vaidhī*, q.v.), and those arising spontaneously in the passion-controlled devotee (*rāgānuga*, q.v.). The former number sixty-four, five of which are deemed most effective, viz. chanting the name of Kṛṣṇa (*kīrtana*, q.v.), association with pure and adept devotees, reading the stories of Kṛṣṇa from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, residing in the holy region of Mathurā, and honoring and serving the image of God. These somewhat mechanical rites serve to build and nurture devotion. *Rāgānuga* practices are those in which the worshiper participates spontaneously in the activities (*līla*, q.v.) of Kṛṣṇa, often through yogic processes that involve the development of a perfected body.

sādhu - in the Hindu tradition, a virtuous or holy man, one who is pure, honorable, righteous, and well-considered in his judgments. The term is often used generically to refer to renunciates or ascetics (called *saṁnyāsins*, q.v.) and to pious *bhaktas* (q.v.). Sometimes, in Bengali texts of other traditions during this same period, *sādhu* means a merchant.

sakhī - "companion"; vide *gopī*.

sakhya - "friendly," one of the five basic *bhāvas* (q.v.) emotional states of relationship between the worshiper and Kṛṣṇa. The relationship is as that of the *gopas* (q.v.) of Vṛndāvana, who wrestled with Kṛṣṇa, jumped on his back, and played all manner of rough and boyish games with him.

śakti - from the root *śak-*, meaning to be strong, powerful, or capable; power, might, efficacy; the generic title of the goddess (as worshipped by Śāktas); vide *prakṛti*. In Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava theology the world and everything in it is the result of Kṛṣṇa's *śaktis*: *māyā* (q.v.) is that *śakti* extrinsic to Kṛṣṇa and comprises the material world; *cit* (q.v.) is that *śakti* intrinsic to Kṛṣṇa, his innermost character and his true form (*svarūpa*, q.v.); and *jīva* (q.v.) is that in-between category of *śakti* which comprises all living beings, i.e., physical forms infused with life, both divine and not divine

(*acintya bhedābheda*, q.v.). Additionally, Rādhā is conceived of as the ultimate *śakti* and Kṛṣṇa as the possessor or container of all *śaktis* (*śaktimān*).

saṅkīrtana - vide *kīrtana*.

saṅnyāsa - from the stem *ny-ās*, "put aside" the life of the material world to follow religious asceticism. Vide *saṅnyāsin*.

saṅnyāsin, *saṅnyāsi* - *ny-ās*, "put aside" or "lay down"; a renunciate, ascetic, or religious mendicant, one who gives up the householder's life to devote himself fulltime to the religious path. Traditionally there are ten recognized orders of *saṅnyāsins* among Vedāntins (q.v.): Caitanya was initiated into the Bhārati order. Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava ascetics have come to be called *vairāgins*, literally "those who have divorced themselves" (*vi/vai*) from their "bodily passions" (*rāga*; n.b. *rāga* here is not a technical term in the sense defined above). Vide Gosvāmī.

saṁsāra - "the flowing together" (*saṁ* + the root *sr-*), the ocean of existence, referring to the constant flow of transmigration, the cycle of births, from which each living being (*jīva*, q.v.) desires escape (*mokṣa*, *mukti*, q.v.), the mundane world. This term is frequently invoked in the metaphors of salvation and is especially effective in Bengal with its riverine ecology.

śānta - one of the five *bhāvas* (q.v.), basic states of relationship of the worshiper to Kṛṣṇa: one whose condition is "peaceful" (*śānta*). The implication is that the worshiper looks upon Kṛṣṇa in his majestic (*aiśvarya*, q.v.) aspect, the relationship therefore being *bheda*, "separate," not personally and emotionally direct. It is for this reason that *śānta* is considered to be the most meager of the five states, and is by some commentators not considered to be a proper *bhāva* at all.

Śāntipura - the "citadel" (*pura*) of "repose" (*śānti*), the home of Caitanya's primary disciple Advaitācārya. Modern-day Śāntipura lies on the east bank of the Ganges, approximately seven miles south of Navadvīpa, which is situated on the west bank of the river; in the sixteenth century both lay on the east bank. Śāntipura today is, like Navadvīpa, a major Vaiṣṇava center.

śāstra - texts of regulation, instruction, and injunction in any of the multifarious forms of human endeavor; thus *kāma-śāstra*, "śāstra of love," *dharma-śāstra*, "śāstra of conduct," Vaiṣṇava *śāstra*, "śāstra which the Vaiṣṇavas consider particular to their belief (e.g., *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, *Bhagavad Gītā*).

sat - one of three fundamental qualities (*guṇa*, q.v.) of the godhead and of the self (*ātman*, q.v.), usually translated as "being" or "existence"; from the root *as-*, "to be." Vide *cit* and *ananda*.

śikṣā - instruction; as the *dīkṣa-guru* gives the initiate a *mantra* (q.v.) at the time of initiation into an ascetic order, the *śikṣa-guru* provides detailed instruction in the rules of that order and of the religious life generally. Kṛṣṇadāsa's *śikṣa-gurus* are those Gosvāmīs with whom he spent the whole of his adult life in Vṛndāvana, most notably Rūpa, Jīva, and Raghunātha Dāsa.

śloka - in Sanskrit literature, the name of a specific verse form (first devised by Valmiki in composition of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, according to mythology), usually a fluid couplet broken into four feet of eight syllables each. In the present context the term refers to any Sanskrit verse used as a *sūtra* (q.v.) by Kṛṣṇadāsa.

smaraṇa - from the root *smṛ-* to remember; recalling and thinking about the name and exploits of Kṛṣṇa, one of the primary ritual injunctions (*vaidhī*, q.v.) for Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas. The term also refers to the more sophisticated forms of yogic *sādhana* (q.v.) that visualize the realm of Kṛṣṇa and his various activities as a means of gaining access to Kṛṣṇa in heavenly Vṛndāvana (q.v.).

sneha - literally "unctuousness" or "oiliness," a cloying affection that is the foundation of higher forms of love, but because of its immaturity is not completely selfless or pure; for its technical position in the hierarchy of love's growth, vide *prema*.

Śrī, *śrī* - a name of the goddess Lakṣmī. In the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* text, and commonly throughout India, the term is prefixed to a name, and signifies that the person so designated is to be honored. The literal meaning of the word is "wealth" and "good fortune," but in context it can function in much the same way as the English use of "Sir," "Mr." or "Ms."

śruti - "that which is heard," texts of revelation such as the Vedas (q.v.) and their *saṁhitās* (i.e., *brāhmaṇas*, *āranyakas*, *upaniṣads*); such texts have ultimate authority, greater, that is, than texts that have been "remembered" or *smṛti*, i.e., the *itihāsas* ("histories," such as the *Mahābhārata*) and the *purāṇas* ("stories of yore"). For Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* is considered the last *śruti*, the fifth Veda, the culmination of its truth.

śūdra - vide *varṇa*.

sūtra - literally "thread"; in language descriptive of philosophical texts it signifies a pithy, aphoristic summary of an argument or principle, or an exemplary statement which can then be unpacked by commentary. Thus Kṛṣṇadāsa will state, usually as a *śloka* (q.v.) from some authoritative text, what the subject matter of his discourse will be, and proceed to explain this at great length and in specific relation to Caitanya.

svatāpa - Kṛṣṇa's "intrinsic" (*sva*) "nature" or "form" (*rūpa*), identified with *cit śakti* (q.v.). This most fundamental aspect of Kṛṣṇa's identity is spiritual or immaterial, pure consciousness, with no admixture of the physical qualities of existence. As such the highest, most pleasing portion is the *hlādinī śakti*, identified as the bliss- (*ānanda*, q.v.) bestowing Rādhā.

svatantra - self dependent, independent, self willed; a characteristic of *svayaṁ bhagavān* (q.v.) referring to his independent nature as first cause, the undivided source of all pluralities, the uncreated creator, etc.

svayaṁ bhagavān - vide *bhagavān*.

tantra (text) - the root *tan-* means "spread" or "extend," and the class of texts called *tantras*, usually constructed in the form of an instructional dialogue between Śiva and Pārvatī, deal both with ritual and with an often heterodox view of the world. There have been Vaiṣṇava *tantras* since the Pāñcarātra period, but in recent centuries in Bengal, *tantras* are usually classed, in the Vaiṣṇava literature, with *āgamas*, another type of ritually oriented text, usually understood to be Śaiva. The effect of this literature on Vaiṣṇava thinking has not been insignificant.

tapas - "heat," most usually, in religious contexts, the heat generated by ascetic activity, including intense meditation; by extension, the term also means mortification or asceticism itself.

tattva - "that-ness"; quiddity, the intrinsic quality of a thing that makes it what it is; what is called in linguistics a "distinctive feature"; more broadly a "principle" or "truth," and in certain contexts best translated as "metaphysical reality." The latter meaning is especially significant in the philosophical context of the Vedānta (q.v.), in which the formula "that" (*tat*) is "you" (*tva*) states the identity of the individual with the *brahman* (q.v.). The latter, and usual, meaning is inappropriate in the present context because the idea of the identity of deity and worshiper is anathema to the Vaiṣṇavas except in a complexly modified form, i.e., *bhedābheda* (q.v., vide introduction). The translation "principle," or "metaphysical principle," is often apt, as in *pañca tattva* (q.v.), "five principles."

ṭhākura - an honorific term, sometimes applied to a deity or an image of a deity, and sometimes to a particularly revered person (e.g., Haridāsa Ṭhākura); the feminine, *ṭhākuraṇī*, is often used with reference to Rādhā, or to other significant women in the tradition, such as Caitanya's mother, Śacī Ṭhākuraṇī.

tīrtha - a crossing, ford; the term has been extended to indicate any holy site worthy of pilgrimage, often associated with those places where the deity descended to earth, or where the dismembered goddess' various parts fell. These places are

remarkable for their power to enable the pilgrim to "cross over" the stormy waters of this worldly life (*saṁsāra*, q.v.). Among Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas, Vṛndāvana and the sites of the Vraja region (q.v.), Navadvīpa (q.v.), Puri (q.v.), and to a lesser extent Gayā (q.v.) are considered most auspicious.

tribhaṅga - "thrice-bent," a term descriptive of the charming and graceful posture of Kṛṣṇa as he plays his flute: his body is bent at the neck, waist, and knee.

tripadī - "three-footed," in Bengali metrics a variation of *payāra* (q.v.) meter. A form usually used for lyric passages and capable of considerable variation and subtlety, the *tripadī* presents a variety of rhyme schemes, e.g., aab, ccb; abc, abc; aac; bbc; etc. In the translation an effort has been made to preserve the *tripadī* structure to set it off from the more prosaic *payāra*.

tulasī, *tulsi* - a kind of basil (*ocimum sanctum*), venerated by Vaiṣṇavas. According to the *Devī Bhāgavata*, Lakṣmī, wife of Viṣṇu, herself became the basil plant, accounting for its holiness; in other *purāṇas* *tulasī* is churned from the ocean of milk and on occasion embodies various female figures, many of whom were cursed to become the plant, but in that process become dear to forms of Viṣṇu. Every Vaiṣṇava family will keep one of the plants in the courtyard or on the front stoop of the house, and there are careful instructions in Vaiṣṇava texts as to how it should be treated.

-vada - suffix meaning "doctrine" or "argument"; thus *māyāvāda*, "the doctrine that treats of *māya*" (q.v.), i.e., *advaita* (q.v.).

-vādī, *-vādin* - suffix meaning "the follower of a *vada*," e.g., *māyāvādī* or *māyāvādin*, an *advaitin* or follower of the philosophy of Śaṅkara.

vaidhī - vide *vidhī*.

Vaikuṇṭha - the heaven of Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa. According to Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava cosmography, *Vaikuṇṭha* is divided into realms that become domiciles for devotees according to their emotional proclivities and devotional accomplishments. The innermost realm is *Goloka* (q.v.) or *Vṛndāvana* (q.v.), whose inhabitants enjoy frequent interaction with Kṛṣṇa in his loving play with the *gopas* and *gopīs* (q.v.), corresponding to the most intimate forms of *bhakti* (q.v.), the *mādhurya* (q.v.); succeeding realms include *Mathurā* and *Dvārakā*, these emphasizing Kṛṣṇa's nature as lord (*aiśvarya*, q.v.); the set ends finally with the *paravyoman* region, in appearance not unlike the effulgent aureole surrounding the sun, which is reserved for practitioners of the Vedānta, a formless eternity.

vaiśya - vide *varṇa*.

vāma - "left" or "left-handed," e.g., that which is deviant or crooked, which departs from ordinary, or in the case of religion, from orthodox, "straight-line" behavior. Rādhā's playfulness in her early flirtation with Kṛṣṇa is often said to be *vāma*: a little tricky, but with a feeling of light-heartedness, and charmingly unpredictable. In other contexts the term is heavier, e.g., "left-handed" *tantras* (q.v.) are those texts which propound rituals which are diametrically opposite to those of orthodox brahmanism.

Vaṅga - the region of eastern Bengal, roughly the central portions of contemporary Bangladesh; during the life of a Caitanya a relatively unsettled place that was expanding in populations, both Hindu and Muslim, but also as the entry point for a number of Europeans who were just beginning to trickle into the region.

varṇa, *varṇāśramadharmā* - literally meaning "color," the term *varṇa* signifies the traditional four-way division of society into *brāhmaṇas* or priests (also called *vipra*, "inspired" or "wise," and *dvija*, "twice-born"); *kṣatriya* or warriors; *vaiśyas* or settlers, farmers; and *śūdras* or servants (*Rg Veda* 10.90.12). The term *varṇāśramadharmā*, which the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* text says should not be recognized by Vaiṣṇavas, means acceptance of this traditional social division plus that of the *āśramas* (q.v.), the four progressive divisions of an individual's life: *brahmacarya*, studentship; *gṛhasthya*, householding; *vānaprasthya*, dwelling in the forest; and *saṁnyāsa* (q.v.), renunciation. Traditionally the *puruṣārthas* (q.v.) are included in this schema, but are not promoted by the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas.

vaśa, *vaśya* - "control," usually the impelling power of *bhakti* (q.v.), that yokes Kṛṣṇa (or Caitanya) to his devotees, bringing them to his attention and granting them direct access.

vāsanā - the effect of something from the past that remains in the mind; the present effect of past perceptions. Sometimes the *vāsanās* are considered to be that part of a personality which continues from birth to birth, accounting not only for such phenomena as *déjà vu*, but also predispositions of personality. Vide *karma*.

vatsalya - "affectionate," "the love of a parent for a child," one of the five basic *bhāvas* (q.v.) or states of relationship between Kṛṣṇa and the devotee. In this state one offers Kṛṣṇa food, dresses and plays with him, and in general acts toward him as did his foster parents Yaśoda and Nanda in Vṛndāvana.

Veda - from the root *vid-*, "to know," the oldest and most celebrated class of texts in the Hindu tradition, deemed to contain the original revelations of the ancient sages. The Hindu tradition conceives of itself as the culmination or fulfillment of this original revelation and the Vaiṣṇavas are no exception, promoting the

exploits of Kṛṣṇa contained in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, and by extension those of Caitanya, as the apex of this truth. In the *Caitanya caritāmṛta* text the term often means "orthodoxy," i.e., the *varṇāśrama dharma* (q.v.). Vide *purāṇa*.

Vedānta - the end (*anta*) of the Vedas (q.v.); that form of monistic belief (*advaita*, q.v.) that proposes the ultimate unity of the self (*ātman*, q.v.) with the principle of cosmic unity called *brahman* (q.v.). In the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*, Vedānta is seemingly often used indiscriminately to refer to any philosophical system that opposes the qualified non-dualism of the *bhedabheda* (q.v.) school espoused by Caitanya and developed by the Gosvāmins.

Vedāntin - a follower of one of the Vedānta schools, especially the *advaita* (q.v.) of Śaṅkara.

vidhi - rule, injunction, ordinance, directed rite; ritual acts that are enjoined by scripture and which provide the foundation of ritual practice. In Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava practice, *vidhi* is contrasted with *rāgānuga* (q.v.), the spontaneous following of passion. *Vaidhi* is "according to the *vidhi*." Vide *sādhana*.

vilāsa - vide *līlā*; also a technical name for a class of divine manifestations or *avatāras* (q.v.).

viraha - the pain of separation of lover and beloved, it is a condition common in the poetic world of India, but used with particular effectiveness in the lyric poetry describing the love affair of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. In theological interpretation the condition stands for the separation of the worshiper from God, the *bhakta* (q.v.) from Kṛṣṇa.

Vraja - region (*maṇḍala*) around Mathurā, roughly bounded by the Yamunā River on its east, and including the twelve forests of Vṛndāvana (q.v.), Gokula, and Mount Govardhana.

Vṛndāvana - "the forest of Vṛndā (the goddess of the place)": the region around Mathurā, to the south of contemporary Delhi; it is also the region in which the myth of Kṛṣṇa as related in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and later texts was acted out. Being thus sanctified as Kṛṣṇa's *dhāma* (q.v.), it was also the holy place where the Gosvāmins (q.v.) settled to establish the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava school of Vaiṣṇavism. It is still a place of pilgrimage (*tīrtha*, q.v.) for devotees from all over India, for whom the circumambulation of the hallowed spots within the region—many of which were "rediscovered" by the Gosvāmins—is particularly efficacious.

yavana - "Ionian" or "Greek," later coming to be applied to Muslims and finally, to any foreigner. At the time of the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* text its meaning is clearly "Muslim"; the term is often used synonymously with *mlecchā* (q.v.), "barbarian."

yugavatāra - descent of Kṛṣṇa to restore *dharma* (q.v.) and correct the excesses of *adharma* (i.e., anything that goes against *dharma*, q.v.). Each age (*yuga*) has a religious practice and color symbolism appropriate to it: Satya or Kṛta has *dhyāna*, meditation, and the color white; Tretā has *yajña*, sacrifice, and the color red; Dvāpara has *pūja* (q.v.), temple worship, and the color blue-black; Kali, the final age, has *saṅkīrtana* (q.v.), celebration of the name of Kṛṣṇa, and the color yellow or gold. In this text, Kṛṣṇa as *svayaṁ bhagavān* appears as Kṛṣṇa in the Dvāpara Age and as Caitanya in the Kali Age.

Names and Epithets of Kṛṣṇa

Acyuta - "he who is not (*a-*) perishable (*cyuta*)," and epithet of Viṣṇu in the *Amarkośa*.

Ādipuruṣa - "the first (*ādī*) man (*puruṣa*)," an epithet of Viṣṇu, see e.g., *Raghuvamśa* 10.6.

Adhokṣaja - "he who was born (*-ja*) beneath (*adhas*) the axle (*ukṣa*)," an epithet of Kṛṣṇa; see e.g., *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.9.14. Vettam Mani, *Purāṇic Encyclopedia*, translates it "he who is not discernible by the senses."

Anagha - "he who is without (*an-*) impurity (*agha*)," e.g., *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.29.39.

Ajita - "he who is not (*a-*) conquered (*jita*)," e.g., *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 12.12.69.

Bālagopāla - "Kṛṣṇa the cowherd (*gopāla*, q.v.) as a boy (*bala*)," *passim*.

Damodara, "He who has a rope (*dama*) around his waist (*udara*);" when Kṛṣṇa was a child, his mother Yaśodā sought to tie him to a mortar, but could not find rope adequate to the task; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.9.12-17.

Gadādhara - "the holder (*dhara*) of the club (*gada*)," an epithet of Viṣṇu, who stood guard at the sacrifice of King Gaya; see *Vāmana Purāṇa* 76.

Giridhara - "he who holds (*dhara*) the mountain (*giri*);" Kṛṣṇa held the mountain Govarddhana over Vraja to protect the people and cattle of that place from a storm sent by Indra when they failed to worship him; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.25.19-26.

Gopāla - "the protector (*pāla*) of cows (*go*);" a name favoring Kṛṣṇa's benign and intimate side exhibited during his childhood and youth in Vraja, *passim*.

Gopendranandana - "the son (*nandana*, lit., "he who gladdens") of the lord (*indra*) of the cowherds (*gopa*)," i.e., the son of Kṛṣṇa's foster father Nanda, *passim*.

Gopīnātha - "the lord (*nātha*) of the *gopīs*, *passim*.

Govarddhanadhara - "he who holds (*dhara*) the hill named Govarddhana (i.e., "that which increases [*varddhana*] cows [*go*])," vide Giridhara.

Govinda - "the keeper (*vinda*) of cattle (*go*)," e.g., *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.27.25 and *passim*.

Jagadīśa - "the lord (*īśa*) of the world (*jagat*)," see e.g., *BhG* 1.5ff and *Gītāgovinda*, *passim*.

Janārdana - "he who agitates (*ardana*) people (*jana*)," e.g., *Mahābhārata*, *Udyoga parva* 70.6.

Kān, Kānu, Kānu - an affectionate name of Kṛṣṇa; the form is found through, especially, the lyric poetry, and is, according to Sukumar Sen's *Etymological Dictionary of Bengali*, a *tadbhāva* form of **kṛṣṇuka*. The final -u, in Bengali and in many Indian languages, including some Dravidian ones, is a diminutive or affectionate suffix.

Keśava - "he who has a full, handsome head of hair (*keśa*)," an epithet of Kṛṣṇa through the *Mahābhārata* and many other texts.

Madanamohana - "he who bewilders or intoxicates (*mohana*) the god of love" (*madana*, i.e., "passion itself"), see *Padma Purāṇa*, *passim*.

Madhava - "a descendent of Madhu," who was of the Yādava clan; see *Harivaṃśa*.

Madhavendra - "lord (*indra*) of the Madhavas (q.v.).

Mukunda - a name of Viṣṇu in the *Mahābhārata*; the etymology is uncertain, though it may be the "giver (-da) of freedom or liberation (*muku/mukha/mukta*)."

Nandanandana - vide *Gopendranandana*.

Rāmānujā - "he who is born (-ja) after (*anu*) Rāma; the Rāma referred to here is Balarāma, who was the elder brother of Kṛṣṇa; see *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.30.12.

Śauri - "heroic," a patronymic of Vasudeva in MBh; CC 2.22.śl.42 quotes *Haribhaktivilāsa* 10.224 and *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* 1.2.51.

Vaṃśivadana - "he who plays (*vadana*) the bamboo flute (*vaṃśi*);" it is the music of Kṛṣṇa's flute that summons the *gopīs* to the tryst in the forest (e.g., *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.29.34), and is thus a favorite epithet with the lyric poets (*padakartā*).

Vrajendranandana - "the son (*nandana*) of the lord (*indra*) of Vraja," i.e., the son of Nanda; vide *Gopendranandana*.

Personae

The following is a list of prominent personae in the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*; for a complete listing of all individuals mentioned by name in the text, the reader should consult the indexes.

Avadhūta - see *Nityānanda*.

Ācārya - see *Advaita*.

Advaita, Advaita Ācārya, Advaitācārya - an orthodox Varendra *brāhmaṇa* residing in Śāntipura and close companion of Caitanya; it was his call to Kṛṣṇa that caused the *avatāra* of Caitanya. As his name suggests, he was a former *advaitin*; and he was believed to be Sadāśiva in the *pañca tattva* doctrine. His chief wife was Sitādevī, herself a prominent devotee and mother of Acyutānanda, who became a member of Caitanya's personal religious lineage. Advaita was also known as Kamalākṣa or Kamalakānta.

Āi - Śacī, mother of Kṛṣṇa Caitanya.

Caitanya - Kṛṣṇa Caitanya.

Gadadhara Paṇḍita - a Varendra *brāhmaṇa*, Caitanya's close companion from youth; he was believed to be Rādhā or one of the *gopīs* in the *pañca tattva* doctrine. He was affectionately known by the diminutive Gadāi.

Gaura - "the golden one," Kṛṣṇa Caitanya.

Gaurahari - "the golden Kṛṣṇa," Kṛṣṇa Caitanya.

Gauracandra - "the golden moon," Kṛṣṇa Caitanya.

Gauradhāma - the "repository (of divinity)" that is Gaura, "the golden one," Kṛṣṇa Caitanya replete with all of the resources of full divinity, *svayaṃ bhagavān*.

Gaurāṅga - "the golden-limbed one," Kṛṣṇa Caitanya.

Gaurasundara - "the handsome golden one," Kṛṣṇa Caitanya.

Gopāla Bhaṭṭa - one of the six Gosvāmins, a *brāhmaṇa* from Śrīraṅgama in the South, he was a ritual specialist who composed the *Haribhaktivilāsa* often quoted by Kṛṣṇadāsa.

Haridāsa Ṭhākura - a converted Muslim whose name became synonymous with the chanting of the name of Kṛṣṇa, he was often used as an illustration of the power of devotion to overcome temptation and misery, e.g., he was whipped through twenty-two market places by the local *qazi* for apostasy, and was unsuccessfully tempted by a prostitute, whom he converted.

Īśvara Puri - a disciple of Madhavendra Puri and the *dīkṣa guru* of Kṛṣṇa Caitanya and prominent among Vaiṣṇavas. It was a meeting with Īśvara Puri in the city of Gaya where Caitanya had gone to perform the funerary obsequies (*śrāddha*) for his deceased father that prompted Caitanya's change of heart, leading to his initiation and public acceptance of the path of *bhakti*.

Jagannātha Miśra - Caitanya's father, a *brāhmaṇa* from Navadvīpa who was originally from Śrīhaṭṭa or Sylhet district in East Bengal. He made his living as a *paṇḍita*, a capacity for which he apparently trained his second son, Viśvambhara (i.e., Kṛṣṇa Caitanya); he died shortly thereafter. He is often called Purandara; his wife's name was Sacī.

Jīva Gosvāmin - the nephew of Rūpa and Sanātana, probably the most gifted theologian of the early community in Vṛndāvana and author of numerous texts, including the *Ṣaṭ-* or *Bhāgavata-sandarbhā*, *Harināmāmṛta-vyakharāṇa*, and *Gopala-campu*.

Kavikarṇapūra - the son of Sivananda Sena, he was born Paramānanda Sena and later given the title "Ear Ornament (*karṇapūra*) of Poets (*kavi*)" by Caitanya for composing an extemporaneous Sanskrit verse in praise of Kṛṣṇa. At an early age he wrote the Sanskrit biography, *Kṛṣṇacaitanyacaritāmṛta Mahakāvya*, and as an old man the drama, *Caitanyacandrodāya Nāṭaka*, which Kṛṣṇadāsa used extensively.

Keśava Bhārati - a Varendra *brāhmaṇa* and disciple of Madhavendra Puri, the *guru* who initiated Caitanya as a *saṁnyāsīn*.

Kṛṣṇa Caitanya - "He who makes the world conscious of Kṛṣṇa"; the ascetic son of *brāhmaṇa* Jagannātha Miśra, born Viśvambhara in the town of Navadvīpa where he lived until age twenty-four; at that age he renounced the householder's life and spent the next six years wandering through India on pilgrimage and teaching;

the last eighteen years he lived in the city of Puri in Orissa. He was believed to be Kṛṣṇa, *svayaṁ bhagavān*, Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa, various *avatāras*, and in dual incarnation, Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in a single body. His other names include Caitanya, Gaura, Gauracandra, Gaurāṅga, Gaurasundara, Mahāprabhu, Nīmāi, Prabhu, Śactinādana.

Lakṣmīpriyā - Caitanya's first wife, daughter of the Navadvīpa *brāhmaṇa* Vallabha Ācārya. Lakṣmīpriyā died prematurely, possibly from snakebite, when Caitanya was travelling in East Bengal shortly after their marriage.

Madhavendra Puri - the prominent *guru* of Caitanya's own *guru*, Īśvara Puri, thus Caitanya's *paramaguru*.

Mahāprabhu - "great master" or "great lord," Kṛṣṇa Caitanya.

Mukunda Datta - a singer (*kīrtanīyā*) and close companion of Caitanya in Navadvīpa. Mukunda authored numerous verses in praise of Caitanya.

Murāri Gupta - Caitanya's childhood companion in Navadvīpa and schoolmate in the Sanskrit *ṭola* of Gaṅgādāsa Paṇḍita; he was a *vaidya*, also formerly of Śrīhaṭṭa. He composed the oldest extant Sanskrit biography of Caitanya, *Kṛṣṇacaitanyacaritāmṛta*, and was the only biographer to know Caitanya well.

Narahari Sarakara - a *vaidya* from Śrīkhaṇḍa, personal devotee of Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, and a writer of Bengali lyrics in praise of him; Narahari also composed the theological work, *Kṛṣṇabhajanāmṛta*, in Sanskrit.

Nīmāi - a pet name of Kṛṣṇa Caitanya given by the women of his house; this diminutive derives from the *nim* tree (<*nimba* [Skt], *azadirachta indica*), noted for its bitter leaves, thereby protecting Caitanya from the harm of demons and ghouls who would shy away from eating anything so foul.

Nitāi - a diminutive of the name Nityānanda, often used in tandem with Nīmāi when the two are paired.

Nityānanda - an ascetic, so close a companion to Caitanya that he was accepted in Sacī's household in lieu of Caitanya's absent older brother. He was theologically believed to be Balarāma, Ananta, and Śeṣa in the *pañca tattva* doctrine; also called Nityānanda Svarūpa, Avadhūta, and by the affectionate name Nitāi. Nityānanda was the *guru* of Vṛndāvana Dāsa, the first Bengali biographer of Caitanya. Though very close to Caitanya he had a somewhat strained relationship with the other prominent *guru* of the tradition, Advaitācārya. Late in life Nityānanda abandoned his ascetic vows and married two daughters of a prominent Bengali devotee.

Paramānanda Puri - a disciple of Mādhavendra Puri whom Caitanya met on his trip south and whom Kṛṣṇadāsa labels as one of two people truly understanding of Caitanya's nature.

Prabhu - "lord" or "master," Kṛṣṇa Caitanya; the term occasionally refers to Nityānanda or Advaita at which point Caitanya is called Mahāprabhu.

Pratāparudra - the last great Gajapati king of Orissa and who ruled during Caitanya's lifetime (r. 1497-1540 AD); he was protector of the Jagannātha temple and personal devotee of Caitanya. He may have commissioned Kavikarṇāpūra to write the biographical drama of Caitanya, the *Caitanyacandrodaya Nāṭaka*.

Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa - the son of the Vārāṇasī *brāhmaṇa* devotee, Tapanā Miśra, he was one of the six Gosvāmīns in Vṛndāvana, especially well-versed in the traditional *śāstras*.

Raghunātha Dāsa - companion to Caitanya and in the personal charge of Svarūpa Dāmodara in Puri, he later became a Gosvāmīn in Vṛndāvana. As *śikṣā guru*, he taught Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja the fundamental theology of the *pañca tattva* doctrine attributed to Svarūpa Dāmodara and provided many of the details of Caitanya's later days in Puri, the outline of which can be found in the *Caitanyaṣṭaka* and *Gaurāṅgastavakalpataru* of his collected *Stavāvalī*.

Rāmānanda Rāya - minister to king Pratāparudra, he met Caitanya when the latter was traveling south, at which meeting he is reported to have discerned Caitanya's identity as Rādhā and subsequently witnessed the only recorded revelation of Caitanya's androgynous dual incarnation (*Caitanya Caritāmṛta* 2.8); later he lived near Caitanya in Puri. Before meeting Caitanya he had already composed the Vaiṣṇava drama, *Jagannāthavallabha Nāṭaka*.

Rūpa Gosvāmīn - a high-ranking secretary in the court of Husain Shah (r. 1494-1518 AD), he used the title Dabīr Khās, prior to joining Caitanya. He was descended of Karṇāṭa *brāhmaṇas* who settled in Rāmakeli not far from Navadvīpa. One of the two premier theologians among the Gosvāmīns, he was sent to Vṛndāvana by Caitanya to establish a systematic basis for *bhakti*. Rūpa wrote numerous texts on *rasa śāstra* and poetics, including the *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* and *Ujjvalanīlamanī* which Kṛṣṇadāsa utilizes so extensively, dramas, such as the oft-quoted *Vidagdhamādhava* and *Lalitāmādhava*, *kāvya*s, etc. Rūpa was brother to Sanātana, uncle to Jīva, the other prominent theologian, and one of Kṛṣṇadāsa's *śikṣā gurus*.

Śacī, Śacī-mā - Caitanya's mother, also called Āi, bore eight daughters, all of whom died, before mothering Caitanya's older brother Viśvarūpa, who disappeared after

his renunciation at a young age, and then Viśvambhara, i.e., Caitanya. Śacī survived Caitanya, living out her final years in the care of the Vaiṣṇavas of Navadvīpa and with Caitanya's second wife, Viṣṇupriyā.

Śactnandana - "son of Śacī," Kṛṣṇa Caitanya.

Sanātana Gosvāmīn - brother of Rūpa, he used the title Sakar Mallik in his capacity as an official in Husain Shah's (r. 1497-1518 AD) ministry. Prior to joining Caitanya he studied with Vidyāvacaspati, the brother of Sarvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya. Sanātana was sent to Vṛndāvana by Caitanya where he composed several poetic, ritual, and commentarial works, notably the *Bṛhadbhaṅgavatāmṛta* and *Bṛhadvaiṣṇavatoṣaṇī*.

Sarvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya - a prominent Vedāntin, influential scholar, and personal adviser to the Gajapati king, Pratāparudra (r. 1497-1540 AD), in Puri, he was converted by Caitanya shortly after the latter's arrival. He was also the author of short devotional works on Caitanya, e.g., *Caitanyaṣṭaka Stotra*, *Caitanyasahasranāma* and at least seven *padas* found in Rūpa's anthology, *Padyāvalī*. Sarvabhauma suggested the all-important meeting between Rāmānanda Rāya and Caitanya; he also made numerous arrangements for the Bengali devotees on their annual pilgrimage to Puri to visit Caitanya during the Car Festival. Sarvabhauma is often referred to by the name Vāsudeva.

Śivānanda Sena - a *vaidya* of Navadvīpa, he was an early devotee of Caitanya who, apparently because of his wealth and extensive business contacts, was designated to organize and lead the annual trips to Puri for the Bengali devotees. Śivānanda, an author of Bengali lyrics on Caitanya, was the father of Kavikarṇāpūra, the devotee who while living in Puri authored several Sanskrit works devoted to Caitanya, including *Kṛṣṇacaitanyacaritāmṛta Mahākāvya* and *Caitanyacandrodaya Nāṭaka*.

Śrīvāsa (Śrīnivāsa) Paṇḍita - a wealthy *brāhmaṇa* in whose Navadvīpa house many of Caitanya's early devotional activities, especially group *kīrtana* sessions, took place. Śrīvāsa represents the hosts of devotees in the *pañca tattva* doctrine; sometimes in the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* text he is called Śrīnivāsa.

Svarūpa Dāmodara - an ascetic, formerly known as Puruṣottama Ācārya, he became Caitanya's personal amanuensis in Puri. The first biography of Caitanya is attributed to Svarūpa, although it is no longer extant; it was probably a short composition (*kaḍacā*) in which the theological doctrine of the *pañca tattva* was most likely articulated. He was the personal mentor of Raghunātha Dāsa Gosvāmīn, whom Kṛṣṇadāsa acknowledges for his understanding of the *pañca tattva*, etc.

Tapana Miśra - a *brahmana* residing in Vārāṇasī who was a favored devotee of Caitanya, he was the father of Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa, one of the six Gosvāmins of Vṛndāvana.

Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma - vide Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya.

Viṣṇupriyā - Daughter of a *brahmana* of Navadvīpa named Sanātana Miśra, she was Caitanya's second wife, whom he abandoned to become an ascetic. She became the object of worship among certain devotees, which however is a fact not even mentioned by Kṛṣṇadāsa. She is also credited with having installed the first image (wooden) of Caitanya, which was for her personal worship.

Viśvambhara Miśra - Kṛṣṇa Caitanya's given name and title as a householder in Navadvīpa.

Viśvarūpa Miśra - Caitanya's older brother who became an ascetic at an early age; he was called Śaṅkarāraṇya after his initiation. To search for his brother gave Caitanya his reason for embarking on the southern pilgrimage, but he was reported dead in Paṇḍupura, in contemporary Karnataka.

Vṛndāvana Dāsa - a Navadvīpa disciple of Nityānanda, he is the author of the first Bengali biography of Caitanya, the *Caitanya Bhāgavata*, for which he is identified within the devotional community as the Vyāsa of the Caitanya-līla.

Bibliographies

Bibliographies

The bibliographies are organized to emphasize the biographical trend that culminated in the central text of the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

Editions of Source Texts. The editions of the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* have been listed chronologically with their complete titles, apart from the standard appellation of *Śrī*, unless that is part of the title of its English translation. Multiple editions of many other texts have been listed, not only to serve as a reference guide, but as a way of indicating the strong positive correlation between a book's importance, its popularity, and the number of editions it has seen. This list is representative, but in no way exhaustive; and it should be noted that the resurgence of printing in the Vraja region is not adequately covered here (many of those publications are Sanskrit with Hindi translations and commentaries), nor indeed many of the publications that marked the celebration of the fifth birth centenary of Caitanya in Bengal.

Monographs and Studies. The accompanying list of monographs and studies includes not only the expected academic production, but also numerous works by academically inclined devotees from within the tradition. The scholastic portion of that bibliography is perhaps more systematically represented than the source texts.

Articles. The articles are considerably more haphazard, generally reflecting those issues that are germane to materials covered in the Introduction. A complete list of the journal articles in Bengali alone would considerably exceed the space given to this entire bibliography. The reader is directed to a short article by the editor, together with Ms. Hena Basu of Calcutta, that catalogs one hundred twenty-two separate Vaiṣṇava or predominately Vaiṣṇava journals published during the last century and a half (see the entry: *Ṣṭuyārṭa*, Tōni Ke and Hena Basu, "Baṁlāya prakāśita vaiṣṇava samayika patrika: ekṣi tathya nirdeśika suci," *Baṅgīya sahitya pariṣat patrika* 90, no. 2 [1390 BS]: 1-8).

Dates. There are five different dating systems in use and except in the section pertaining to the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*, no effort has been made to convert to the approximate western equivalent. For those conversion formulae, see "A Note on Dating Systems" on p. xxxv of the front matter.

TKS

I. BIOGRAPHIES OF KṚṢṆA CAITANYA: TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

A. CAITANYA CARITĀMṚTA [Chronological Order of Publication]

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- Caitanya Caritāmṛta* of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja [adimadhyāntalīlāmakaṃ]. With the commentary *Ānandacandrika tippaṇī* [of Utsavānanda]. Calcutta: Venimādhava Dera Vidyaratna Yantra, 1780 śaka [c. 1858].
- Caitanya Caritāmṛta* of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja. Calcutta: Rāmānāi Dāsa at Sudhasindhu Yantra, 1275 BS [1868].
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- Caitanya Caritāmṛta* of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja. Edited by Makhanaḷā Dāsa Bhagavatabhūṣaṇa. With the *payāra ṭīka* of Viśvanātha Cakravartī and the editor's commentary *Sudhasāncariṇī vyākhyā*. 3 vols. Calcutta: Candra and Co. and Oriental Printing Works, 1315 BS [c. 1908].
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2.1.9	2.25.145	2.25.112	3.9.11	1.3.120	1.3.89
2.1.15	2.22.151	2.22.59	3.13.5	3.19.14	3.19.66
2.2.5	2.23.158	2.23.56	3.15.25	2.24.127	2.24.62
2.2.8	2.24.151	2.24.106	3.15.43	2.17.19	2.17.133
2.3.10	2.22.113	2.22.23	—	2.24.110	2.24.36
—	2.24.128	2.24.63	—	2.24.134	2.24.82

Citation	CC Sloka	after CC verse	Citation	CC Sloka	after CC verse
—	2.25.146	2.25.112	7.5.32	2.22.121	2.22.32
3.25.21	2.22.134	2.22.47	—	2.25.116	2.25.69
3.25.24	1.1.129	1.1.29	7.9.10	2.20.14	2.20.55
—	2.22.138	2.22.48	—	3.4.15	3.4.64
—	2.23.17	2.23.9	—	3.16.13	3.16.24
3.25.38	2.22.171	2.22.92	7.11.28	2.15.16	2.15.261
3.26.19	2.20.137	2.20.234	7.15.40	3.6.17	3.6.307
3.28.14	2.24.152	2.24.106	8.1.1	2.25.117	2.25.84
3.29.11-12	1.4.134-35	1.4.172	9.4.18-20	2.22.159-61	2.22.78
—	2.19.122-23	2.19.149	9.4.67	1.4.137	1.4.172
3.29.13	1.4.136	1.4.172	—	2.24.166	2.24.119
—	2.6.123	2.6.242	9.4.68	1.1.130	1.1.30
—	2.9.124	2.9.243	9.5.16	2.8.112	2.8.60
—	2.19.124	2.19.149	9.19.17	3.2.112	3.2.117
—	3.3.112	3.3.177	(quoting Manu Samhita)		
3.29.14	2.19.125	2.19.149	9.24.65	2.21.120	2.21.103
3.31.33-34	2.22.140-41	2.22.49	10.2.32	2.22.110	2.22.20
3.31.35	2.22.139	2.22.49	—	2.24.140	2.24.92
3.33.6	2.16.113	2.16.183	—	2.24.147	2.24.95
—	2.18.110	2.18.115	—	2.25.13	2.25.29
3.33.7	2.11.114	2.11.176	10.2.40	2.20.140	2.20.256
—	2.19.115	2.19.67	10.4.46	2.15.18	2.15.264
—	3.16.14	3.16.24	—	2.25.115	2.25.69
4.3.23	1.4.110	1.4.57	10.8.4	2.8.13	2.8.37
4.21.31	2.24.181	2.24.140	10.8.13	1.3.16	1.3.28
4.29.46	2.11.112	2.11.104	—	2.6.13	2.6.98
4.31.14	2.22.126	2.22.37	—	2.20.148	2.20.280
5.5.2	2.22.135	2.22.47	10.8.45	2.19.131	2.19.172
5.6.18	1.8.13	1.8.16	—	3.7.18	3.7.27
5.14.43	2.23.112	2.23.13	10.8.46	2.8.115	2.8.62
—	3.6.12	3.6.135	—	3.7.17	3.7.26
5.14.44	2.9.125	2.9.243	10.9.14	2.19.132	2.19.172
5.18.12	1.8.15	1.8.53	10.9.20	2.8.116	2.8.62
—	2.22.133	2.22.43	10.9.21	2.8.149	2.8.182
5.19.12	2.22.120	2.22.32	—	2.9.111	2.9.121
5.19.26	2.22.114	2.22.26	—	2.24.126	2.24.61
—	2.24.132	2.24.72	—	3.7.14	3.7.23
—	2.24.174	2.24.128	10.10.34	2.20.158	2.20.294
6.2.49	3.3.15	3.3.59	10.11.40	1.5.117	1.5.120
—	3.3.111	3.3.176	10.12.11	2.8.114	2.8.61
6.4.31	2.6.16	2.6.101	—	3.7.16	3.7.26
6.14.5	2.19.119	2.19.132	10.13.37	1.5.119	1.5.120
—	2.25.114	2.25.69	10.13.60	2.17.13	2.17.36
6.17.28	2.9.126	2.9.243	10.14.3	2.8.19	2.8.58
—	2.19.138	2.19.175	10.14.4	2.22.16	2.22.16
7.5.23-24	2.9.118-19	2.9.240	—	2.24.146	2.24.95

Citation	CC Sloka	after CC verse	Citation	CC Sloka	after CC verse
1.2.8	3.5.12	3.5.8	—	2.24.127	2.24.127
1.2.11	1.2.14	1.2.7	2.3.24	1.8.14	1.8.21
—	1.2.12	1.2.51	2.4.17	2.22.15	2.22.15
—	2.20.121	2.20.134	2.4.18	2.24.164	2.24.117
—	2.24.122	2.24.54	—	2.24.178	2.24.135
—	2.24.125	2.24.58	2.5.13	2.22.111	2.22.21
—	2.25.127	2.25.105	2.6.32	2.20.147	2.20.268
1.2.26	2.24.137	2.24.87	—	2.21.19	2.21.28
1.3.1	1.5.13	1.5.70	2.6.42	1.5.12	1.5.70
—	2.20.134	2.20.229	—	2.20.135	2.20.229
1.3.23	2.20.130	2.20.216	2.7.40	2.24.16	2.24.16
1.3.28	1.2.13	1.2.54	2.7.41	2.6.18	2.6.212
—	1.5.11	1.5.67	2.7.42	2.21.14	2.21.9
—	2.9.12	2.9.131	2.7.45	2.24.169	2.24.123
—	2.20.120	2.20.133	2.9.10	2.20.136	2.20.231
—	2.25.129	2.25.105	2.9.30	1.1.121	1.1.28
1.3.42	2.25.137	2.25.108	—	2.25.118	2.25.87
1.3.45	2.24.192	2.24.233	2.9.31	1.1.122	1.1.28
1.5.12	2.22.14	2.22.15	—	2.25.119	2.25.90
1.5.18	2.24.156	2.24.114	2.9.32	1.1.123	1.1.28
1.7.10	2.6.15	2.6.167	—	2.24.123	2.24.55
—	2.17.18	2.17.132	—	2.25.120	2.25.93
—	2.24.12	2.24.3	2.9.33	1.1.124	1.1.28
—	2.24.173	2.24.128	—	2.25.121	2.25.98
—	2.25.147	2.25.112	2.9.34	1.1.125	1.1.28
1.7.11	2.24.135	2.24.83	—	2.25.123	2.25.103
1.9.37	2.16.12	2.16.143	2.9.35	1.1.126	1.1.28
1.9.42	1.2.18	1.2.13	—	2.25.122	2.25.101
1.10.11	2.24.130	2.24.69	2.10.1-2	1.2.15	1.2.76
1.11.39	1.2.11	1.2.44	2.10.6	2.24.143	2.24.93
—	1.5.14	1.5.72	3.2.12	2.21.18	2.21.82
1.13.10	1.1.131	1.1.30	3.2.21	2.21.17	2.21.26
—	2.10.12	2.10.10	3.2.23	2.22.146	2.22.52
—	2.20.12	2.20.55	3.5.23	2.20.138	2.20.234
1.18.12	2.24.180	2.24.139	3.5.24	2.25.128	2.25.105
1.18.13	2.22.122	2.22.33	3.7.20	2.11.18	2.11.23
1.19.15	2.23.110	2.23.11	3.9.3	2.25.14	2.25.32
1.19.33	3.7.12	3.7.8	—	3.5.16	3.5.118
1.28.1	3.8.16	3.8.72	3.9.4	2.25.16	2.25.32
2.1.9	2.24.11	2.24.37	—	3.5.17	3.5.118
2.1.9	2.25.145	2.25.112	3.9.11	1.3.120	1.3.89
2.1.15	2.22.151	2.22.59	3.13.5	3.19.14	3.19.66
2.2.5	2.23.158	2.23.56	3.15.25	2.24.127	2.24.62
2.2.8	2.24.151	2.24.106	3.15.43	2.17.19	2.17.133
2.3.10	2.22.113	2.22.23	—	2.24.110	2.24.36
—	2.24.128	2.24.63	—	2.24.134	2.24.82

Citation	CC Sloka	after CC verse	Citation	CC Sloka	after CC verse
—	2.25.146	2.25.112	7.5.32	2.22.121	2.22.32
3.25.21	2.22.134	2.22.47	—	2.25.116	2.25.69
3.25.24	1.1.129	1.1.29	7.9.10	2.20.14	2.20.55
—	2.22.138	2.22.48	—	3.4.15	3.4.64
—	2.23.17	2.23.9	—	3.16.13	3.16.24
3.25.38	2.22.171	2.22.92	7.11.28	2.15.16	2.15.261
3.26.19	2.20.137	2.20.234	7.15.40	3.6.17	3.6.307
3.28.14	2.24.152	2.24.106	8.1.1	2.25.117	2.25.84
3.29.11-12	1.4.134-35	1.4.172	9.4.18-20	2.22.159-61	2.22.78
—	2.19.122-23	2.19.149	9.4.67	1.4.137	1.4.172
3.29.13	1.4.136	1.4.172	—	2.24.166	2.24.119
—	2.6.123	2.6.242	9.4.68	1.1.130	1.1.30
—	2.9.124	2.9.243	9.5.16	2.8.112	2.8.60
—	2.19.124	2.19.149	9.19.17	3.2.12	3.2.117
—	3.3.112	3.3.177	(quoting Manu Samhita)		
3.29.14	2.19.125	2.19.149	9.24.65	2.21.120	2.21.103
3.31.33-34	2.22.140-41	2.22.49	10.2.32	2.22.110	2.22.20
3.31.35	2.22.139	2.22.49	—	2.24.140	2.24.92
3.33.6	2.16.13	2.16.183	—	2.24.147	2.24.95
—	2.18.110	2.18.115	—	2.25.13	2.25.29
3.33.7	2.11.114	2.11.176	10.2.40	2.20.140	2.20.256
—	2.19.15	2.19.67	10.4.46	2.15.18	2.15.264
—	3.16.14	3.16.24	—	2.25.115	2.25.69
4.3.23	1.4.110	1.4.57	10.8.4	2.8.13	2.8.37
4.21.31	2.24.181	2.24.140	10.8.13	1.3.16	1.3.28
4.29.46	2.11.112	2.11.104	—	2.6.13	2.6.98
4.31.14	2.22.126	2.22.37	—	2.20.148	2.20.280
5.5.2	2.22.135	2.22.47	10.8.45	2.19.131	2.19.172
5.6.18	1.8.13	1.8.16	—	3.7.18	3.7.27
5.14.43	2.23.112	2.23.13	10.8.46	2.8.15	2.8.62
—	3.6.12	3.6.135	—	3.7.17	3.7.26
5.14.44	2.9.125	2.9.243	10.9.14	2.19.132	2.19.172
5.18.12	1.8.15	1.8.53	10.9.20	2.8.16	2.8.62
—	2.22.133	2.22.43	10.9.21	2.8.149	2.8.182
5.19.12	2.22.120	2.22.32	—	2.9.11	2.9.121
5.19.26	2.22.114	2.22.26	—	2.24.126	2.24.61
—	2.24.132	2.24.72	—	3.7.14	3.7.23
—	2.24.174	2.24.128	10.10.34	2.20.158	2.20.294
6.2.49	3.3.15	3.3.59	10.11.40	1.5.17	1.5.120
—	3.3.111	3.3.176	10.12.11	2.8.14	2.8.61
6.4.31	2.6.16	2.6.101	—	3.7.16	3.7.26
6.14.5	2.19.119	2.19.132	10.13.37	1.5.19	1.5.120
—	2.25.114	2.25.69	10.13.60	2.17.13	2.17.36
6.17.28	2.9.126	2.9.243	10.14.3	2.8.19	2.8.58
—	2.19.138	2.19.175	10.14.4	2.22.16	2.22.16
7.5.23-24	2.9.118-19	2.9.240	—	2.24.146	2.24.95

Citation	CC Sloka	after CC verse	Citation	CC Sloka	after CC verse
—	2.25.12	2.25.29	10.30.9	3.15.13	3.15.29
10.14.7	2.21.13	2.21.8	10.30.11	3.15.16	3.15.38
10.14.8	2.6.122	2.6.234	10.30.12	3.15.17	3.15.44
—	3.9.12	3.9.75	10.30.28	1.4.14	1.4.75
10.14.11	1.5.19	1.5.62	—	2.8.125	2.8.75
10.14.14	1.2.19	1.2.21	10.30.37	2.19.134	2.19.172
—	1.3.13	1.3.54	10.30.39	1.6.110	1.6.61
—	1.6.14	1.6.19	10.31.1	2.2.15	2.2.37
10.14.21	2.21.12	2.21.7	10.31.6	1.6.18	1.6.59
10.14.29	2.6.12	2.6.82	10.31.9	2.14.12	2.14.11
—	2.11.11	2.11.91	10.31.14	3.16.19	3.16.109
10.14.32	2.6.19	2.6.139	10.31.15	1.4.121	1.4.132
10.14.38	2.21.16	2.21.21	—	2.21.121	2.21.103
—	2.21.16	2.21.67	10.31.16	2.19.135	2.19.172
10.14.55	2.20.123	2.20.136	—	3.7.110	3.7.31
10.15.6-7	2.24.161-62	2.24.117	10.31.19	1.4.126	1.4.148
10.15.8	2.24.175	2.24.135	—	2.8.147	2.8.176
10.15.14	1.5.18	1.5.120	—	2.18.17	2.18.58
10.15.17	1.6.17	1.6.57	—	3.7.19	3.7.30
10.15.35	1.13.13	1.13.74	10.32.2	1.5.122	1.5.191
10.16.36	2.8.134	2.8.113	—	2.8.118	2.8.63
—	2.9.17	2.9.107	—	2.8.130	2.8.110
—	2.24.115	2.24.40	10.32.21	1.4.127	1.4.149
10.18.24	2.19.133	2.19.172	10.32.22	1.4.129	1.4.152
10.21.7	1.4.123	1.4.133	—	2.8.122	2.8.71
10.21.9	3.16.111	3.16.130	—	3.7.111	3.7.32
10.21.11	2.17.12	2.17.34	10.33.3	1.1.133	1.1.37
10.21.14	2.24.160	2.24.117	10.33.6	2.8.123	2.8.72
10.21.18	2.18.15	2.18.29	10.33.22	3.18.12	3.18.23
—	3.14.16	3.14.80	10.33.25	2.14.13	2.14.155
10.21.19	2.24.176	2.24.135	10.33.36	1.4.14	1.4.30
10.22.25	1.14.14	1.14.65	10.33.39	3.5.13	3.5.45
10.22.33	1.9.15	1.9.41	10.34.9	2.25.112	2.25.65
10.22.35	1.9.13	1.9.39	10.35.9	2.8.153	2.8.227
10.25.5	3.5.19	3.5.128	—	2.24.177	2.24.135
10.28.39	1.4.122	1.4.132	10.35.11	2.24.163	2.24.117
10.29.16	3.3.16	3.3.78	10.38.5	2.22.16	2.22.28
10.29.38	3.4.14	3.4.60	10.39.19	3.19.13	3.19.42
10.29.39	2.24.113	2.24.38	10.40.7	2.20.126	2.20.144
—	3.15.19	3.15.61	10.44.14	1.4.124	1.4.133
10.29.40	2.24.116	2.24.41	—	2.21.119	2.21.93
—	3.17.12	3.17.29	10.44.51	2.19.127	2.19.169
10.29.40.c-d	2.24.117	2.24.43	10.46.31	2.20.133	2.20.226
10.29.48	3.15.11	3.15.70	10.46.43	2.25.15	2.25.32
10.30.4	2.25.126	2.25.104	10.47.21	1.6.19	1.6.59
10.30.7-8	3.15.14-5	3.15.29	10.47.60	2.8.117	2.8.63

Citation	CC Sloka	after CC verse	Citation	CC Sloka	after CC verse
—	2.8.150	2.8.186	—	3.3.19	3.3.170
—	2.9.19	2.9.112	11.2.45	2.8.152	2.8.227
—	3.7.15	3.7.24	—	2.22.130	2.22.42
10.47.61	3.7.112	3.7.34	—	2.25.125	2.25.104
10.47.66-67	1.6.15-6	1.6.55	11.2.46-47	2.22.131-32	2.22.42
10.51.52	2.22.117	2.22.29	11.2.55	2.25.124	2.25.104
—	2.22.136	2.22.48	11.3.31	2.25.133	2.25.107
10.52.37	2.24.114	2.24.39	11.5.2	2.22.118	2.22.19
10.52.43	3.4.13	3.4.60	—	2.22.152	2.22.59
10.60.24	2.19.130	2.19.171	—	2.24.148	2.24.95
10.68.37	1.5.120	1.5.120	11.5.3	2.22.119	2.22.19
—	2.20.142	2.20.261	—	2.22.153	2.22.59
10.69.2	1.1.132	1.1.37	11.5.21	2.20.149	2.20.280
—	2.20.125	2.20.142	11.5.24	2.20.150	2.20.280
10.81.16	1.17.16	1.17.72	11.5.27	1.3.17	1.3.30
—	2.7.14	2.7.139	—	2.20.151	2.20.283
10.82.44	1.4.13	1.4.20	11.5.29	2.20.152	2.20.283
—	2.8.120	2.8.69	11.5.31	1.3.19	1.3.40
—	2.13.18	2.13.152	11.5.32	1.3.110	1.3.40
10.82.48	2.1.18	2.1.73	—	2.6.14	2.6.98
—	2.13.17	2.13.129	—	2.11.110	2.11.88
10.83.8	1.6.111	1.6.62	—	2.20.153	2.20.286
10.83.11	1.6.112	1.6.62	—	3.20.12	3.20.8
10.83.39	1.6.113	1.6.62	11.5.36	2.20.157	2.20.287
10.87.14	2.15.14	2.15.178	11.5.41	2.22.162	2.22.79
10.87.18	2.24.155	2.24.112	11.5.42	2.22.163	2.22.81
—	2.24.179	2.24.138	11.6.47	1.2.16	1.2.11
10.87.23	2.8.148	2.8.180	11.6.64	2.15.15	2.15.234
—	2.9.110	2.9.113	11.11.32	2.8.16	2.8.56
10.87.30a	2.19.115	2.19.126	—	2.9.121	2.9.242
10.87.30b	2.19.118	2.19.126	11.14.15	1.6.114	1.6.88
10.87.41	2.21.15	2.21.10	11.14.19	2.24.118	2.24.45
10.88.3	2.20.144	2.20.265	11.14.20	1.17.15	1.17.71
10.88.5	2.20.145	2.20.265	—	2.20.113	2.20.121
10.88.26	2.22.145	2.22.51	—	2.25.131	2.25.106
10.89.58	2.8.133	2.8.113	—	3.4.12	3.34.57
10.90.15	2.23.121	2.23.44	11.14.21	2.20.114	2.20.121
10.90.48	2.13.14	2.13.75	—	2.25.130	2.25.106
11.2.30	2.22.137	2.22.48	11.16.11	2.19.117	2.19.126
11.2.37	2.20.111	2.20.105	11.17.27	1.1.18	1.1.27
—	2.24.144	2.24.94	11.19.21-22	2.11.15-6	2.11.23
—	2.25.132	2.25.106	11.19.36	2.19.137	2.19.173
11.2.40	1.7.14	1.7.90	11.20.8	2.22.119	2.22.31
—	2.9.120	2.9.241	11.20.9	2.9.123	2.9.242
—	2.23.120	2.23.21	—	2.22.125	2.22.36
—	2.25.134	2.25.107	11.20.31	2.22.164	2.22.182

Citation	CC Sloka	after CC verse	Citation	CC Sloka	after CC verse
11.21.42-43	2.20.31.16-17	2.20.128	1.2.239	1.5.31.23	1.5.200
11.22.4	2.6.31.7	2.6.101	1.2.255	2.23.31.49	2.23.56
11.23.57	2.3.31.2	2.3.4	1.2.262	2.22.31.65	2.22.83
11.26.26	1.1.31.28	1.1.29	(quoting Skānda Purāṇa)		
11.28.4	3.4.31.6	3.4.169	—	2.24.31.83	2.24.194
11.29.6	1.1.31.19	1.1.28	1.2.265	2.22.31.58	2.22.77
—	2.22.31.18	2.22.30	(quoting Padyāvālī)		
11.29.34	2.22.31.49	2.22.54	1.2.270	2.22.31.67	2.22.88
—	3.4.31.9	3.4.185	1.2.272	2.22.31.66	2.22.85
12.3.51-52	2.20.31.54-55	2.20.287	1.2.278	1.5.31.5	1.5.30
12.12.69	2.17.31.7	2.17.131	1.2.280	1.5.31.6	1.5.32
—	2.24.31.12	2.24.37	(quoting Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa)		
12.13.15	2.25.31.38	2.25.108	1.2.285-86	1.4.31.25	1.4.139
Bhāgavata Sandarbha of Jīva Gosvāmin			—	2.8.31.46	2.8.174
1.2	1.3.31.14	1.3.65	1.2.292	2.22.31.68	2.22.88
Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu of Rūpa Gosvāmin			1.2.294	2.22.31.70	2.22.91
1.1.1	2.8.31.31	2.8.111	1.2.295	2.22.31.69	2.22.90
1.1.2	2.19.31.14	2.19.121	1.2.308	2.22.31.72	2.22.92
—	3.1.31.56	3.1.156	(quoting Nārāyaṇavyāha-stava)		
1.1.12	2.19.31.21	2.19.149	1.3.1	2.23.31.2	2.23.3
(quoting Nārada Pañcarātra)			1.3.23	2.24.31.84	2.24.198
1.1.35	2.24.31.58	2.24.115	(quoting Skānda Purāṇa)		
1.1.36	1.8.31.2	1.8.15	1.3.25-26	2.23.31.8-9	2.23.10
1.1.39	1.7.31.5	1.7.93	1.3.29	2.23.31.11	2.23.12
(quoting Haribhaktisudhodaya)			(quoting Haribhaktisudhodaya)		
—	2.24.31.9	2.24.29	1.3.33	2.23.31.13	2.23.14
—	3.3.31.13	3.3.184	(quoting Padma Purāṇa)		
1.2.2	2.22.31.50	2.22.55	1.3.35	2.23.31.14	2.23.15
1.2.8	2.22.31.54	2.22.59	(quoting Sanātana Gosvāmin)		
(quoting Padmottara Purāṇa)			1.3.38	2.23.31.16	2.23.17
1.2.17	2.22.31.27	2.22.39	1.4.1	2.23.31.3	2.23.4
1.2.18	2.22.31.28	2.22.40	1.4.2	2.23.31.4	2.23.4
1.2.19	2.22.31.29	2.22.41	(quoting Nārada Pañcarātra)		
1.2.22	2.19.31.26	2.19.150	1.4.15-16	2.23.31.5-6	2.23.9
1.2.59	2.9.31.8	2.9.109	1.4.17	2.23.31.19	2.23.21
—	2.9.31.13	2.9.133	—	3.19.31.7	3.19.98
1.2.90-92	2.22.31.55-56	2.22.75	2.1.7-10	2.23.31.44-47	2.23.50
1.2.103	2.20.31.7	2.20.99	2.1.17	2.23.31.22	2.23.45
—	2.24.31.57	2.24.114	2.1.23-30	2.23.31.24-31	2.23.46
1.2.154	2.1.31.10	2.1.179	2.1.37-44	2.23.31.32-38	2.23.46
1.2.156	2.23.31.18	2.23.19	2.1.62	2.18.31.6	2.18.32
1.2.233	2.17.31.5	2.17.128	2.1.63	2.20.31.63	2.20.314
(quoting Padma Purāṇa)			2.1.103	3.3.31.4	3.3.58
1.2.234	2.17.31.6	2.17.130	(quoting Padma Purāṇa)		
1.2.238	2.22.31.57	2.22.75	2.1.138	3.1.31.12	3.1.96
—	2.24.31.71	2.24.126	2.1.173	2.14.31.15	2.14.213

Citation	CC Sloka	after CC verse	Citation	CC Sloka	after CC verse
2.1.221-23	2.20.31.64-66	2.20.332	5.29	1.5.31.4	1.5.18
2.1.230	2.8.31.41	2.8.147	5.39	1.5.31.21	1.5.133
2.1.231	1.4.31.16	1.4.102	5.40	1.2.31.5	1.2.9
—	2.8.31.42	2.8.148	—	2.20.31.22	2.20.135
2.3.54	1.4.31.33	1.4.171	5.43	2.21.31.12	2.21.37
2.4.142	2.20.31.15	2.20.127	5.45	2.20.31.43	2.20.264
2.4.144	2.24.31.65	2.24.118	5.46	2.20.31.46	2.20.267
2.5.38	1.4.31.5	1.4.40	5.47	1.4.31.12	1.4.61
—	2.8.31.19	2.8.65	—	2.8.31.39	2.8.124
2.5.93	1.17.31.10	1.17.298	5.48	1.5.31.8	1.5.62
2.5.131	2.23.31.48	2.23.51	—	2.20.31.39	2.20.239
3.1.20	2.24.31.36	2.24.85	—	2.21.31.10	2.21.31
3.1.34	2.24.31.39	2.24.90	5.49	2.20.31.41	2.20.260
3.1.44	2.10.31.6	2.10.171	5.54	2.15.31.3	2.15.169
(quoting a śloka of Līlāsuka Bilvamaṅgala)			5.56	2.14.31.14	2.14.213
—	2.24.31.42	2.24.92	Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa		
3.1.47	2.19.31.36	2.19.173	no citation	1.5.31.6	1.5.32
3.2.25	2.22.31.3	2.22.13	(quoted in Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu)		
3.2.27	2.24.31.38	2.24.88	no citation	2.9.31.6	2.9.27
(quoting Haribhaktisudhodaya)			(quoted in Haribhaktivilāsa)		
3.2.62	1.4.31.32	1.4.171	Brahmavaiṣṭava Purāṇa		
4.3.44	2.22.31.15	2.22.27	Kṛṣṇajñānamakhaṇḍa		
(quoting Haribhaktisudhodaya)			185.180	1.17.31.7	1.17.157
—	2.24.31.82	2.24.141	Bṛhadgautamīya Tantra		
Bhāṭṭaravi			no citation	1.4.31.13	1.4.71
8.20	3.10.31.2	3.10.19	—	2.23.31.23	2.23.45
Bhāṭṭarhadtpikā of Śrīdhara Svāmī			Bṛhannārada Purāṇa		
(Commentary on Bhāgavata Purāṇa)			38.126	1.7.31.3	1.7.73
1.1.1	2.17.31.4	2.17.76	—	1.17.31.3	1.17.18
1.1.2	1.1.31.38	1.1.51	—	2.6.31.19	2.6.218
1.7.6	2.18.31.8	2.18.106	Caitanyacāndrodaya Nāṭaka of Kavikarṇapūra		
—	3.5.31.8	3.5.119	(Paramānanda Sena)		
7.9.1	2.8.31.2	2.8.4	5.13 [31.10]	2.3.31.3	2.3.25
10.1.1	1.2.31.16	1.2.	6.67 [31.37]	2.6.31.8	2.6.133
—	2.20.31.18	2.20.130	6.74 [31.44-45]	2.6.31.20-21	2.6.229
10.87.21	2.24.31.33	2.24.80	(quoting Śarvabhauma)		
—	2.24.31.49	2.24.96	8.14 [31.10]	2.10.31.3	2.10.116
—	2.25.31.44	2.25.112	8.27 [31.23]	2.11.31.2	2.11.6
11.2.45	2.24.31.24	2.24.56	8.28 [31.24]	2.11.31.3	2.11.8
11.15.16	1.2.31.10	1.2.43	8.34 [31.28]	2.11.31.9	2.11.37
Brahma Saṁhita			8.57 [31.41]	2.11.31.13	2.11.136
5.1	1.2.31.17	1.2.89	(quoting Stotratatna of Yamunācārya)		
—	2.8.31.29	2.8.108	9.42-43 [31.29-30]	2.19.31.12-13	2.19.109
—	2.20.31.19	2.20.132	9.45-46 [31.34-35]	2.24.31.93-94	2.24.259
—	2.21.31.8	2.21.27	9.48 [31.38]	2.19.31.11	2.19.109
5.2	2.20.31.32	2.20.223	—	2.24.31.95	2.24.259

Citation	CC Sloka	after CC verse
10.9 [3L3-4]	3.6.3L4-5	3.6.259
Dānakelikaumudī of Rūpa Gosvāmin		
1	2.14.3L6	2.14.174
(quoted in Ujjvalānīlamanī)		
2.1	1.4.3L19	1.4.113
Gaurāṅgastavakalpataru of Raghunātha Dāsa		
4	3.14.3L5	3.14.68
5	3.17.3L5	3.17.67
6	3.19.3L5	3.19.71
7	3.16.3L8	3.16.80
8	3.14.3L7	3.14.113
11	3.6.3L8	3.6.319
Garūḍa Purāṇa		
no citation	2.25.3L35-36	2.25.108
(quoted in Haribhaktivilāsa)		
Gautamya Tantra		
no citation	1.3.3L19	1.3.83
(quoted in Haribhaktivilāsa)		
Gitagovinda of Jayadeva		
1.46	1.4.3L43	1.4.182
—	2.8.3L32	2.8.112
2.2	3.15.3L12	3.15.72
3.1	1.4.3L42	1.4.178
—	2.8.3L26	2.8.80
3.2	2.8.3L27	2.8.80
Gopīpremaṁṛta		
no citation	1.4.3L38	1.4.174
Govindahlāṁṛta of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja		
1.2	2.19.3L4	2.19.50
7.102	2.18.3L3	2.18.9
8.3	3.15.3L2	3.15.12
8.4	3.15.3L8	3.15.55
8.5	3.17.3L3	3.17.37
8.6	3.19.3L6	3.19.85
8.7	3.15.3L10	3.15.68
8.8	3.16.3L10	3.16.110
8.77	1.4.3L18	1.4.108
9.11	2.14.3L9	2.14.180
9.14	2.14.3L11	2.14.183
9.18	2.14.3L7	2.14.174
10.16	2.8.3L45	2.8.170
10.17	2.8.3L44	2.8.166
11.122	2.8.3L40	2.8.142
13.29	2.17.3L12	2.17.199
13.30	2.17.3L13	2.17.200
13.31	2.17.3L14	2.17.201

Citation	CC Sloka	after CC verse
13.32	2.17.3L15	2.17.202
Haribhaktisudhodaya		
1.54	2.24.3L38	2.24.88
(quoted in Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu)		
3.11	2.19.3L7	2.19.68
3.12	2.19.3L6	2.19.68
7.28	2.22.3L15	2.22.27
(quoted in Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu)		
—	2.24.3L82	2.24.141
12.37	2.23.3L11	2.23.12
(quoted in Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu)		
13.2	2.20.3L5	2.20.56
14.36	1.7.3L5	1.7.93
—	2.24.3L9	2.24.29
—	3.3.3L13	3.3.184
Haribhaktivilāsa of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin		
1.73	2.18.3L9	2.18.107
(quoting Padmottara Purāṇa)		
—	2.25.3L13	2.25.67
7.1	1.15.3L1	na
10.91	2.19.3L2	2.19.48
—	2.20.3L3	2.20.55
—	3.16.3L2	3.16.24
10.224	2.22.3L42	2.22.49
(quoting Kāṭyāyana Saṁhitā)		
10.283	2.25.3L35-36	2.25.108
(quoting Garūḍa Purāṇa)		
11.110	1.3.3L19	1.3.83
(quoting Gautamya Tantra)		
11.258	2.9.3L6	2.9.27
(quoting Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa)		
11.289	3.3.3L3	3.3.57
(quoting Padma Purāṇa)		
11.397	2.22.3L12	2.22.22
(quoting Rāmāyaṇa)		
11.417-18	2.22.3L47-48	2.22.53
(quoting an unidentified Vaiṣṇava tantra)		
16.99	2.19.3L39	2.19.188
(quoting Padma Purāṇa)		
20.1	1.14.3L1	na
Jagannāthavallabha Nāṭaka of Rāmānanda Rāya		
3.9	2.2.3L2	2.2.16
3.11	2.2.3L4	2.2.32
Kāṇḍa of Svārūpa Dāmodara		
(attributed by Rādhāgovinda Natha)		
no citation	1.1.3L5	na

Citation	CC Sloka	after CC verse
—	1.4.3L8	1.4.48
no citation	1.1.3L6	na
—	1.4.3L44	1.4.187
no citation	1.1.3L7	na
—	1.5.3L2	1.5.5
no citation	1.1.3L8	na
—	1.5.3L3	1.5.10
no citation	1.1.3L9	na
—	1.5.3L7	1.5.42
no citation	1.1.3L10	na
—	1.5.3L15	1.5.77
no citation	1.1.3L11	na
—	1.5.3L16	1.5.92
no citation	1.1.3L12	na
—	1.6.3L2	1.6.2
no citation	1.1.3L13	na
—	1.6.3L3	1.6.2
no citation	1.1.3L14	na
—	1.7.3L2	1.7.4
Kāṭyāyana Saṁhitā		
no citation	2.22.3L42	2.22.49
(quoted in Haribhaktivilāsa)		
Kāvyaprakāśa of Maṇḍana		
no citation	1.2.3L14	1.2.60
—	1.16.3L4	1.16.54
Kṛṣṇakarmāmṛta of Līlāśuka Bīlvaṁśala		
1.1	1.1.3L27	1.1.28
1.32	2.2.3L9	2.2.52
—	2.23.3L15	2.23.16
1.40	2.2.3L10	2.2.55
1.41	2.2.3L8	2.2.50
1.42	3.17.3L4	3.17.47
1.68	2.2.3L11	2.2.63
1.92	2.21.3L22	2.21.114
—	2.23.3L17	2.23.18
Kāma Purāṇa		
no citation	2.9.3L16-17	2.9.195
5.342	3.5.3L5	3.5.118
Laghuhāgavatāmṛta of Rūpa Gosvāmin		
pārva khaṇḍa 1.15	1.1.3L35	1.1.38
pārva khaṇḍa 1.18	2.20.3L60	2.20.310
pārva khaṇḍa 1.21	1.1.3L34	1.1.37
pārva khaṇḍa 2.9	1.5.3L10	1.5.66
(quoting Sarvata Tantra)		
—	2.20.3L31	2.20.217
pārva khaṇḍa 3.86	2.9.3L15	2.9.141

Citation	CC Sloka	after CC verse
(quoting Nārada Pañcarātra)		
pārva khaṇḍa 5.37	1.3.3L5	1.3.20
—	3.7.3L3	3.7.12
pārva khaṇḍa 5.175	2.20.3L29	2.20.210
pārva khaṇḍa 5.247	2.21.3L13	2.21.37
(quoting Padma Purāṇa)		
pārva khaṇḍa 5.248	2.21.3L14	2.21.37
(quoting Padma Purāṇa)		
—	2.21.3L17	2.21.71
pārva khaṇḍa 5.286	2.21.3L15	2.21.41
pārva khaṇḍa 5.461	3.1.3L6	3.1.61
(quoting Yamala Tantra)		
uttara khaṇḍa 4	2.11.3L7	2.11.23
(quoting Padma Purāṇa)		
uttara khaṇḍa 6	2.11.3L4	2.11.23
(quoting Ādi Purāṇa)		
uttara khaṇḍa 39	1.4.3L39	1.4.175
(quoting Ādi Purāṇa)		
uttara khaṇḍa 40	1.4.3L30	1.4.155
(quoting Ādi Purāṇa)		
uttara khaṇḍa 45	1.4.3L40	1.4.176
(quoting Padma Purāṇa)		
—	2.8.3L24	2.8.75
—	2.18.3L2	2.18.6
uttara khaṇḍa 46	1.4.3L41	1.4.176
(quoting Padma Purāṇa)		
Lalitāmādhava of Rūpa Gosvāmin		
1.1	3.1.3L47	3.1.128
1.4	3.1.3L48	3.1.129
1.20	3.1.3L49	3.1.135
1.49	3.1.3L52	3.1.136
1.50	3.1.3L51	3.1.136
1.102	3.1.3L43	3.1.125
1.106	3.1.3L42	3.1.125
2.22	3.1.3L54	3.1.137
2.23	3.1.3L53	3.1.137
3.25	3.19.3L2	3.19.33
4.19	2.20.3L27	2.20.150
4.27	3.1.3L41	3.1.125
5.6	2.19.3L20	2.19.146
6.14	1.17.3L8	1.17.273
—	2.9.3L14	2.9.136
8.34	1.4.3L20	1.4.127
—	2.8.3L35	2.8.114
—	2.20.3L28	2.20.151
9.9	1.4.3L45	1.4.215

Citation	CC Sloka	after CC verse
10.36	2.1.31.9	2.1.75
<i>Mahabharata</i>		
3.13.117	2.17.31.11	2.17.175
—	2.25.31.9	2.25.48
3.24.1.15	2.15.31.7	2.15.264
5.71.4	2.9.31.4	2.9.26
13.127.75	1.3.31.8	1.3.39
—	2.6.31.5	2.6.98
—	2.10.31.5	2.10.164
<i>Manu Samhitā</i>		
2.215	3.2.31.2	3.2.117
(quoted in <i>Bhāgavata Purāṇa</i>)		
<i>Mukundamālā</i>		
3	2.13.31.3	2.13.75
<i>Naiṣadhyā</i>		
3.17	3.1.31.10	3.1.82
<i>Nāmakaumudī</i>		
no citation	3.7.31.13	3.7.70
<i>Nārada Pañcarātra</i>		
no citation	2.9.31.15	2.9.141
(quoted in <i>Laghuhāgavatāmṛta</i>)		
no citation	2.19.31.21	2.19.149
(quoted in <i>Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu</i>)		
no citation	2.23.31.4	2.23.4
(quoted in <i>Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu</i>)		
<i>Nārāyaṇavyāha-stava</i>		
no citation	2.22.31.72	2.22.92
(quoted in <i>Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu</i>)		
<i>Nāṭakacandrikā</i>		
31	3.1.31.17	3.1.118
<i>Nāṭya Śāstra</i> of Bharata		
no citation	1.16.31.5	1.16.66
<i>Nṛsiṃha Purāṇa</i>		
no citation	3.3.31.2	3.3.54
no citation	3.16.31.5-6	3.16.48
<i>Nṛtya</i>		
no citation	3.1.31.9	3.1.82
no citation	3.8.31.7	3.8.73
<i>Padma Purāṇa</i>		
no citation	1.3.31.18	1.3.71
no citation	1.4.31.40	1.4.176
(quoted in <i>Laghuhāgavatāmṛta</i>)		
—	2.8.31.24	2.8.75
—	2.18.31.2	2.18.6
no citation	1.4.31.41	1.4.176
(quoted in <i>Laghuhāgavatāmṛta</i>)		

Citation	CC Sloka	after CC verse
71	3.20.31.7	3.20.25
(quoting Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, <i>Śikṣāṣṭaka</i>)		
74	2.13.31.5	2.13.75
(anonymous)		
82	2.19.31.10	2.19.96
(quoting Raghupati Upādhyāya)		
93	3.20.31.8	3.20.28
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anonymous	2.21.31.11	2.21.34	original	1.11.31.2	1.11.1
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4.15.10	3.3.117	3.3.78	no citation	2.24.117	2.24.18
5.13.59	1.4.115	1.4.102	no citation	2.24.119	2.24.50
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